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A CULTURAL STUDY
OF
THE ŚRĪMAD-BHĀGAVATA

KIŚORĪ ŚARAṆA TRIPĀṬHĪ

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ABBREVIATIONS

Ai A	*Aitareya-Āraṇyaka*
Ai B	*Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*
AIHT	*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*
Ai U	*Aitareya-Upaniṣad*
AV	*Atharva-Veda*
BDS	*Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra*
BU	*Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad*
BVP	*Brahma-Vaivarta-Purāṇa*
CA	*The Classical Age*
Ch U	*Chāndogya-Upaniṣad*
DKA	*The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*
HIL	*A History of Indian Literature Vol. I*
MB	*Mahābhārata*
MP	*Matsya-Purāṇa*
MS	*Manu-smṛti*
Mun U	*Muṇḍaka-Upaniṣad*
PP	*Padma-Purāṇa*
PSB	*The Philosophy of the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata Vol. I*
PSB Vol. II.	*The Philosophy of the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata Vol. II*
RV	*Ṛg-Veda*
SB	*Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*
SU	*Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad*
TB	*Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa*
TU	*Taittirīya-Upaniṣad*
VA	*The Vedic Age*
VD	*Viṣṇu-dharmottara*
VP	*Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*
VS	*Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā*

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THE WRITER'S NOTE

The Śrīmad-Bhāgavata has always been an all-absorbing fascination for me. So, I took Ph.D. degree from the Sagar University in 1964 on a thesis entitled *'Śrīmad-Bhāgavata—Eka Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana'* in which the supervision of Dr. B. Bhaṭṭācārya, the then Lecturer in the Sanskrit Department of the Sagar University and now Reader in the Sanskrit and Pali Department of the B.H.U., was readily available. But the charm, embedded in the above title, kept on increasing to the point of thirst. To quench this thirst, I resorted to Dr. S. Bhaṭṭācārya, a recognised authority on the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata, who fortunately happened to be the Head of the Department of Sanskrit and Pali of the B.H.U., the university founded by Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya to cater to the needs of all types of students. The teachings of Professor Siddheśvara Bhaṭṭācārya nursed my footsteps into this treasure island and inspired me to work in the cherished direction without break. The award of the U.G.C. Fellowship came later on as a great financial help to discharge the undertaken responsibility with renewed vigour. Intrinsic desire, continuous efforts, guidance by an authority and financial assistance by the U.G.C. all are combined into what is now being presented in printed form.

Ancient History of India, stretching from the primitive past to the time of the Imperial Guptas, is a vast panorama charged with the overtones of thoughts and conditions. It is therefore a challenge to the critic to unfold, with disinterestedness and sagacious penetration, the truth, stroke by stroke, without offending the grandeur and beauty of the total perspective presented by the 'Cultural Heritage of India', the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata Mahā-Purāṇa. In this rather difficult task, the traditional commentator Śrīdhara has been freely drawn upon for the literal meaning of the passages of the Text. The two Volumes of PSB by Prof. Siddheśvara Bhaṭṭācārya, the guide, have served as the model for the writer. It was the pursuit (*anuśīlana*) of PSB that provided stimulus as well as knowledge for the realisation of the cherished ambition. The interpretation and elucidation of the Bhāgavata passages in the light of Śrīdhara and Siddheśvara have been further supplemented by the Gītā, the Manu-smṛti and Pargiter, besides other ancillary works.

As a rule, the same word has been expected to yield the same meaning although it might have been scattered throughout the work. But, as the

Index would point out, different phrases and terms have been used at different places of this work for the expression of the same sense so that the idea may be easily grasped. Again, as a rule, Sanskrit words from the original Text and their synonyms, if given by Śrīdhara, are mentioned in brackets side by side with English equivalents. The Sanskrit terms are used generally in singular number. Explanations and evidences come under footnotes; and the references therein are intended to furnish authenticity to the statements made in the body of the work. Some errors, unfortunately, escaped notice. So the mistakes in writing or printing, especially of vital nature, are recorded in the list of Corrigenda at the end. Errata and misprints that unknowingly crept in are pointed out in due cognizance of imperfections in human endeavour.

The writer expresses his heart-felt gratitude to Prof. S. Bhaṭṭācārya for accepting this work for publication under the B.H.U. Sanskrit Series in the capacity of its Director, and for giving all editorial assistance towards enhancing the quality of the work as well. The writer is grateful to the U.G.C. especially to its Chairman Dr. D. S. Kothari who was all kindness to grant Fellowship. The writer expresses his thanks to the people of the B.H.U. Press for printing this work with speed and efficiency. The good-will of the manager and the ready help of Srī K. R. Bhaṭṭācārya, the Office-Assistant, at every step of printing, coupled with the technical skill of Kāśī Mahārāja, the vigilant and clever foreman, deserve approbation. Dr. K. P. Singh, the Research Assistant of the Department, has been so good as to see the work through the Press at its initial stage. To him and to all concerned, the writer acknowledges his indebtedness.

It is a matter of gratification and exultation that the ever-vigilant guidance and unfailing supervision of Professor Bhaṭṭācārya has always been available to develop the subject-matter up to the requirements of a Research Publication. The writer's head bows down with faith and veneration before this ideal *Guru* of the modern scholars. The *Guru*—who kindly and undenyingly guided, supervised and edited this work—has, by the same kindness and spontaneity, communicated his benign blessings through the Foreword.

The writer humbly hopes that this modest venture will be tolerated.

B.H.U.
1-11-1969

Kishori Sharan Tripathi

FOREWORD

"A Cultural Study of the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata" by Dr. K. S. Tripathi embodies the fourth Volume under the B.H.U. Sanskrit Series.

The Śrīmad-Bhāgavata has been an all-absorbing fascination here and elsewhere. Instruction, advice and pleasure have coalesced into an integral whole in this masterpiece. Its religion and metaphysics have been dealt with in my "The Philosophy of the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata" Vols. I & II, published a few years ago under the V. B. Research Publications. The present work, addressed to the Pre-history and History down to the Imperial Guptas (400 A.D.), with emphasis on the social and political aspects of Ancient India, is intended to be a counterpart to the said Volumes.

The writer is out to discover, correlate and interpret diverse data diffused over a vast period, as indicated above. The extent his work has been able to be elaboration, elucidation and improvement on Pargiter is left to the judgment of competent authorities.

The Research staff and the B.H.U. Press have once again displayed their excellent gesture of good-will towards the success of this publication.

B.H.U. S. Bhattacharya
28-11-1969

INTRODUCTION

1. ITIHĀSA-PURĀṆA (THE FIFTH VEDA)

A. *Evolution of the Purāṇa Literature :*

Knowledge of the ancient (*itihāsa*) lore (*purāṇa*) has always been an indispensable aid to the proper understanding of the Vedas.[1] The Atharva-Veda[2] bears first testimony to the compilation as well as classification of the "*Itihāsa-Purāṇa*" into two categories viz, the *Itihāsa* (represented by the Epics[3]) and the *Purāṇa* (represented by the extant eighteen Mahā-Purāṇas and the Upa-Purāṇas of the same number). But the border line between these Books of two categories still remained undefined. Neither the Epics nor the Purāṇas were exclusively historical or mythological but were both history (*itihāsa*) and myth (*purāṇa*).

Since the beginning of the silver age, the Purāṇa literature was growing by leaps and bounds.[4] *Ākhyānas* (stories), *Upākhyānas* (anecdotes), *Gāthās* (ballads) and *Kalpas* (or *kalpajoktis*, description of vast cosmic periods) are said[5] to be the earliest contents that constituted the '*Saṁhitā*' of a Purāṇa, similar to the Vedic Saṁhitās of the period. The postulates also of sacrificial milieu—gods, hermits, kings, Prajāpati, Manu and Many-cycles—subsequently found entrance into the contents of the Purāṇa literature of the sacrificial era. Thus (i) *Sarga* (creation), (ii) *Prati-sarga* (re-creation after dissolution), (iii) *Vaṁśa* (genealogy of gods and hermits), (iv) *Vaṁśā'-nucarita* (history of dynasties) and (v) *Manvantara* (Manu-periods of time) came to be recognised as the five constituents (*pañca-lakṣaṇa*) of a Purāṇa-Saṁhitā,[6] during the *Brāhmaṇa* period [7] (or the silver age).

At the end of the copper age, Vyāsa (1000 B.C.) transmitted the mass of ancient lore, with its ever-growing volume ensured by its recitals at the rituals[8] of the sacrificial era, to his pet disciple Romaharṣaṇa.[9] The bards (*paurāṇikas* or *sūtas*)—Romaharṣaṇa, his disciples among whom his son Ugraśravas was prominent and their disciples and so on[10]—nourished under their loving care the Purāṇa literature to attain a gigantic magnitude in times to come.[11] This is duly noticed[12] by Āpastamba (500 B.C.[13]).

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[1] For this type of composition designated by the collective name "*Itihāsa-Purāṇa*", see PSB (*Intr.*, p. i-ii) where the evidences are adduced from the Vedic literature, esp. TB 3. 12. 8. 2 ; Ch U 7. 1. 7 ; BDS 2. 5. 9. 14.

[2] AV 15. 6. 11.

[3] Śrīdhara on 1.1.6 :—इतिहासो महाभारतादिः ; again (on 12.13.9) :—महाभारतं त्वितिहासः, रामायणं च ऋषि-प्रोक्तं काव्यम् ; vide also BVP :—इतिहासो भारतं च वाल्मीकि-काव्यम् एव च (4.131.22.)

[4] SB 11.5.6.8 ; AV 11.7.14 ; Ch U 3.4.1 ; PSB p. iii ; HIL pp. 311-13 ; AIHT *Ch.* IV, esp. p. 55 ; Śān. śr. sūtra—16.1 ; Āśva.—10. 7.

[5] VP 3.6.15 ; PSB p. v ; AIHT p. 33.

[6] 12.7.10 ; VP 3.6.25 ; MP 53.64 ; BVP 4. 131.6 ; AIHT pp. 36-7.

[7] PSB p. iv.

Already the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad[14] had conferred the dignity of the fifth Veda on the *Itihāsa-Purāṇa*. So, the sacred mission of propagating the cardinal teachings of the Vedas[15] was throughout maintained in the meandering evolution of the Purāṇa literature[16] in the post-War era or the iron age when each *Purāṇa-Saṁhitā* became the encyclopaedia of world-knowledge to feed the popular mind. For example, during this era, insecure Brahmanism (due to the rise of the heretical cults and foreign invasion resulting in social and political anarchy) was responsible for the entrance of Brahmanical teachings especially ritualistic and Smṛti materials in the Purāṇas and the Epics to re-establish the primary authority of the Vedas on *dharma* (religion) and the practice of *Varṇā'śrama-dharma* (customary morality) respectively.[17]

Under the stress of Vaiṣṇava theology, the 'five constituent topics' of a Purāṇa underwent further elaboration,[18] as found in the Bhāgavata[19] and in its wake in the Brahma-Vaivarta.[20] The elaboration meant the orientation of the Purāṇa literature from its mundane character to high metaphysics.[21] In the Bhāgavata, for instance, creation (*sarga*) began to be viewed under two heads, subtle and gross. The subtle creation stopped with the emergence of the cosmic egg (*aṇḍa*). Then followed the creation of the fourteen worlds—the gross creation. While the subtle creation was called by the old name (i) *Sarga*, gross creation attained the name (ii) *Vi-sarga*, i.e., differentiation ; and new creation (*pratisarga*) became a part of it. As *pratisarga* presupposes deluge or dissolution (*pralaya*), (iii) *Manvantara* (the new regime of another Manu and its cycle lasting for a *Kalpa*),the original topic, was retained. As for the remaining two old constituents, the Bhāgavata omitted *Vaṁśa* and described *Vaṁśā'nucarita* under the new name, (iv) *Īśā'nucarita*. Of these four, the first two are concerned with cosmology and the latter two with human history in point of time-sequence. The other six new topics are : (v) *Sthāna* (or *vṛtti*, the state of law and order ensured by God), (vi) *Poṣaṇa* (or *rakṣā*, welfare of all with the help of his devotees as well as by His incarnations), (vii) *Ūti* (or *karma-vāsanā*, material lust arising out of the performance of ephemeral deeds), (viii) *Nirodha* (*hetu* or *saṁsthā*, physical annihilation), (ix) *Mukti* (*ātyantika laya*, salvation attainable by the total disappearance or *saṁsthā* of the physical world that ensnares the individual soul) and (x) *Āśraya* (or *apāśraya*, the only source and the last resort of the universe, the Ultimate Reality, the root of creation).[22]

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[8] PSB p. ii.

[9] 1.4.22, 25 ; 12.6.7 ; VP 3.4.10 ; MP 53.69.

[10] 12.6.4d-7 ; Śrīdhara (on 12.6.6) comments on Ugraśravas' statement as follows :—प्रथमं व्यासः षट् संहिताः कृत्वा मत्पित्रे रोमहर्षणाय प्रादात् ; तस्य च मुखादेते त्रय्यारुण्यादयः एकैकां संहितामधीयन्त ; एतेषां षण्णां शिष्यः अहं ताः सर्वाः समधीतवान् ।

[11] PSB p. vi. [12] AIHT p. 43. [13] *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. 11. p. XLiii.

[14] Ch U 7.1.7.

[15] MB 1.1.260 ; vide also Vāyu-Purāṇa—1.1.181.

[16] Śrīdhara (on 12.6.7) :—मूल-संहिता इत्यनेन ततः संहिता-बाहुल्यं सूचितम् ।

[17] cf. Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs ; p, 213. R. C. Hazra's able studies seem to point to some non-Vedic religious content in the Purāṇas. The Paurāṇic genealogies may therefore contain a pre-Aryan tradition.

[18] vide PSB pp. vi.

[19] 2.10. 1-7 ; 12.7.9, 11-19 ; especially :—
अत्र सर्गों विसर्गश्च स्थानं पोषणमूतयः । मन्वन्तरेशानुकथा निरोधो मुक्तिराश्रयः ॥
(2.10.1) Śrīdhara on this verse comments :—दशलक्षणं पुराणं प्राहेत्युक्तं तानि दश लक्षणानि दर्शयति अत्रेति—मन्वन्तराणि ईशानुकथाश्चेति द्वन्द्वः ; सर्गादयः अत्र दशार्थी लक्ष्यन्ते । vide also :—
सर्गोऽस्याथ विसर्गश्च वृत्तिरक्षान्तराणि च । वंशो वंश्यानुचरितं संस्था हेतुरपाश्रयः ॥
(12.7.9.) Śrīdhara on this verse comments :—अस्य विश्वस्य···स्थानपोषणे वृत्तिरक्षाशब्दाभ्यामुच्येते, अन्तराणि मन्वन्तराणि, वंशो वंश्यानुचरितमिति ईशानुकथाः, संस्था निरोधः, अनेनैवात्यन्तिकलयरूपा मुक्तिरप्युक्ता, हेतुशब्देन जीवाश्रयवासनाशब्दवाच्या ऊतयो गृहीताः ।

The sublime metaphysical plane of the Bhāgavata would explain why it has elaborated the original five constituent topics into ten. The Bhāgavata propounds that the first nine topics are intended merely to bring the

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[20] BVP 4. 131. 8-10.

[21] PSB p. vii.

[22] Leaving the first two introductory skandhas (books), the remaining ten skandhas of the Bhāgavata, all comprising so many chapters, characteristically depict these "ten topics" with Śrī-Kṛṣṇa as the axle of their wheel which may be shown as follows :—

Sk.	*Ch.*	*Topic*	*Sk.*	*Ch.*	*Topic*	*Sk.*	*Ch.*	*Topic*
3	33	Sarga	6	19	Poṣaṇa	9	24	Īśā'nucarita
4	31	Visarga	7	15	Ūti	10	90	Nirodha
5	26	Sthāna	8	24	Manvantara	11	31	Mukti
						12	13	Āśraya

Ultimate Reality, called Brahman or Paramātman[23], to clearer perspective.[23a] Śrīdhara[24] has ascribed great distinction to the Bhāgavata on the ground that it was the Bhāgavata where all the 'ten topics', mentioned above, have received adequate treatment, while the extant Purāṇas of distinction (*mahā-purāṇas*) hardly accommodated all the ten topics.[25] The Bhāgavata treatment is therefore significant. It prepares the ground for emancipation by raising the mind to the high metaphysical plane leading to the realization of the supreme truth (*Brahman*).

The eighteen Books into which the several compilations (*saṁhitās*) of the Purāṇas were rearranged and each of which as a special mark of distinction acquired the name "*mahā-purāṇa*"[26] (the great Purāṇa) bespeak their preference for Vaiṣṇavism. So, "it was in fitness of things that the period of the '*parama-bhāgavata*' Imperial Guptas would be betrothed to the compiling of some four lacs of verses and prose passages[27] out of the medley of myriads of materials [28] deposited in the Purāṇa literature [29] through its growth over centuries."[30] The special distinction attributed to the above compilations or collections was wanting in other eighteen collections (*Upa-Purāṇas*)[31] consisting of materials both old and new. They were then looked upon as the outgrowths (or excrescence) of the eighteen Mahā-Purāṇas.[32] To accentuate the difference between the Mahā-Purāṇas and the Upa-Purāṇas it was said [33] that while the former dealt with ten topics the latter confined themselves to five only.

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[23] आभासश्च निरोधश्च यतश्चाध्यवसीयते । स आश्रयः परं ब्रह्म परमात्मेति शब्द्यते ॥
(2.10.7)

[23a] दशमस्य विशुद्ध्यर्थं नवानामिह लक्षणम् । वर्णयन्ति महात्मानः श्रुतेनार्थेन चांजसा ॥
(2.10.2)

[24] Śrīdhara on 12.7.10 :—दशभिरेतैर्लक्षणैरर्थैर्युक्तं महापुराणं विदुः ।

[25] PSB p. ix.

[26] For enumeration of the Mahā-Purāṇas, see 12.7.23-24 ; BVP 4.133.11-20; VP 3.6.20-24 ; MP *Ch.* 53.

[27] BVP 4.131.21.

[28] पुराणं एकमेवासीत् शत-कोटि-प्रविस्तरम् (MP—53.4 ab).

[29] Number of verses in each Mahā-Purāṇa according to the Bhāgavata (12.13. 4-9) is as follows :—10, 000 each in (i) Vāmana and (ii) Brāhma (Ādi) ; 11,000 in (iii) Liṅga ; 12,000 in (iv) Brahmāṇḍa ; 14,000 in (v) Mātsya ; 14,400 each in (vi) Agni (Āgneya, Vānha, more ency.) and (vii) Mārkaṇḍeya (not unified) ; 14,500 in (viii) Bhaviṣya ; 17,000 in (ix) Kaurma (four *khaṇḍas*) ; 18,000 each in (x) Śrī-Bhāgavata and (xi) Brahma-Vaivarta (four *khaṇḍas*, Kṛṣṇa-janma-khaṇḍa largest) ; 19,000 in (xii) Sauparṇa (Garuḍa, most ency.) ; 23,000 (or 7000) in (xiii) Śrī-Vaiṣṇava (Viṣṇu) ; 24,000 each in (xiv) Vārāha and (xv) Śaiva (Vāyu) ; 25,000 in (xvi) Nāradīya (Bṛhat-) ; 55,000 in (xvii) Pādma (five *khaṇḍas*) and 81,100 in (xviii) Skānda (six *saṁhitās*). For comments on these Mahā-Purāṇas, see HIL, pp. 531-579.

[30] PSB p. vii.

The eighteen Mahā-Purāṇas have since been enjoying their exalted status as the interpreters of the Vedic truths, besides serving as the repositories of diverse materials, religious or secular. These compilations, celebrated as they were, mirrored Hinduism of the period with its undertone of Vaiṣṇavism carefully enthused into them by the Gupta emperors. In spite of repeated losses and additions, revisions and rearrangements, during the course of its evolution through ages, the latest Mahā-Purāṇa still preserves both the matter and the form of the oldest Purāṇa.

To sum up : the Purāṇa literature seems to have three phases of evolution : (i) the ancient lore of the golden age, its bifurcation in the silver age and compilations of the Epics on the one hand and of the Purāṇa-Saṁhitās on the other, primarily on the basis of the five topics, at the end of the copper age by Vyāsa—all represent *first* phase of evolution.[34] (ii) The *second* phase was the largest and most important when several Saṁhitās of the Purāṇas multiplied in number, increased in bulk and gained popularity so that they were overhauled into eighteen Mahā-Purāṇas, with ten topics as their general characteristics, during the reign of Gupta emperors. (iii) The post-Gupta period represents the *final* phase when, besides the Brāhmaṇas and priests, the populace also freely contributed its share of thoughts and feelings which found rightful place in the Epics and the Purāṇas, both great and small.

B. *Development of the Bhāgavata Composition, The Essence of the Vedas :*

Being a composition of growth, the product of the ages, the extant Śrīmad-Bhāgavata Mahā-Purāṇa can hardly be assigned to a particular date. The three phases of evolution, ascribed to the Purāṇa literature above, may be then applied to this most notable composition among the celebrated eighteen.[35] The traditions (*sampradāya*)[35a] of the Bhāgavata propagatson themselves support this point of view. The two divine traditions of the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa—one from Nārāyaṇa to Brahmā, Nārada[36] etc. and the other from Vāsudeva to Saṁkarṣaṇa, Sanat-kumāra[37] etc.—may be said to represent *the first* or *the earliest* phase of the "Bhāgavata" (spoken by Bhagavān[37a]) when it was merged in a concise form in the *Itihāsa-Purāṇa* before its enlargement by Vyāsa. The two historical traditions of the propagation of this distinguished, the last and therefore the best composition of Vyāsa[38] can be gleaned through another two trinities–one of Vyāsa, Śuka and Parīkṣit[39] or Ugraśravas[40] and the other of Parāśara, Maitreya and Vidura.[41] These two traditions pointedly support the view, as has been admitted by the Bhāgavata itself,[42] that the composition, during its *second* and *the largest* phase, has freely drawn upon the Mahābhārata, the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa and the Hari-vaṁśa including the Dharma-śāstras, for materials. Further, "the two traditions lend colour to the view that Vaiṣṇavism had started from the *Puruṣa-sūkta* and Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva had infused new life into it." [43] "In fact the fire of Vaiṣṇavism that was brooding through the Mahābhārata round the figure of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa grew in intensity in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa and the Hari-vaṁśa before it burst into flames in the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata." [44] In *the third* or *the last* phase, the Bhāgavata received accretion of materials from South India also, especially from the Tamil region.[45] This is corroborated by a highly suggestive allegory from the Padma-Purāṇa.[46] The allegory suggests the amalgam of the boisterous devotion of the Tamil saints, the Alwars, with that of the *Śuka-śāstra*, the North Indian tradition of the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata which was one of the Purāṇas to receive attention of South in the early Christian era. The amalgam resulted in the enrichment of the structure of the Bhāgavata by the dominant tone of devotion on amorous basis. But the doctrine of love, the *Bhāgavata-dharma*, propagated by the *Śuka-śāstra*, met the challenge (laying emphasis on the emotional aspect of devotion in which knowledge and detachment fell into insignificance) by maintaining a unique balance between *bhakti* on the one hand and *jñāna* as well as *vairāgya* on the other (i.e., between emotion and reason).[47] The dominant tone of amorous devotion was a high tribute to the Tamil saints[48] in respect of the Bhāgavata cult which had already embraced the foreigners (*Hūṇas* etc.) in its fold.[49] The materials that augmented and enriched the structure of this Mahā-Purāṇa in the last phase may therefore be said to fall between 500 A.D. and 1030 A.D.[50]

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[31] Kūrma-Purāṇa—1.1.16-20.

[32] PSB p. viii.

[33] 12.7.10 vide also 12.7.22 ; BVP 4. 131. 7ab.

[34] cf. AIHT pp. 54-57.

[35] 1.2.2; vide also 12.13.9.

[35a] Śrīdhara on (1.3.41 & 12.4.40) :—श्रोतुरादरदाढ़र्याय (तत्) सम्प्रदायप्रवृत्तिमाह (तदिदमिति) पुराण-संहितामिति त्रिभिः ।

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[36] 1.1.2 ; Śrīdhara :—महामुनिः=श्रीनारायणः ; तेन प्रथमं संक्षेपतः [see Śrīdhara on 2.9.43 :—भगवता चतुःश्लोक्या (i.e., 2.9.32-35) संक्षेपेण प्रोक्तम्] कृते; vide also 2.8.28cd ; 2.9.30-31, 43-44ab ; 12.4.40abc.

[37] 3.8. 4, 7-9.

[37a] 2.7.51 ; vide also 2,9,30,43 ; 3.4.13.

[38] 1.4.24-31 ; vide also 1.7.6.

[39] 1.3.40-42; vide also 1.7.8; 1.19.40; 2.1.8-10; 2.8.27-28; 2.9.44cd-45; 12.4.40d-41.

[40] 1.3.44; vide also 12.4.42.

[41] 3.8.7-8.

[42] 1.1.6–9.

[43] PSB Vol. II, *Introduction*—p. xv, f.n. 86.

[44] PSB pp. viii-ix.

[45] 4.28. 28-50.

[46] PP—*uttara-khaṇḍa*, 193-198 i.e., the six chapters on what is well-known as the "*Bhāgavata-Māhātmya*".

"The conclusion therefore seems to emerge that the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata has three phases of development: Its *earliest form* consists of very old materials (culled from the *Itihāsa-Purāṇa*); it was given the shape of a *Mahā-Purāṇa*—and this is the (largest and most important) *second* phase—in early Christian era (the Gupta period); and, its *last* and *final* (but not the least in points of matter and form of the composition) phase represents the contribution of the Tamil saints (the Alwars)." [51]

Of the eighteen Mahā-Purāṇas, the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata is acclaimed on all hands as *the best* both by orthodox[52] and modern[53] scholars on the ground of its exquisite richness of matter and form. In spite of its manifold revisions, the Bhāgavata bears the remarkable stamp of uniformity of composition, the character which engrossed the living scholar of highest calibre to discover the metaphysical perspective of this great work which, as his ontological enquiry proved, "unravels consummation of sublime metaphysics and spiritual practice which had undergone dynamic growth from the Ṛg-Veda onwards." [54]

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[47] cf. PSB p. xiv-xv.

[48] 11.5. 39cd-40.

[49] 2.4.18 ; vide also 2.7.46.

[50] This *last phase* of the development of Bhāgavata composition has led many modern scholars to suggest different dates for it between 600 A.D. and 1300 A.D. For the score-board, see PSB pp. xii-xiii.

[51] PSB p. xv.

[52] Śrīdhara (on 1.1.1) argues that the Bhāgavata is completely pledged to the highest knowledge (*brahma-vidyā*), and so it has every claim to be regarded as the great Purāṇa; cf. Vopadeva, *Hari-līlā'mṛta*—1.9.

[53] Winternitz, HIL pp. 554-5; Burnouf's Preface to *Le Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the first Purāṇa introduced to Europe from Paris in 1840.

[54] S. Bhattacharya, PSB's Introduction—pp. xv-xvi.

The Śrīmad-Bhāgavata has enshrined Indian religious thoughts. It embodies what is best in the tradition of the Vedas and Upaniṣads. It imbibes what is best in Vaiṣṇavism. "Laid upon the bedrock of the teachings of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, the Bhāgavata has incorporated the best of the Vedic traditon. It is fed and nourished by series of spiritual stalwarts. The best of Pañcarātra (cult) and the religious practices of the Tamil saints find their place in its structure. A sense of tolerance has allowed the free inroad of ideas as they have been re-orientated in the light of practical experiences. The teachings of the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata have thus remained dynamic for ever." [55]

2. NATURE AND SCOPE OF THE WORK

A. *Nature :*

Life is activity at its core. Man differs from other animals on the ground of specialized activity, i.e., he is capable of organizing activity into a discipline that gives coherence to the individual, his society and the world. The term *dharma* may be pressed into service to denote such disciplined activity through which society has sought for its harmonious growth, although the instinctive nature of man has exposed its 'teeth and claws behind the sleek exterior' varnished by civilisation. Selfish ends, often enlarged into national interests, have helped widen the cleavage between man and man. So, sometimes harmony seems to be threatened by dangerous disruption.[56]

The concept of traditional history in India has been intensely human. As the definition goes, human history means "the study of man's dealings with other men, and the adjustment of working relations between human groups." [57] To ensure a better order of existence or peaceful co-existence, the society, ever since the dawn of civilisation, has set before it certain values which it considered worthy of achievement. These values or norms of conduct have changed from time to time to accommodate the needs of man who as dynamic reality has always chosen 'pastures a new'.[58] The purpose of history is to unfold and investigate, in successive eras and ages therein, these changing norms which found expression in man's activities for his growth. The chapters, as the sections of the Table of Contents show, are designed to fulfil this mission of Indian History.

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[55] PSB Vol. II, *Intr.* p. xv.

[56] vide PSB Vol. II., p. 179.

[57] VA p. 37.

[58] vide PSB p. 338.

Amongst all Sanskrit works, the Bhāgavata especially underwent numerous recensions to shape the collective spirit of the Aryans or the Hindus. By virtue of its 'enormous popularity and extraordinary reputation', the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata is acknowledged as the 'most famous in India'.[59] It was this exalted status of the Bhāgavata that may be said to have silently worked as the perpetual impetus to fulfil the intrinsic desire[60] under which the writer clung to this most popular Mahā-Purāṇa. The inspiration for the field trodden was imbibed from another source in which Sanskrit works particularly the Bhāgavata have also much to say. The most distinguishing feature of the Hindu culture—its philosophy including metaphysics, religion and ethics, its history of the people with their political, economic and social organisations—is its antiquity as well as continuity of the same culture, both in principles and practice. No country, ancient or modern in the world, offers parallel to India in these respects.[61] And, this feature, it is earnestly submitted, inspired the writer to make an attempt to find out the cultural perspective (excluding metaphysics and religion) presented by the Bhāgavata, the most sacred and precious Cultural Heritage of India. It is surprising to note here that not only the Bhāgavata has remained untouched but no other Mahā-Purāṇa also has been intensively studied so far from the above viewpoint[62]—a situation that demands early attention of the scholarly mind.

To bring the nature of the present work into clearer relief, the "salient features" of the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata, not specifically dealt with in this work,[63] ought to be recollected from PSB. The Śrīmad-Bhāgavata is very widely known for its philosophy and unique religion. The claim of the Bhāgavata[64] that it is the "mature fruit" (*galitaṁ phalam*) of the Vedas should be understood to mean that the wealth of ideas glistening through the Vedic literature has gone into the formation of the philosophy of the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata. As a 'pledge of allegiance' to the Vedic tradition, the Bhāgavata opens with the spiritual contemplation of Supreme Truth,[65] which is delineated in three hierarchical grades as Brahman (being, *sat*), Paramātman (consciousness, *cit*) and Bhagavat (bliss, *ānanda*).[66] But the Bhāgavata is betrothed to the exposition of Supreme Truth not as a metaphysical abstraction but as Bhagavān Śrī-Kṛṣṇa. The most 'outstanding contribution' of the Bhāgavata in the sphere of the philosophy of religion is its conception of Bhagavān (Supreme Person) Śrī-Kṛṣṇa, the all bliss (*ānanda-mātra*) and the perennial source of all powers (*upapanna-samasta-śakti*).[67] The Bhāgavata equates Kṛṣṇa with Bhagavān.[68] In fact, the whole of the Bhāgavata is hinged on this Kṛṣṇa-Bhagavān concept. Indeed the excellence of the Purāṇa lies in its exclusive concern[69] with *Śrīmad-Bhagavān* to whom the work owes its designation, the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata. Man's eternal craving[70] and spiritual strivings for bliss, both of which pass under the name of religion so far as its philosophy and practice are concerned, bear testimony to the fact that man is anchored (*vidhṛta*) in Bhagavān Śrī-Kṛṣṇa.

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[59] HIL pp. 554-5 ; vide also PSB p. xi.

[60] See *ante* 'The Writer's Note' p. vi.

[61] cf. VA pp. 38-39.

[62] Besides separate explanatory writings of Dīkṣitar (Indian Historical Quarterly—VIII, pp. 764-767 ; *Some Aspects of the Vāyu-Purāṇa* is his independent work) and H.P. Śāstrī (Journal of the Bihar Oriental Research Society—XIV, Part III, *The Purāṇas*), a '*Cultural History from the Vāyu-Purāṇa*' by D. R. Patil and another '*Cultural History from the Matsya-Purāṇa*' by S. G. Kantawala both have slightly presented the cultural data embedded in the respective Purāṇas. Yet all these attempts are meagre in so far as the intensive and critical study of the vast Purāṇa literature or a Purāṇa therein is concerned.

[63] The reason for this is that the two Volumes of PSB fully expose these features, concerning sublime metaphysics and unique religion, as expounded by the Bhāgavata.

To realise this unity of man and God,[71] the final goal of religion, the Bhāgavata preaches a unique religion. The 'distinctive feature' of the Bhāgavata consists in its exposition of "*dharma*".[72] But the Bhāgavata is primarily concerned with the exposition of what it calls "*parama dharma*" (supreme religion),[73] originally propounded by Kṛṣṇa.[74] The Bhāgavata embodies[75] the teachings of the great Master so that the world might enjoy the privilege of undying light that Kṛṣṇa worked and stood for. As the Bhāgavata incorporates the full-fledged biography of Kṛṣṇa as well as clothes the "*dharma*" he stood for, it may be said that the Bhāgavata has drawn upon the Kṛṣṇa-concept, as noted above, in order to preach, through his life and beliefs (*caritāni*),[76] a unique religion which, emerging from Kṛṣṇa Bhagavān, acquires the designation, "*Bhāgavata-dharma*". So, "one might assert that the Bhāgavata is so called not only because it deals with Bhagavān but also because it presents *Bhāgavata-dharma*, a new religion most appropriate for the ignorant people of this dark iron age".[77] Yet it was a noble religion inasmuch as even the liberated souls, who have risen above their egotistic shells by extricating themselves from the coils of pragmatism, can still find in it the solace of their heart.[78] Thus the supreme religion or the *Bhāgavata-dharma*, the 'central theme' of the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata, is unique yet not an innovation unrelated to the past. It is, in fact, regeneration of the Upaniṣadic truth. The claim of the Bhāgavata that it comprises the quintessence of the Vedas should be construed in this light.

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[64] 1.1.3; see *infra* p. 493.

[65] *Satyaṁ Paraṁ Dhīmahi* (1.1.1).

[66] *Brahmeti Paramātmeti Bhagavān iti Śabdyate* (1.2.11*cd*).

[67] 4.11.30.

[68] *Kṛṣṇas tu Bhagavān Svayam* (1.3.28*b*).

[69] 12.12.65.

[70] 7.5.14.

[71] 7.6.19.

[72] MP 53.20; see *infra* p. 493.

[73] 1.1.2; see *infra* p. 493.

[74] 11.6.22ab, 23 ab.

[75] 1.3.45.

"The Bhāgavata-dharma falls into three well-marked hierarchical stages:—(1) the surrender of action unto God (2) the ninefold devotion (*navadhā bhakti*) viz, listening (*śravaṇa*), chanting (*kīrtana*), rememberance (*smaraṇa*), service (*pāda-sevā*), worship (*arcana*), prayer (*vandana*), servitude (*dāsya*), friendship (*sakhya*) and self-surrender (*ātma-nivedana*) and (3) divine love".[79] The Bhāgavata has suggested an alternative to the first stage; and that alternative is association with the good (*sat-saṁga*).[80] With humanistic attitude, the Bhāgavata confers the dignity of dharma on *any* act dedicated unto God.[81] Dedication of all actions unto Bhagavān is His worship.[82] *Karma-yoga* means enthusiastic performance of actions without reference to success or failure and with the spirit of dedication.[83] The Gītā[84] has promulgated this art of action and the Bhāgavata[85] has deftly fitted it in its scheme of the *bhāgavata-dharmas* as the threshold of spiritual approach to God. *Karma-yoga* ends in the dawning of faith (*śraddhā*)[86] in the inner-controller (*antar-yāmin*).[86a] Then begins ninefold devotion, the further (*uccaistarā*) worship,[87] that melts[88] the mind into passion (*rati*) for God.[89]

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[76] 11.6.24.

[77] 1.1.9-11; PSB p. 73.

[78] 1.7.10; vide also 6.16.40.

[79] PSB p. 117.

[80] 3.25.25; vide also 1.18.13; 11.2.29; 11.12.1-7, 13; Nārada-bhakti-sūtra—38-42.

[81] 11.2.35; vide also 11.29.21.

[82] 5.5.27; vide also Gītā—18.16.

[83] 11.3.41; vide also Gītā—2.48, 50.

[84] Gītā—12.6, vide also 18. 56-7.

[85] 3.29.33.

[86] 11.20.9.

[86a] ŚB 14.6.7.10; ŚU 6.11; Gītā—18.61; ib., Śrīdhara:-ईश्वरोऽन्तयर्मी।

[87] 5.7.7.

[88] 2.3.24.

[89] 4.22.20; The highly synthetic genius of the Bhāgavata is visible in the three successive trinities—the Vedic, the Tāntric and the Bhāgavata—in its concept of ninefold devotion. The Bhāgavata trinity, the last one, is more achievements than means (vide PSB Vol. 11., pp. 175-6).

Its zealous performance, as enunciated by Prahlāda,[90] reaches the sublime status of *ekānta-bhakti* (single-pointed devotion). Thus in the galaxy of the *bhāgavata-dharmas,* the art of action and ninefold devotion stand out with outstanding prominence in their bearing on the evolution of devotion. As secondary (*gauṇī*) methods,[91] they remove the taints of actions (*karma-mala*) so that the mind becomes qualified for receiving divine grace and the progress through *śraddhā* and *rati* culminate in *bhakti* (divine love).

Dedication of the earthly self to the Supreme Person (*Parama-Puruṣa*) is the last stratum of the second stage of the *Bhāgavata-dharma,* and this constitutes the whole truth of the Vedas and the ancillary Śāstras. When the Bhāgavata professes to be the essence of the Vedas, such claim should be understood to have been based upon its 'central teaching', the doctrine of self-dedication. This is the Bhāgavata-dharma in its purest form and leads to Bhagavān, the Kṛṣṇa of the Bhāgavata, as the final goal.[92] Surrender of 'the self' of man to the 'Supreme Self' marks the end of spiritual strivings.[93] With the disbanding of the limited self, the worshipper rises above the imperatives. Rights and duties, prohibitions and prescriptions have no meaning for the worshipper who has dedicated himself to God by flinging himself with all the different shades of feeling (*sarvātma-bhāva*) into the all-abiding soul.[94] At this stage, the spiritual stalwarts like Prahlāda[95] and Rantideva[96] launch relentless crusade against the sorrows of life.

Bhakti of the Bhāgavata is the sally of the mind towards the adorable.[97] It is love divine or supreme love.[98] *Bhakti-yoga* or the *Bhāgavata-dharma* is the love divine substantiated by supreme knowledge and selfless performance of enjoined duties.[99] Devotion par excellence (*parā-bhakti*)[100] is to be Brahman transcending the three *guṇa*-reals (*nirguṇa-bhakti*).[101] Self-dedication brings about the divine communion, the coalescence of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, between man and Bhagavān. Man's strivings for Bhagavān and Bhagavān's spontaneous grace coalesce at this stage. Perpetual installment

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[90] 7.5.23. [91] Śāṇḍilya-bhakti-sūtra—56. [92] 7.6.26, 28 ; 11.3.28. [93] 11.19.24.

[94] 11.5.41 ; esp. 11.12.14-15 ; Gītā—18.46 ; It may be added here that the philosophy of love (7.1.27-30 ; 10.29.15) formulated by the Bhāgavata and also substantiated by classical examples includes the whole gamut of feelings such as sex (*kāma*), hatred (*dveṣa*), fear (*bhaya*), affection (*sneha*), blood relationship (*sambandha*) etc. in the same way as it has duly recognised the place of knowledge in its scheme of devotion.

[95] 7.9.44. [96] 9.21.12. [97] 5.17.18. [98] Nārada-bhakti-sūtra—2.

[99] 12.13.18 ; see *infra* p. 493 ; vide also PSB Vol. II, pp. 14-15.

[100] Gītā—18.54. [101] 3.29.11-12.

(*vyavasthiti*) in supreme bliss, is the be-all and end-all of man's all strivings. It can be achieved here and now.

"Although the Bhāgavata has tried to make the best of the traditional ways of religious thinking, by organizing conventions and experiences into a living system with the admixture of devotional element (*bhāva*), the Bhāgavata is at its best with what it calls the *Bhāgavata-dharma*. It is the unique doctrine of love. ... ... It aims at nothing less than the realisation of Bhagavān, the Supreme Person."[102] It constitutes the kernel of the Vedas and yet the 'unique contribution' of a superb genius. "The Bhāgavata prefers the path of devotion, the *Bhāgavata-dharma*, in which knowledge kindles into love for Reality,... ...in which love for the world is satisfactorily accommodated in the love for the Transcendental."[103]

The unique composition, the Bhāgavata, is, in the same body, a *Veda* (Scripture), a *Purāṇa* (Mythological Lore) as well as a *Kāvya* (Literature).[104] The study is confined here to the treatment of this unique work as a Purāṇa, there also the emphasis is laid upon the human rather than the superhuman or the mythological with the only modification that the opening section deals with the phenomenal creation brought into existence by Puruṣa, the personal God, as a finite expression of the Infinite (*Ananta*). In this venture previous views on difficult (ethics and cosmology) and disputed (political and social) issues have been further crystallised with necessary adjustments and hitherto disjointed facts and episodes are knit into the texture of a coherent whole so that a total perspective of Ancient Indian History—the culture of the people with emphasis on political and social patterns—as unfolded by the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata from its sublime metaphysical plane, may emerge for whatever worth it may demand upon the modern age. As a supplement of PSB, then, the present work unravels the history of man's activities and achievements rather than his thoughts and feelings. Nevertheless the work is concerned not merely with attempting to discover the past, but with trying to understand it.

B. Scope:

Human History or Ancient History of India embraces a vast time from the most primitive past to the rise of the Guptas. The time is therefore first divided into three broad successive Eras landmarked by epoch-making events: (1) The Pre-historic Age beginning from the appearance of man on the earth and ending with the Great Flood (2090 B.C.); (2) the Post-Flood Era i.e., the Era between the Great Flood and the Great Mahābhārata

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[102] PSB Vol. II., p. 221. [103] ibid., p. 223. [104] Hari-līlā'mṛta—1.9; see p. xxvi.

War (950 B.C.) ; and (3) the Post-War Era down to the rise of the Guptas (400 A.D.). Henceforth begins the Mediaeval Age, although the date of its beginning is reckoned some six centuries afterwards also.[105] But the Bhāgavata is concerned with the culture up to 400 A.D. and therefore the post-Gupta period has remained beyond the scope of the present work.

The treatment in the chapters of this work has varied according to the materials available in the Bhāgavata text. But each of the Eras or rather the sections is marked by specific emphasis on a particular aspect as follows :

(i) *First Section :* The riddle of creation has always engaged the attention of man. Whence has the world come ? The answer propounded is : that the conjunction of *Puruṣa*, the immanent form of Brahman, and *Prakṛti*, the primordial matter, brings about the cosmic evolution. The world is as indispensable to God as God is to the world. The first or prefatory section (ch. I-II) is therefore given to the evolutionary process unfolding itself into the evolutes of *Prakṛti*, both gross and subtle. The section shows how the five subtle elements give rise to gross elements moulding into the fourteen worlds including our earth. Evolution on earth falls into three well-defined stages viz, vegetation, animals and human beings. Accordingly, greater emphasis is laid in this section on the Elemental or Gross creation (*Vi-sarga*) than on the Material or Subtle creation (*Sarga*).

(ii) *Second Section :* Civilisation had dawned in the Pre-historic Age, the first Era of Human History. As the human brute matured into a civilised man, the process of human growth began. The second section (ch. III-IV) on Pre-Flood Tradition therefore deals with man's achievements, besides the hopes and aspirations of kings and hermits that sought to bring up a worthy future. Sustenance of the universe, in those days of the remote past, seems to be the primary concern of the rulers. But this first human endeavour, the pre-historic culture, spreading over nearly two thousand years was washed away by the Great Flood.

(iii) *Third Section :* This heralded the dawning of a new era, the Post-Flood Era, in which civilisation revived itself. The process of human growth started afresh under the administrative and enlightened control of the kings and hermits working in unison towards the material and moral prosperity of the world, as was done previously. This process, which reached its apex in the successive ages, ended with the Great War ; and a downward trend in all spheres of life is visible in the Post-War Era. As the Post-

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[105] cf. VA p. 24.

Flood and the Post-War Eras demanded specific emphasis on the political aspect, they are combined in the third section (ch. V-IX). As for the framing of this section, although the Post-War Era was much larger in point of time, yet larger space has been devoted to the Post-Flood Era because the Bhāgavata has one full *skandha* (ninth) on it while Post-War Era is dealt with in only one (first) chapter of the last *skandha* (twelfth).

The first chapter of the section (i.e., the fifth chapter) on the Post-Flood Traditional History (*īśā'nucarita*) is the largest one in this work. It also deals at its end with the biography of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa, the descendant of Yadu, the son of Yayāti, to show how he brought about the physical destruction (*nirodha*) of the evil forces. A solid foundation for the re-evaluation of traditional history, as done in the seventh chapter, is prepared in the sixth. Although the genealogies are not concerned with the 'Aryan problem' as such, the history of the dynasties as evaluated in the seventh chapter indicates the spread of Aryan culture from the Gangā valley in subsequent periods to all over North India and among the tribes, Aryan and non-Aryan. Thus emerged Aryan nation as the physical manifestation of Aryan culture which dominated over all other existing ones. This phenomenon raises the question of Aryan race. The answer propounded is: that the race originated in the mid-Himālayas and then migrated elsewhere including Iran. As to the evolution of the Aryan Society, it evolved from pre-urban nomadic pastoralism to agrarianism with more settled communities. With this change the tribal identity was extended to territorial identity as is reflected in tribal names being given to the geographical areas called kingdoms or empires. This in turn gave rise to the concept of State with generally monarchical form of government. Woven into the concept were the institutions of castes and private property. Kingship, established by contract, gradually changes from the king protecting the tribe militarily to the king maintaining the order of castes and also safeguarding private property. The contract is complete when one sixth of the produce is paid in tax to the king as his wage for services to the people.[105a] The eighth chapter, supplemental in character, is appended to the tradition of the Post-Flood Era only to deal with the account of hermits, the custodions of Indian culture. The last chapter of the section (i.e., the ninth chapter) is solely given to the political history of the Post-War Era and is combined in the section for the same reason. As indicated above, the Era, the largest period of Ancient History, presents a picture of steady deterioration in cultural conditions. But at the end of the Era arose the Bhāgavata cult to bring about a complete reversal of circumstances. The 'brahmanical renaissance' in the Gupta and the post-Gupta periods assimilated other religious cults and movements in what later came to be called Hinduism.

[105a] See Appendix I.

The Political History of the two Eras as depicted in the third section [106] is further divided into four periods called *Kṛta*, *Tretā*, *Dvāpara* and *Kali* in the Purāṇas. A working hypothesis, in the absence of definite chronology, was required for the purpose.[107] In the sequence of Vedic tradition there are three literary stages sufficiently distinct to label them as belonging to three successive periods. Accordingly, the period of the Ṛk-Saṁhitā, representing the first stage of Vedic tradition, is *kṛta-yuga* (the golden age estimated to have begun from 2090 B.C.). The period of the latter three Vedic Saṁhitās including the Āraṇyakas and the Brāhmaṇa texts, representing the second stage of Vedic tradition, is the *tretā-yuga* (the silver age that had begun from 1610 B.C.). The Upaniṣads and the Sūtras including the Tantras are direct offshoot and a continuation of the earlier thought. They reflect no special characteristic of the Post-War Era, as is found in the Epics and the Purāṇas. These texts, although of varying antiquity, are therefore taken to reflect the final stage of Vedic tradition[108] corresponding to the *dvāpara-yuga* (the copper age, 1310 B.C.—950 B.C.). At the end of the *dvāpara*, flourished Vyāsa (*hermit*) and Kṛṣṇa (*king*). Vyāsa is connected with the finale of the three literary stages of the Vedic tradition. At the same time the Great War, in which Kṛṣṇa played a vital role, brought about the closure of ancient tradition stretching into the above three Vedic or Paurāṇic periods. The greatest premium in this work is laid on the Political History of these three periods that constitutes the Post-Flood Era. The fourth and the last period of ancient tradition begins after the Great War, the central epoch of Ancient History of India. Of the four periods, the last is the largest, larger than the preceding three put together. It coincides with the Paurāṇic conception of the *kali-yuga* (the iron age, 950 B.C.—400 A.D.). The Post-War Era or the kali age, as it may be then called, is the period of the Sanskrit works given to the elucidation of the teachings of the Vedas.[109] Among them, the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata, as noted above, stands the highest.

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[106] So far as the political history of ancient India is concerned, Pargiter is the trustworthy pioneer, although his attempt to sort out genealogies on the basis of Aryan and non-Aryan has been criticised. His AIHT and DKA are therefore fully taken into consideration in this section, the largest in the work. The Bhāgavata, which has condensed the royal genealogies as found characteristically embodied in the Purāṇa literature, naturally endorses all his findings.

[107] For the details of this hypothesis see further in the work pp. 173-79.

[108] cf. VA pp. 28, 481.

(iv) *Fourth Section ;* The last section (ch. X-XIII) of the main body of the work is wholly given to the Social History. *Bhāgavata-dharma*, as expounded by the Text, is primarily based upon the orthodox practice of Varṇā'śrama-dharma or what the Gītā calls *sva-dharma* [110] in compliance with the caste in which one is born (see ch. X-XI) and the stage of life in which one is placed (see ch. XII-XIII). So, Varṇā'śrama-dharma is reviewed in this section in the light of the Gītā and the Bhāgavata and under the support of the Manu-saṁhitā and the PSB Volume two. The social organisation, with its laws and customs of personal conduct and mutual behaviour as depicted in the four chapters of this section, primarily concerns the latter three periods (*viz, tretā, dvāpara* and *kali*) of ancient history, excepting the first, the golden age (*kṛta*) because the pious and wise people of *kṛta* [111] needed no such organisation or customary morality.

The work contains two Appendixes and a Consolidated Index. The Appendixes are meant to complete the picture of the two specifically emphasised aspects—political and social—of culture respectively. The second Appendix is the outcome of an attempt to bring the two on par, when the first had already enjoyed its supreme position in the main body of the work. The Index, which assiduously covers the whole work, excepting this Introduction, is compressed by the process of consolidation and is made to serve the purpose of a Glossary as well.

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[109] see *ante* ref. 14.

[110] Gītā—18.47.

[111] The Ṛg-Vedic society was "the idyllic society of village communities where people were concerned not with the mundane things... ...but with other-worldly thoughts and values"... ...(Max Müller—*India, What can it teach us ?* p., I01 ff.).

VEDĀḤ PURĀṆAṀ KĀVYAṀ CA,
PRABHUR MITRAṀ PRIYEVA CA.
BODHAYANTĪTI HI PRĀHUS,
TRI-VAD BHĀGAVATAṀ PUNAḤ..

Vopadeva (*Hari-līlā’mṛta*, 1. 9)

A CULTURAL STUDY OF THE ŚRĪMAD-BHĀGAVATA

THE ELEMENTAL CREATION (EXPOSITORY)

REALITY—IMMANENT AND TRANSCENDENT

THE THREE GODS ASSOCIATED WITH THE THREEFOLD DIVINE PURPOSE

THE MATERIAL OR SUBTLE CREATION (SARGA)

THE GROSS CREATION (VI-SARGA)

[I] THE ELEMENTAL CREATION (EXPOSITORY)

REALITY—IMMANENT AND TRANSCENDENT

The universe is brought into existence as a concrete representation of Divine Sport (Bhagavat-līlā)[1]. Why and How the creation is brought into existence are completely irrelevant to the unfoldment of Divine Sport[2]. Indeed Divine Sport is the expression of majestic independence of the Absolute, and so it refuses to be conditioned by time and space or to be cast into a specific pattern. It may be recalled that non-dual consciousness (*advaya-jñāna*) is the highest truth of the Bhāgavata[3]. The Supreme Reality characterised by Yoga-māyā[4], the first expression of Divine Sport, is called Bhagavān, the all-blissful, the Kṛṣṇa of the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata, who is the primordial source of all Incarnations[5].

According to the Bhāgavata, the first directed expression of the pleasure of Bhagavān is Divine Will (Viṣṇu-māyā) that brings creation into existence, sustains it and eventually draws the cosmic drama to its close[6]. Like a spider that spreads the thread of wool through the mouth, prepares a web, plays with it and finally swallows it, Brahman creates, maintains and destroys the universe as a generative cause without any instruments or materials[7].

The Śrīmad-bhāgavata propounds Reality both as immanent and transcendent. The universe originates from Reality, is sustained therein and finally dissolves into the same Reality. Brahman, characterised by Māyā ((the principle of materiality) and Cit-śakti (the principle of divinity), His two powers, becomes immanent in creation. As residing in creation of composite nature (*pura*), Brahman is then called Puruṣa (God). But during world-process Reality is eternally established in its native grandeur. Reality thus concerns itself with the world-process as God, the personal being, without offending its non-dual nature[1]. The universe is manifested in God, i.e., God is the substratum of which the entire creation is the substrate. In other words, creation was in God and God was in creation[2]. Thus the relationship between God and the universe was not confined to the creator and the created or to the controller and the controlled; for all times, the universe belongs to the essence of God. The Great Personality of God, i.e., the all-comprehensive being of Viṣṇu includes in His being all categories of existence, both living and non-living[3]. The Bhāgavata understands the immanence of Reality in terms of such intimate reltionship.

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[1] 3.10.18 ; 2.7.43a.

[2] 10.14.21 ; vide PSB p. 46.

[3] 2.6.40 ; vide PSB p. 175.

[4] Māyā, the principle of plurality when charged with divine majesty, i.e., yoga, is called Yoga-māyā.

[5] 2.6.38.

[6] 9.24.58 ; vide PSB Vol. II. p. 162.

[7] 11.9.21.

THE THREE GODS ASSOCIATED WITH THE THREEFOLD DIVINE PURPOSE

God can dress Himself into manyfold realities—Viṣṇu, the sustainer; Brahmā, the creator; Maheśvara, the god of destruction; and many other deities—all entrusted with different departments of the cosmic evolution. The three gods are associated with the threefold divine purpose viz, creation, sustenance of destruction[4]. Those three functions were gradually related to the three guṇas of Primordial Matter (Prakṛti); and, as a result the three gods were viewed in relation to the three guṇa-reals–rajas, sattva and tamas. Brahmā as the god of creation became associated with rajas (the principle of activity), Viṣṇu, the god of sustenance, with sattva (the principle of knowledge), and Maheśvara, the god of destruction, with tamas (the principle of darkness). God viewed in relation to these three guṇas is called Guṇā'vatāras and if His Descents as such are taken to be different from God then God may be said to effect creation, sustenance and destruction through these Guṇā'vatāras[5].

Pointing to this basic unity among the traid of gods, the Bhāgavata declares: "the Supreme Reality takes to the guṇa--reals of Prakṛti and acquires, in relation to each of them, a separate name viz, Brahmā, Hari and Hara[6]. The name varies according as His mission does. The holy trinity cannot afford to be different because one and the same reality viz, the great Personality of God Viṣṇu has assumed three names in response to three different functions. For creation God as the witness of rajas is called

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[1] 8.12.7 vide PSB pp. 37, 213.

[2] 4.24.46 vide PSB p. 38.

[3] 2.6.13-16 vide PSB pp. 38, 188-9.

[4] 4.7.50 vide PSB p. 37; vide also 11.4.3-6.

[5] 3.7.28; vide PSB pp. 179, 191; vide also 10.3.20; cf. ŚU 4.5.

[6] 1.2.23.

Brahmā ; for sustenance of the universe thus brought into existence God as the witness of sattva is called Viṣṇu ; and, for the total annihilation of creation—both gross and subtle—God is called Girīśa, the witness of tamas[1].

Viṣṇu :

Viṣṇu was the all-pervasive Reality of the Ṛg-veda ; young, lovable and the god of war he had upheld the moral order (*ṛta*). The Bhāgavata takes eight protectors of directions (loka-pālas) to merge in the essence of Viṣṇu, as his eight arms that stood for the protection of all the eight quarters—east, west, north, south and their four joints of one with the other. The eight protecting gods (loka-pālas), who are taken to merge in the essence of Viṣṇu, are each committed to the protection of a specific direction—Indra (east), Varuṇa (west), Kubera (north), Yama (south), Agni (south-east), Sūrya (southwest), Candra (north-east) and Vāyu (north-west)[2]. Viṣṇu thus stretched out his eight arms into eight directions so that all beings, wherever they might possibly be, could come under his shield of protection.

The cosmological speculations gave rise to the following mythology referring to what had existed before creation started. There was Viṣṇu who floated on the surface of the cosmic waters, reposed on His innate splendour of sequestered loneliness and engrossed in His spiritual slumber (*yoga-nidrā*). At the termination of a kalpa, God Viṣṇu awoke from his slumber of inactivity and found all creation absorbed in him. A little portion of the mass of elements called cosmic egg or golden lotus sprouted from his naval region in which Brahmā was seated. The golden lotus lit up the whole expanse of cosmic water. The awakening of God, the inner controller (*antar-yāmin*), stimulated Brahmā who, at the termination of the previous kalpa, had retired to the essence of God for the period of same length. Brahmā then cast his eyes all around and found nobody beside himself. Being a Jīva he was divested of divine knowledge. So, with his limited knowledge he beheld none excepting his own self. Then, God goaded him to undergo penance (*tapas*). Actuated by God, he then took to long penance lasting for one thousand divine years. As a result, knowledge dawned on him as a divine gift. Strengthened by penance and inner light (*ātma-saṁsthā vidyā*), Brahmā discovered the lotus which had held him on. He could now visualize the ideal forms of the fourteen worlds which he was to create. Brahmā then resolved to create the worlds out of the lotus.

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[1] 3.9.16 vide PSB p. 179.

[2] 12.11.7 vide PSB p. 133 ; cf. VD 3.47.8.

Helped by the energy of God (Cit-śakti), Brahmā set his hand to creation and eventually divided the lotus into three or fourteen worlds[1]. Thus the Bhāgavata often refers to this myth showing the emergence of Brahmā from Viṣṇu at the time of each new creation.

As universe meant originally the three worlds—the earth, the air and the sky—Rudra is said to destroy the three worlds when, in terms of the Bhāgavata, Naimittika-pralaya takes place. The Bhāgavata describes how just at the time of deluge emerged Rudra from Saṁkarṣaṇa,[2] how the three-eyed Rudra, then, suddenly explodes into disastrous violence with a three-forked trident in his hand and how the howling winds agitate the ocean to mass-scale inundation[3]. Then from the mouth or third eye of Rudra, fixed at the centre of his eye brows, is flung cosmic fire that reduces the three worlds into ashes[4].

THE MATERIAL OR SUBTLE CREATION (SARGA)

"The Bhāgavata describes how creation started with God as the agent cause and time as an efficient cause. Through the operation of time ten kinds of creation consisting in material (*prākṛta*), elemental (*vaikṛta*) and mixed (*prākṛta-vaikṛta*) were brought into existence. The material creation (*prākṛta*) falls into six manifestations from primordial matter (Prākṛti), viz, (1) Mahat, (ii) Ahaṁkāra, (iii) Tanmātras, (iv) external sense organs, (v) presiding deities over the sense organs and the mind, and (vi) Avidyā. The elemental creation (*vaikṛta*) is threefold :—(vii) vegetation, (viii) animals and (ix) human beings who are always active to eke out their own destiny. The mixed creation (*prākṛta-vaikṛta*) is represented by god-filled souls, the great personalities like Sanatkumāra, Nanda etc. As they are divinely human they are called (x) *prākṛta-vaikṛtas*"[5].

The material creation of Mahat etc. may be called the subtle creation, and it is manifested in the mahā-kalpa or brāhma-kalpa when the creation starts after the expiry of Brahmā's longevity, i.e., *dvi-parārdha* and this subtle creation continues to exist for the same span of Brahmā's life[6]. Similarly the mixed creation of the four mind-born sons of Brahmā and others comes into being in the mahā-kalpa and continues to exist till the expiry of *dvi-parārdha*, i.e., till the material creation comes to an end[1]. But the elemental creation or gross creation (*bhautika-sṛṣṭi*) merges at the end of each kalpa in Brahmā, lies in abeyance for the same period of time and the new gross creation starts after each periodical destruction (*prati-sarga*) when Brahmā is awakened by God, who had gone to sleep after the day's work. This new creation, then, is the re-creation (*vi-sarga*) of planes of existence and sentient and insentient beings therein at the end of each kalpa (i.e., Brahmā's day including his night which also lasts for the same period of time) by Brahmā[2].

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[1] 2.9.5-11 ; 3.20.15-17 ; 3.8.10-16 ; 3.9.29-30, 43 ; 3.10.4-13, vide PSB pp. 204-5, 298-99.

[2] 5.25.3 vide PSB p. 211.

[3] 3.11.31.

[4] 2.2.26ab ; vide also 8.7.32cd.

[5] 3.10.14-18, 19ab, 21a, 26ab, 27 vide PSB p. 248-49.

[6] Śrīdhara on 2.10.46.

The Bhāgvata has employed the doctrine of transformation (*pariṇāma-vāda*), typical of the Sāṁkhya system, to explain the evolutionary process of subtle creation. Accordingly, the process of evolution entails Prakṛti as the material cause, and Kāla (time), Svabhāva (nature) and Karman (totality of actions performed by the Jīvas) operate on Prakṛti as efficient causes. Lastly, God is the agent cause of creation. Prakṛti, conceived as potency, has three powers as its constituents viz, sattva, rajas and tamas which stand for illumination (*prakāśa*), activity (*kriyā*) and inertia (*varaṇa*) respectively.

Under the superintendence of Puruṣa (God), effected by Cit-śakti (the principle of divinity), creation starts from Prakṛti by the joint operation of the efficient causes mentioned above[3]. The subtle creation from Mahat to Avidyā thus comes into existence with the urge of Divine Will (Viṣṇu-māyā) to be many[4]. The first evolute to emerge from the three guṇas by the combined operation of the three efficient causes is Mahat (intellect)[5]. The evolutionary process reaches the second point when Ahaṁkāra (the ego centre) evolves from Mahat, by the operation of the same causes[6]. According to the scheme of the Bhāgavata, Ahaṁkāra has three aspects—*sāttvika, rājasa* and *tāmasa*,. And, the mind, the ten organs (five sense organs and five action organs) and the five subtle elements (Tanmātras) evolve from the above three aspects of Ahaṁkāra respectively[7]. Although

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[1] 3.12.4 and Śrīdhara's comment on the same.

[2] 2.10.3d ; Śrīdhara on 3.7.23.

[3] vide PSB pp. 283-85.

[4] 2.10.3a b c.

[5] 2.5.22 vide PSB p. 287.

[6] 3.26.23 ibid. p. 289.

[7] 3.5.30, 32 ; 3.26.23-26 ; vide PSB pp. 290-91, 324.

God as the cosmic witness endures through each category of creation yet His benign presence is specially felt in mind due to its preponderance of sattva. According to the Bhāgavata the inner mechanism (*antaḥ-karaṇa*), briefly called mind, consists in Citta, Ahaṁkāra, Buddhi and Manas[1] although in the evolutionary process Citta and Buddhi are treated as identical[2]. In spite of the fact that inner mechanism is a single reality, it is treated as four in view of its fourfold mode (*vṛttii*) viz, *adhyavasāya* (resolution), *abhimāna* (egotism), *niścaya* (certainty) and *saṁkalpa* (speculation) corresponding to the above four aspects of mind respectively.

To show that the existence on earth is a bondage for man, the Bhāgavata starts creation with Avidyā[3]. In the vein of the Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad[4], the Bhāgavata[5] declares that wisdom (Vidyā) and ignorance (Avidyā) lead to salvation and worldliness respectively ; and adds that both are forms of Māyā. When Prakṛti has created the world, the individual soul (Jīva) becomes bound up with it by the influence of Avidyā. Its (Jiva's) empirical life continues until Cit-śakti kindles Vidyā. So Avidyā is a covering shield that hides the true nature of Reality. With the disappearance of the veil of ignorance man enters the portals of the promished land.

THE GROSS CREATION (VI-SARGA)

We have applied the term "subtle creation" to the material creation (*prākṛta-sarga*) consisting in the categories from Mahat to the Tanmātras. Similarly we shall apply the term "gross creation" to the elemental creation (*vaikṛta-sarga*) which is said to be threefold consisting in vegetation, animals and human beings[6]. But this threefold creation is individualistic and concerns with the earth only, one world out of three or fourteen. So, to include the description of the different worlds or planes of existence as they shall be called later on, the term gross or physical (*bhautika*) seems more convenient for the purpose. Yet, it is true that the different cosmic planes are made of the five elements (Bhūtas) and they, therefore, come within the purview of elemental creation. Above all, the subtle creation may be understood as Sarga which comes into being at the beginning of a *dvi-parārdha ;* while the gross creation as Vi-sarga which is repeated in each kalpa.

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[1] 3.26.14.

[2] PSB p. 180.

[3] 3.20.18a b ; 3.12.2.

[4] ŚU 5.1.

[5] 11.11.3.

[6] 3.10.27a.

Planes of Existence:

The process of differentiation of the gross creation consisting in the planes of existence and the individual bodies begins with the rise of the Vairāja-Puruṣa (the Cosmic Man) on the cosmic waters[1]. Seven different parts of the upper half of the Cosmic Man's body moulded themselves into seven upper regions : Bhū, Bhuva, Svar, Mahas, Jana, Tapas and Satya, while the seven parts of the lower half of that body reached out into the creation of seven lower regions : Atala, Vitala, Sutala, Talātala, Mahātala, Rasātala and Pātāla. The upper regions are placed one above the other and the lower regions one below the other. As another version of the planes of existence the Bhāgavata gives recognition to the old concept of the three worlds viz, Bhū, Bhuva and Svar; and, they are said to be the feet, naval region and head of the Cosmic Man respectively. In the above concept of the fourteen worlds Pātāla, the lowest region, forms the feet and Satya, the highest region, the head of the Vairāja-Puruṣa; and in between the two extremes come the other regions that form his different parts (or limbs)[2].

As for the different constellations above the earth, between Bhū and Bhuva (i.e., the abode of the sun) fall abodes of Rāhu, Vidyādharas Siddhacāraṇas, yakṣa-rākṣasa-bhūta-preta-piśācas, placed one below the other so that the ghosts and the evil spirits are nearest to man[3]. Between Bhuva and Svar, i.e., above the sun and below the high heaven (Svar) are placed Śukra, Budha, Ravi, Bṛhaspati and Śaniścara one above the other[4]. Beyond them are the abodes of the hermits, extending to the length of eleven lacs of yojanas[5]. Beyond the region of the hermits is another expanse of eleven lacs of yojanas ending in Dhruva (the pole star). Several regions fall within this space[6]. Dhruva is stable[7]. Dhruva with the enormous group of stars is mystically described as "*śiśu-māra-cakra*". Dhruva-loka is the last limit of the three worlds[8].

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[1] 2.5.35.
2.5.38-41. The matter is taken from PSB pp. 300-4.

[2] 5.24.1-5.

[3] 5.22.7-16.

[4] 5.22.17.

[5] 5.23.1.

[6] 5.23.2.

[7] 5.23.4.

[8] 5.20.37.

The three worlds viz, Bhū, Bhuva and Svar are separated from the upper or higher regions (Mahas etc.) by a boundry mountain called *Lokā'lokā'cala*. It is so called because the light of all the luminaries that illumine the three worlds fails to reach these four higher regions, due to this mountain. Thus while half of this mountain receives light the other half does not[1]. On the other side of *Lokā'lokā'cala*, the regions of the Yogins—Mahas, Jana, Tapas and Satya—are laid out one above the other. But the Bhāgavata does not seem to have much to say about them excepting that they are the destiny of pure beings,[2] free from fear, full of bliss and so standing for the spiritual welfare[3]. People who have the privilege to go in these regions enjoy the benefits thereof to their heart's content for as long as a kalpa[4] with the modification that at Satya-loka, the highest region, the period of enjoyment is extended to the maximum of *dvi-parā'rdha*[5].

Below the earth are situated the seven lower regions where demons, serpents and the like reside[6]. There being no sun the division of day and night does not exist in those regions[7]. In Atala resides Bala, the son of the demon, Maya[8]. In Vitala lives Lord Śiva with his wife, Bhavānī[9] while in Sutala dwells Bali, in bondage[10], where God acts as his door-keeper[11]. Mahātala is the region of serpents[12] and Rasātala is inhabited by Daityas Dānavas and Paṇis[13]. In Talātala resides Maya demon under the protecting arms of Mahādeva, free from the terror of Śudarśana[14]. Lastly, in Pātāla dwells Vāsuki, the foremost of the serpents[15]. All these regions are suspended on the great Saṁkarṣaṇa (the law of gravitation)[16].

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[1] 5.20.36-37.

[2] 5.20.42.

[3] 2.6.19 cd.

[4] 2.2.25.

[5] 2.2.26d.

[6] 2.24.7 ; for details 5.24.8-21.

[7] 5.24.11.

[8] 5.24.16.

[9] 5.24.17.

[10] 2.24.18 ; 8.22.32.

[11] 5.24.27.

[12] 5.24.25.

[13] 5.24.30.

[14] 5.24.28.

[15] 5.24.31.

[16] 5.25.1.

To offer an idea of the staggering dimension of the cosmic egg (brahmāṇḍa) the Bhāgavata gives some details of the earth that constitutes only a minor part of it. The earth consists of seven great islands each of which possesses huge regions (varṣaṣ), border mountains (*maryādā-giris*), rivers and beings that people these regions[1]. The great islands are circular[2] and surrounded by oceans[3]. The first of these islands is Jambu-dvīpa consisting of nine varṣas and mountains bordering them. Each varṣa is as long as nine thousand yojanas, leaving Bhadrāśva and Ketumāla, each of which is thirty-four thousand yojanas long[4]. Jambū-dvīpa consists of the following nine regions :—(i) Ilāvṛta-varṣa, (ii) Bhadrāśva-varṣa, (iii) Hari-varṣa, (iv) (iv) Ketumāla-varṣa, (v) Ramyaka-varṣa, (vi) Hiraṇyamaya-varṣa, (vii) Uttara-kuru, (viii) Kimpuruṣa-varṣa and (ix) Bhārata-varṣa. The mountain Meru— which is one lac of yojanas high stands in the centre of Jambu-dvīpa and around it is Ilāvṛta-varṣa[5]. In the west and east of Ilāvṛta are two mountains, Mālyavat and Gandhamādana on the border of Bhadrāśva and Ketumāla varṣas respectively[6]. These two mountains spread up to the two other mountains, i.e., Nīla in the north and Niṣadha in the south. Thus Ilāvṛta is in the middle of Jambu-dvīpa and the two exceptionally large varṣas viz, Bhadrāśva[7] and Ketumāla[8] are in its west and east sides stretching up to width of the island. In the north of Ilāvṛta there are three varṣas viz, Ramyaka,[9] Hiraṇyamaya[10] and Uttara-kuru[11] with Nīla, Śveta and Śṛṅgavān mountains bordering them respectively. In the south of Ilāvṛta, again there are three varṣas viz, Hari, Kimpuruṣa and Bhārata bordered by Niṣadha, Hemakūṭa and Himālaya mountains respectively[12]. Of all the regions of Jambu-dvīpa Bhārata-varṣa is said to be the superiormost surpassing others by its intrinsic excellence[13]. It is so because Bhārata is the region for activities (*karma-kṣetra*) while the other eight varṣas are heavens on the earth (*bhauma-svarga*) meant for enjoyment on the basis of the religious merits acquired through the activities performed in Bhārata[1]. The Bhāgavata enlists twenty-seven important mountains[2], twenty great rivers and twenty-five small rivers[3] of Bhārata.

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[1] 5.16.2.

[2] 3.43.43.

[3] 5.1.32-33.

[4] 5.16.6 with Śrīdhara.

[5] 5.16.7.

[6] 5.16.10-11.

[7] 5.18.1.

[8] 5.18.15.

[9] 5.18.24.

[10] 5.18.29.

[11] 5.18.34.

[12] 5.16.9 ; for the details of the three see respectively :—5.18.7 ; 5.18.1; 5.19.9.

[13] 5.19.19-28.

Jambu-dvīpa, like the other dvīpas, is circular in shape and is said to be one lac yojanas long or wide[4]. Śrīdhara[5] explains the length and breadth of the island as follows : If from north to south may be called its length, then the calculation in terms of yojanas shall be 16000 Meru, 18000 Ilāvṛta, 54000 other six varṣas and 12000 their six boundary mountains. Similarly from west to east the breadth in terms of yojanas is 34000 Ilāvṛta including Meru, 4000 two border mountains and 62000 the two varṣas viz, Bhadrāśva and Ketumāla extending up to the oceans. Thus the total length or breadth of this circular island comes to one lac yojanas.

The Bhāgavata[6] largely describes Meru, the mountain of gold. It gives the description of its four hills viz, Mandara, Meru-mandara, Supārśva and Kumuda with forests, divine gardens, lakes and animals thereon. It is said[7] that a city (*purī*) of Brahmā called Śātakaumbhī exists on the peak of Meru. It is 10000 square yojanas and rectangular in shape. Around Śātakaumbhī there are eight cities of eight protecting gods (loka-pālas) each of which is 2500 yojanas long and of equilateral rectangle in shape[8].

A myth[9] telling the origin of Gaṅgā is introduced in this context. It says that when Bali, the king of demons, resolved to donate the promised land to Vāmana, the second step of the later reached as far as Svar-loka and a stream of water gushed down. The stream was then called Bhagavat-padī because it came out when the nail of Bhagavān Vāmana's feet touched its source i.e., Svar-loka. The stream descended on Dhruva-loka or Viṣṇu-pada. The seven hermits (stars) bore it on their head (*jaṭā*). Then coming down, the stream fell on the top of Meru whence it divided into four branches that flowed into four different directions towards the oceans. Of these four branches which represent four rivers, Sītā flowed towards east, Cakṣu towards west, Bhadrā towards north and Alakanandā towards south. Alakanandā river entered Bhārata-varṣa and later on it came to be called by such names as Jāhnavī or Bhāgīrathī. This is the most significant branch of Bhagavatpadī because bath in it brings the same fruit as is achieved by the performance of the great sacrifices like Aśvamedha or Rājasūya.

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[1] 5.17.11.
[2] 5.19.16.
[3] 5.19.18.
[4] 5.16.5.
[5] Śrīdhara on 5.16.12.
[6] 5.16.12.28.
[7] 5.16.29 ; cf. 8.5.18 ab.
[8] 16.30.
[9] 5.17.1-10.

The islands other than Jambu-dvīpa are inhabited by people who possess natural longevity, sense organs, vitality (*ojas*), strength (*bala*), intellect (*buddhi*) and power (*vikrama*).[1] The other islands are Lakṣa-dvīpa,[2] Sālmalī-dvīpa,[3] Kuśa-dvīpa[4], Krauñca-dvīpa[5], Śāka-dvīpa[6] and Puṣkara-dvīpa[7]. The Bhāgavata[8] gives the details of these remaining six islands similar to that of Jambu-dvīpa and shows their extension (*parimāṇa*), position (*saṁsthāna*), division of regions (*varṣa-vibhāga*), surrounding oceans, mountains, rivers and rulers (who were sons of Priyavrata) as well as it includes the mantras with which the inhabitants of these islands worship God.

In the description of the process of differentiation of the "gross creation" consisting in the planes of existence and the individual bodies, we have noticed the former. Now we shall see the individualistic creation of variegated lives fluttering on our earth. As already noted, this is called elemental creation which is threefold—vegetation, animals and human beings. So whatever the Bhāgavata has to say with regard to these three kinds is collected and presented here respectively.

Vegetation :

The beings residing in the air, water or on the land are four fold viz, *jarāyuja* (the viviparous beings born from the womb, such as human beings etc.), *udbhijja* (the beings germinating as plants, such as trees etc.), *aṇḍaja* (oviparous beings born through the egg, such as birds etc.) and *svedaja* (i.e., the beings produced by sweat or generated by vapour or warmth, such as insects or creatures etc.)[1] The fourfold beings can be classified into two great divisions of immovables (*sthāvara* or *tasthu*) and movables (*jaṅgama*)[2]. The whole plant-kingdom which comes under the category of *udbhijja* falls in the division of immovables.[3] The rest, i.e., *jarāyuja, aṇḍaja* and *svedaja* fall in the division of movables and are distinguished from the former division in so far as they are neither fixed in position nor unable to deal with solid food like the former.

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[1] 5.20.6.

[2] 5.20.2 for details 5.20.2-6.

[3] 5.20.7 for details 5.20.7-12.

[4] 5.20.13 for details 5.20.13-17.

[5] 5.20.18 for details 5.20.18-23.

[6] 5.20.24 for details 5.20.24-29.

[7] 5.20.30 for details 5.20.30-33.

[8] 5.20.1-33.

Brahmā is said to have created six types of immovables viz, Vanaspati (the forest vegetation, especially the large trees that bear fruits without any apparent blossoms), (ii) Oṣadhi (the plants in general bearing flowers and fruits), (iii) Latā (the creeping plants expecting ascending due to tenderness), (iv) Tvak-sāra (the bark trees such as bamboos, cinnamons etc.), (v) Vīrudh (the spreading plants that grow after cutting and not requiring ascending due to hardness, e.g., bushes, shrubs etc.) and (vi) Druma-jāti (trees in general giving fruits either with or without flowers). The other types such as *gulma, guccha, vallī, tṛṇa* etc. can be conveniently comprised in the above six types. As for the characteristics, the immovables have the current of nutriment tending upward (*ūrdhva-srotas*), their life-sensation (*caitanya*) is unmanifested and they have only the internal sense of touch.[4]

The vegetable species are enumerated in the Bhāgavata in its description of mountains, lakes and forests. The twenty-two trees mentioned commonly as abounding on the Kailāsa mountain[5] and the Trikūṭa mountain[6] are : Aśoka, Utpala, Udumbara, Kalhāra, Kīcaka, Kumuda, Kharjūra, Campaka, Jambu, Tamāla, Tāla, Panasa, Pāṭala, Pārijāta, Plakṣa, Priyāla, Madhūka, Mandāra, Veṇu, Śātapatra, Śāla and Sarala. The nineteen trees said to be exclusively found on the Kailāśa mountain are : Arjuna, Aśvattha, Āmra, Iṅguda, Kadamba, Kunda, Kurabaka (Tilaka), Kubjaka, Nāga, Nīpa, Nyagrodha, Punnāga, Pūga, Bakual, Bhurja, Mālatī, Mallikā, Mādhavī and Rājapūga. The twenty-four trees exclusively found on the Trikūṭa mountain are : Ataka, Ariṣṭa, Āmla, Amrātaka, Ikṣabhaya, Ikṣu, Kapittha, Kiṁśuka, Kovidāra, Kramuka, Candana, Cūta, Jambīra, Drākṣa, Nālikera, Picumaṇḍa,

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[1] 2.10.40 a b with Śrīdhara, vide also MS 1.43-46.

[2] 7.3.10 ; 7.7.23.

[3] 8.5.21 ; MS 1.46.

[4] 3.10.18 c d-19 ; MS 1.46-49.

[5] 4.6.14-18.

[6] 8.2.10-14.

Badarī, Bilva, Bīja-pūraka, Bhalla, Rambhā, Rasanārjuna, Vaṭa and Suradāru. The Bindusaras lake[1] abounds in the eight trees of which the six are in the above list and the two new are Kuṭaja and Karañja. A lake on the Trikūṭa mountain[2] has the following additional trees viz, Jālaka, Nala, Vañjulaka, Veta, and Śirīṣa. A lake near western sea coast[3] is said to have four types of lotus viz, Ambhoja, Utpala and Kalhāra, blossoming in day, night and evening respectively ; and also Indīvara, the blue lotus.

The Vaikuṇṭha-dhāman, the highest region of Vaikuṇṭha-Viṣṇu is endowed with an outer garden (*vana*) called *Naiḥśreyasa*. It is liberation (*kaivalya*) incarnate, and has the privilege of simultaneous revelry of all the six seasons, bursting upon the trees that fulfil all desires. In the heart of water, bloom vernal flowers that pour their elixir of fragrance in the minds of all including the divine songsters singing in praise of Lord Viṣṇu, in the company of matching women[4]. The grandeur of different flower trees viz, Ambuja, Arṇa, Utpala, Kunda, Kurabaka, Campaka, Nāga, Punnāga (Nagakeśara), Pārijāta, Bakula, Mandāra and so on submits to the exalted position of "Tulasī" that the Lord has chosen for his adornment[5]. A forest (*vana*) near Vṛndāvana[6] has some tallest trees such as Aśvattha, Nyagrodha, Plakṣa; some trees with abundant flowers such as Aśoka, Kurabaka, Campaka, Nāga, Punnāga etc., some meritorious tender plants of flowers such as Jāti, Mālatī, Mallikā and Yūthikā ; and, many other species of trees including Arka not enumerated above.

Vana may be classified into five types viz (i) *vana* (i.e, forest where the thickets of trees grow by themselves), (ii) *upa-vana* (i.e., garden which is a planted forest mainly of flowers), (iii) *udyāna* (i.e., orchard which is an artificial forest or enclosed garden mainly of fruit trees), (iv) *ārāma* (i.e. grove which is a natural forest especially useful for pleasure and delight) and (v) *vāṭī* or *vāṭikā* (i.e., park or small garden either of flower trees or of fruit trees)[7]. Besides the *Naiḥśreyasa* garden noted above, there are five divine gardens viz, Vaiśrambhaka, Rasa, Maṇḍana, Puṣpabhadra and Caitrarathya[8].

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[1] 3.41.42.

[2] 8.2.16-18.

[3] 4.20.21 ab.

[4] 3.15.16-17 vide PSB p. 161.

[5] 3.15.19.

[6] 10.30.5-9.

[7] Śrīdhara on 1.6.11 ; 1.11.12 and 7.2.14.

[8] 3.23.40.

The stories and episodes that have any reference to vegetable species or place of their growth are reproduced here from the Bhāgavata :

(i) The ten persons of the previous manvantara known by the collective name Pracetases are said to have started burning down all forest vegetation such as grass, shrubs and trees, finding it a hindrance to cultivation of land. But their over-all destruction was not desirable ; and Soma, the king of vegetable kingdom, presented his adopted daughter Māriṣā to Pracetsas in marriage for the purpose[1].

(ii) In Vṛndāvana's vicinity there was a place of wilderness called Muñjā'raṇya. It was so called because the grass muñja (rush or reed) grow densely in that wilderness (*araṇya*). It was a prohibited pasture land, but the cows of Vṛndāvana entered there to feed on grass. Suddenly they were caught in the forest-fire and were eventually rescued by Kṛṣṇa[2].

(iii) According to the counsel of God Viṣṇu, the gods threw all kinds of shrubs (*virudh*), grasses (*tṛṇa*), creeping plants (*latā*) and herbs (*oṣadhis*) in the ocean prior to its churning so that nectar (*amṛta*) may come out of it[3].

(iv) A Pārijāta tree was the fifth jem out of the fourteen that came out during the process of the churning of the ocean. It was taken by Indra at that time, but later on it was wrested from him by Kṛṣṇa who replanted it in the garden of his beloved Satyabhāmā. The tree of paradise, as the Pārijāta is called, gives all the desired objects to the needy one[4].

(v) Nalakūbara and Maṇigrīva, the two sons of Kubera, had to be born in the form of two joint trees of Arjuna (yamalā'rjuna) due to the curse of Nārada. The trees were uprooted by Kṛṣṇa and the two attained liberation[5].

(vi) Viṣṇu is described as a baby lying on the bed of the leaf of a banyan seedling (*nyagrodha-pota*). This is the form of Viṣṇu when cosmic deluge has occured for the experience of Mārkaṇḍeya. The young shoot of banyan was growing on the highest region not sunken in cosmic waters and the baby whom Mārkaṇḍeya saw, was sleeping on the fold of the tender leaf[1].

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[1] 4.30.43, 46 ; 6.4.15.

[2] 10.19.12.

[3] 8.6.22.

[4] 8.8.6.

[5] 10.9.23.

(vii) The Bhāṇḍīraka banyan (*vaṭa*) tree was the last point where the cowherd boys of Vṛndāvana went playing the game of carrying the winners on the back of defeated party members, the two rival parties being led by Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa[2].

(viii) It was the Kadamba tree on which Kṛṣṇa climbed carrying with him the clothes of the cowherd girls while they were taking their daily bath in the Yamunā in connection with the observance of Kātyāyanī vow motivated by the desire to have Kṛṣṇa as their husband[3].

(ix) The tender plants and the tall trees wonderfully enjoying Kṛṣṇa's flute can be plausibly compared with the gopīs and their husbands who rejoice equally in Kṛṣṇa's company[4].

(x) It was Pippala[5] or Aśvattha[6] tree under which Kṛṣṇa sat silently on the ground at the time of his departure at Prabhāsa-kṣetra.

Animals :

Both animals and men come under the division of movables (*jaṅgama*). But the world of animals going horizentally (*tiryak-srotasāṁ sarga*) is distinguished from men who walk errect. The other distinctive features of animals are ignorance of future (Avidyā) etc., close attachment to food etc. only, knowing anything by smell only and lack of foresight[7].

Brahmā created twenty-eight types of animals at the beginning of the present kalpa. Of these, twenty-seven are land-animals (*bhū-cara*) among which, again, the nine are cloven-footed (*dvi-śafa*) viz, Avi, Uṣṭra, Gavaya, Mahiṣa, Raja, Śūkara, Go, Kṛṣṇa and Ruru (the last two being the particular sorts of deer); the six are whole-hoofed (*eka-śafas*) viz, Aśva, Aśvatara, Khara, Gaura (a sort of deer), Camarī and Śarabha ; and, the twelve are with five claws (*pañca-nakha*) viz, Kavi, Kūrma, Gaja, Godhā, Mārjāra, Vyāghra, Vṛka, Śvan, Śaśa, Śallaka, Siṁha and Śṛgāla. Besides these land-animlas, the rest, i.e., the birds flying and living in the air (*khe-cara* or *khaga*) and the acquatic animals living and moving in the water (*jala-cara*) are grouped into one because both have the common trait of not living on the land. And, thus the enumeration comes to twenty-eight. The animals mentioned in the class of birds are : Ulūka, Kaṅka, Kāka, Gṛdhra, Cakrāhva, Barhi, Bhallūka, Bhāsa, Vaṭa, Śyena, Sārasa, Haṁsa etc. while Makara etc. represent the class of acquatic animals. The other animals not mentioned here may be fitly comprised in the enumerated twenty-eight types[1].

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[1] 12.9.20-21 vide PSB p. 148.

[2] 10.18.22.

[3] 10.22.9.

[4] 10.35.9 with Śrīdhara.

[5] 11.30.27.

[6] 11.30.42.

[7] 3.10.20.

Kaśyapa, the progenitor of the sixth manvantara (whose other name was Tarkṣya)[2], is said to have produced all the three classes of animals through his wives. Of these, the wild animals (*śvāpada*, e.g., tiger etc.), the reptiles (*sarīsṛpa* e.g. snake etc.) and animals other than cloven-footed are notable in the class of land-animals[3]. Among the birds, Pataṅga and Śalabha also were his sons but the most notable was Garuḍa born through his wife Vinatā or Suparṇā[4].

The Bhāgavata gives the detailed list of animals in the description of the same places where vegetation is found, i.e., mountains, lakes and forests. The Kailāśa mountain abounds in the following land-animals viz, Kastūrī-mṛga, Gavaya, Mahiṣa, Mṛga (with horns), Mṛgendra, Ṛkṣa, Vyāghra, Śākhāmṛga, Śalyaka and Śūkara[5]. The following animals are found in a lake on the Trikūṭa mountain[6] and the Bindusaras lake[7]. The five acquatic animals found commonly in both the lakes are : Karaṇḍa, Cakravāka, Jala-kukkuṭa, Sārasa and Haṁsa. The former lake is said to have four exclusive types viz, Kacchapa, Cātaka, Matsya and Yaṣṭi[8]. The five types of birds viz, Kokila, Kurarī, Cakora, Barhi and Bhramara, the eleven land-animals viz, Kuñjara, Kastūrī-mṛga, Gavaya, Gopuccha, Nakula, Plava, Markaṭa, Mṛga, Vānara, Śūkara and Hariṇa ; and, the aquatic animal Śabalka are found in addition in or at the Bindusaras. In the Naiḥśreyasa-vana of the Vaikuṇṭha-dhāman[9], the birds of innumerable variety such as Anyabhṛta, Kokila, Tittiri, Pārāvata, Śuka etc. raise a tumultuous symphony; but, it is silenced the moment the lyrical hum of the Bhṛṅgas (bees) is tuned to the laudation of Viṣṇu. The domestic animals are : Ākhu, Uṣṭra, Khaga, Khara, Markaṭa, Mṛga, Makṣikā, Sarīsṛpa etc[1].

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[1] 3.10. 20–24 ; for the five-clawed animals see MS 5.18.

[2] Śrīdhara on 6.6.2.

[3] 6.6 26–28.

[4] 6.6. 21–22.

[5] 4.6.20.

[6] 8.2. 15–16 ab.

[7] 3.21. 42–44.

[8] cf. 4.24. 21 cd.

[9] 3.15.18.

The myths and episodes that have any reference to animals are reproduced here from the Bhāgavata :

(i) The sacrificial cow (*Havirdhānī* or *Agnihotrī*) was the first jewel to come out at the time of the churning of the ocean. It was gladly accepted by the hermits; for, it provided the things required for oblation on fire (*Agni-hotra*)[2].

(ii) The second jewel to come out was the horse called *Vccaihśravas*; and it was taken by Bali, the king of demons[3].

(iii) The horses namely, Śaivya, Sugrīva, Megha-puṣpa and Balāhaka were used to be joined in the chariot of Kṛṣṇa when he drove out[4].

(iv) Keśī, the most intimate friend of Kaṁsa, was sent to take revenge of the demons killed by Kṛṣṇa. He came to Vraja in the form of a terrible horse and met the same fate as his predecessors did[5].

(v) The third product of the ocean was an elephant called Airāvata and it was taken by Indra, the king of gods[6].

(vi) The well-known episode about the release of an elephant (Gajendramokṣa) showing the spontaneity of divine grace describes how the elephant was seized by a crocodile (*grāha* or *nakra*) in the lake on the Trikūṭa mountain; how he was unable to get out of its clutches and how God Śrī Hari hurriedly came to his rescue when he recited a *stotra* praying for God's help[7]. The elephant so saved and released from the animal's body was the king of Draviḍa and devotee of God in his previous life[8]. The king whose name was then Indradyumna, once could not greet the hermit Agastya with due veneration and was cursed to be a dull-minded elephant by the same hermit[9].

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[1] 7.14.9.
[2] 8.8. 1—2.
[3] 8.8.3.
[4] 10.53 5 ; 10.69.14.
[5] 10.37.8..
[6] 8.8.4.
[7] 8.2.28 ; 8.3.30 ; for the *stotra* see 8.3. 2—29.
[8] 8.3.1.
[9] 8.4. 8—10.

(vii) Kuvalayāpīḍa, the fighter elephant, obstructed Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma at the entrance gate of the play-house (*raṅga-śālā*) prepared as a final part of Kaṁsa's strategy to kill them. The great animal was killed in a chasing fight by Kṛṣṇa and its teeth were taken out[1].

(viii) The earth took the form of a cow when Pṛthu terrorised it for not yielding crops. Pṛthu is, then, said to have milked the cow to get the desired objects. The hermits, gods and demons also participated in the milking of the cow (*go-dohana*) done by Pṛthu[2].

(ix) Indra as well as the earth in the form of a cow consecrated Kṛṣṇa by sprinkling holy water and conferred the title of Go-vinda (cow-protector) on him just after the time when he had lifted the hill Go-vardhana to save Go-kula from the devastating showers of rains etc. said to be caused by the angry Indra[3].

(x) A pair of bull (*dharma* incarnate) and cow (the earth incarnate) met Parīkṣit on the bank of the river Prācī-Sarasvatī. The pair was mutually considering miserable condition due to the approach of the kali age[4]. A Śūdra king (*a-dharma* incarnate) was injurying the pair; but, Parīkṣit saved it and subdued the king (i.e., the evil tendencies of the kali age)[5]. The king surrendered before Parīkṣit and was allowed to live only in certain specified places[6]. Finally Parīkṣit restored the three injured legs (the pillars of religion) of the bull and consoling the cow worked for the prosperity of the earth[7].

(xi) Kāliya-nāga, Kādraveya, and Garuḍa, Vainateya, both were sons of Kaśyapa; they bore enmity to each other. The former, being afraid of the latter, came to reside in the water of the Yamunā where the latter's entry was prohibited by a curse imprecated upon him by the hermit Saubhari[8]. Kādraveya who spoiled and poisoned the water was crushed and ousted by Kṛṣṇa[9]. He was sent back to his original home—the small island called Ramaṇaka[10].

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[1] 10.43 2–14.

[2] 4.18 11–13.

[3] 10.27 22–23.

[4] 1.16 18–36 esp. the first and the last verses.

[5] 1.17 1–17 esp. the first and the last verses.

[6] 1.17 29–39 esp. the first and the last verses.

[7] 1.17.41.

[8] 10.17.11.

[9] 10.16.29.

[10] 10.16.63 cdef..

(xii) Aghāsura took the form of a python (*ajagara*) and swallowed the cows and the cowherd boys of Vṛndāvana. Kṛṣṇa, when he was five years old, killed the great reptile. After their release from Aghāsura, the cows and boys were detained by Brahmā under his custody for a year; and so the event was narrated by the boys to their parents when Kṛṣṇa was six years old[1].

(xiii) A python swallowed Nanda when he was sleeping in the Ambikā-vana with other residents of Vraja who had all come there for the worship of Ambikā and Śiva observing the vow of Śivarātri. Kṛṣṇa not only released Nanda from the python but relieved the huge serpent also from its body, who then attained his original position of the semi-divine being (Vidyādhara) namely, Sudarśana. Sudarśana, the Vidyādhara, had condemningly laughed at the deformed appearance of the hermit Aṅgiras and was, therefore, cursed to be an ugly animal[2].

(xiv) Dhenuka took the form of an ass (*khara*, *rāsabha* or *gardabha*) and came in the Tāla-vana where Kṛṣṇa and his playmates had gone to eat the fruits. He obstructed them and was killed by Balarāma[3].

(xv) Ariṣṭa took the form of a great bull (*vṛṣabha*), came in the cow-hen (*goṣṭha*) of Nanda and terrified cows and women therein. Kṛṣṇa seized him by the horns, dashed him against the ground and he died[4].

(xvi) Kṛṣṇa went to the forest in search of the syamantaka *maṇi* and and met a great bear (*ṛksa*) namely, Jāmbavān who had taken the jewel. Both had a duel which lasted for twenty-eight days in which both used blows freely on each other. At last Jāmbavān became infirm and came to realize that his favourite god Śrī-Rāma has again descended as Śrī-Kṛṣṇa. Jāmbavān, then, not only returned the jewel (*maṇi*) but presented his daughter Jambavatī also to Kṛṣṇa[5].

(xvii) A great monkey (*vānara*) namely, Dvivida was the friend of Naraka, minister of Sugrīva and brother of Mainda—the three positions standing for his enmity towards Kṛṣṇa, diplomacy and strength of body respectively[1]. For the acquittance of friend's death, who died at the hands of Kṛṣṇa, he set fire to all kinds of dwelling places such as cities, heritages etc. of the Ānarta country and performed atrocities therein. His anti-religious and inhuman activities culminated in misdeeds towards the gopīs of Vṛndāvana. Balarāma, who was in their company at that time on the hill Raivataka was enraged. Yet Dvivida did not desist from out raging the gopīs with whom Balarāma was sporting; and made wild attacks on Balarāma also. Taking into account his previous atrocities in the Ānarta and present audacity on the Raivataka, Balarāma paid him in his own coin and he fell dead[2].

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[1] 10.14 48, 59, 61. For Brahmā's delusion :— 10.13. 44–64. For detention of the cowherd boys :—10.14 42—48.

[2] 10.34. 5, 9, 13.

[3] 10.15.32.

[4] 10.36.14.

[5] 10.56 17–32.

(xviii) Mārkaṇḍeya, under the experience of a deluge, saw the large acquatic animals (*yādas*) fighting mutually in an attempt to devour him[3].

Human Beings :

After the creation of vegetation and animals, Brahmā set his hand to human creation for the propagation of his progeny and also because the mind, which has only the instinctive power so far as the animals are concerned, may attain the reasoning power also in the inner-mechanism of human-being. So, Brahmā first created spiritual hermits (*brahmarṣi*) like Sanatkumāra etc., but they retired to forest, being undesirous of progeny etc[4]. It is already seen that these mind-born sons of Brahmā are divinely human and fall in the category of the mixed creation (*prākṛta-vaikṛta-sarga*). They are beings which, created once in the beginning of the mahā-kalpa, continue to exist till the expiry of *dvi-parārdha*[5]; and may be supposed to exit in the upper worlds when the three worlds merge into Brahmā at the end of a kalpa. Again, disappointed by the attitute of Sanatkumāra etc., he produced with his mind ten sons viz,—(i) Marīci, (ii) Atri, (iii) Aṅgiras, (iv) Pulastya, (v) Pulaha, (vi) Kratu, (vii) Bhṛgu, (viii) Vaśiṣṭha, (ix) Dakṣa and (x) Nārada—all recognised as progenitors (prajāpatis)[6]. A notable hermit Kardama was born through the shadow of Brahmā[1]. Many other hermits were endowed with detachment, meditation, knowledge and *tapas*[2]. The progeny brought into existence by these hermits was not to the satisfaction of Brahmā[3]. Yet encouraged by the result of his creation Brahmā centred his mind upon the creation of Manus (men) and gave them human form.

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[1] 10.67.2.

[2] 10.67. 3—24.

[3] 12.9.17.

[4] 3.12.4 Vide PSB p. 301.

[5] Śrīdhara on 3.12.4.

[6] 3.12. 21—22.

At the beginning of the present kalpa, Brahmā (Ka) took the form of a twin body (*kāyā*) in which the male body was named Svāyambhuva, i.e., the son of Svayambhū (Brahmā) ; and the female body was called Śatarūpā who became Svāyambhuva's wife[4]. Svāyambhuva, who was designated as the first Manu, asked Brahmā to arrange for the shelter (*okas*) of living beings; and so, God incarnated in the form of Boar (*śūkara* or *varāha*), fought with the demon Hiraṇyākṣa who obstructed the uplifting of the earth from ocean[5]. The earth—the shelter of the beings—was thus liberated from the water ; and the present kalpa came to be known as varāha-kalpa in that God has assumed the form of a boar for the purpose[6].

The first Manu had two sons, Uttānapāda and Priyavrata[7]. He had three daughters also viz, Ākūti, Devahūti and Prasūti who were married to Ruci, Kardama and Dakṣa respectively ; and, it is said, that the progeny of these daughters filled the three worlds[8]. Prajāpati Ruci and Ākūti gave birth to a twin called Yajña and Dakṣiṇā. The twin married mutually and had twelve sons Toṣa etc[9]. Kardama underwent *tapas* before marrying Devahūti[10]. He then produced nine daughters through her, of whom eight were married to the first eight sons of Brahmā[11] (mentioned above); and the remaining one to Ātharvaṇa[12]. The progeny of Kardama's nine daughters was large and sanctifying in so far as many hermits of repute were born[13]. They may be enumerated as follows : Kalā was married to Marīci and their son was Kaśyapa[1]. Anusūyā was the wife of Atri and their sons were Datta, Durvāsas and Soma[2]. Śraddhā was Aṅgiras's wife and their sons were Utathya and Bṛhaspati[3]. Havirbhuvi was the wife of Pulastya and their sons were Agastya and Viśravas[4]. It may be added here that Viśravas had one son namely, Kubera through his one wife Iḍaviḍā and three sons namely, Rāvaṇa, Kumbhakarṇa and Vibhīṣaṇa through his another wife Keśinī[5]. Gati was the wife of Pulaha and had three sons Karmaśreṣṭha etc[6]. Kriyā was Kratu's wife and gave birth to innumberable hermits all known as Bālakhilyas[7]. Urjjā was Vaśiṣṭha's wife and the seven hermits Citraketu etc. were their sons[8]. Khyāti was Bhṛgu's wife and they had two sons, Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ[9]. It may be added that Dhātṛ's son was Mṛkaṇḍa and Vidhātṛ's son was Prāṇa[10]. Again, Mṛkaṇḍa's son was Mārkaṇḍeya and Prāṇa's son was Vedaśiras[11]. Bhṛgu has one more son namely, Kavi and his son was Uśanas[12]. Thus the above eight daughters of Kardama were respectively the wives of eight sons of Brahmā excepting Dakṣa and Nārada. The last daughter of Kardama viz, Citti who was married to Ātharvaṇa, gave birth to Dadhīci who had the head like a horse's[13]. Dakṣa, the son of Brahmā, and Prasūti, the daughter of Manu, had sixteen daughters of whom thirteen were married to Dharma, and one each to Agri, Pitṛ and Bhava[14]. The daughters of Dakṣa had greater progeny than that of Kardama's[15]. To mention the most celebrated hermits, Nara and Nārāyaṇa were the two sons of Dakṣa's one daughter Mūrti who was married to Dharma[16]. They engaged themselves in *tapas* for the welfare of mankind[17].

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[1] 3.12.27a.

[2] 3.20. 52—53.

[3] 3.12.49.

[4] 3.12.51 cd—53 ab.

[5] 3.13.15, 47.

[6] 3.11.37.

[7] 3.12.54 abc.

[8] 3.12.55 ; 4.1.1.

[9] 4.1.3-7.

[10] 3.21.6.

[11] 4.1.12 ab.

[12] 4.1.42 a bc.

[13] 4.1.46.

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[1] 4.1.13 a bc.
[2] 4.1.15.
[3] 4.1.34 a, 35.
[4] 4.1.36.
[5] 4.1.37.
[6] 4.1.38.
[7] 4.1.39.
[8] 4.1.40.
[9] 4.1.43.
[10] 4.1.44.
[11] 4.1.45 ab.
[12] 4.1.45 cd.
[13] 4.1.42 a b c, i.e., reference no 166 above..
[14] 4.1.47-48.
[15] 4.1.11.
[16] 4.1.52.
[17] 3.4.22; 7.11.5-6.

THE GROSS CREATION (CRITICAL)

IMMANENCE OF REALITY IN CREATION
THE CONCEPT OF THE THREE GODS
THE CONCEPTS OF THE PLANES OF EXISTENCE
FLORA
FAUNA
HUMAN BEINGS

[II] THE GROSS CREATION (CRITICAL)

IMMANENCE OF REALITY IN CREATION

Creation, as we have already noticed, is ultimately traced to Viṣṇu. Before creation Viṣṇu was absorbed in transcendental trance (*yoga-nidrā*), absolutely free from the insistence of distracting forces. But this sense of divine loneliness (Ramā, Viṣṇu-māyā or *eko'ham*) made him feel almost non-existent. He therefore willed to be many (Ātma-māyā or *bahu syām*).[1] With this divine will to be many, Viṣṇu became Brahman who, endowed with two potencies viz, Māyā (the principle of phenomenality) and Cit-śakti (the principle of divinity), emerged as Puruṣa (God). As the master of these two potencies, Puruṣa became the Lord of creation, when Māyā evolved into Kāla (time), Svabhāva (nature) and Karman (action) on the one hand, and Vidyā (knowledge), Avidyā (ignorance) and Prakṛti (primordial matter) on the other. So, under the superintendence of Puruṣa, effected by Cit-śakti, creation started from Prakṛti by the joint operation of Kāla, Svabhāva and Karman thereon.[2]

Cosmogonical passages from the Upaniṣads[3] bear testimony to the fact that creation, in its entirety, started from Brahman or Ātman, is sustained by it and will finally dissolve into it. Hence Reality is both transcendent and immanent and creation is not different from Brahman whose real (according to the Dualists) or apparent (according to the Advaitists) projection it is. In the light of the Bhāgavata doctrine of Incarnation (*avatāra-vāda*), God and creation are all incarnations of Bhagavān. Divine sport (*Bhagavat-līlā*) proceeds to bring into existence the infinitesimal details of creation. Entire physical creation is thus Incarnation of Bhagavān. Prakṛti and all its evolutes, the cosmic controllers that work behind the cosmic process (loka-pālas), God (Puruṣa), the super-cosmic principles like Time and Nature, and also, Brahman and Viṣṇu—the transcendental Realities—all consists in the congregation brought about by Bhagavān.[4] This means that Divine Sport starts its operation from the emanation of Viṣṇu from Bhagavān and finishes with the emergence of the grossest of the gross. The widest conception of Incarnation envisaged by the Bhāgavata thus apparently embraces all expressions of Bhagavān—immanent and transcendent, sentient and insentient—all integrated by the law of Divine sport into the grand unity of Bhagavān.[1]

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[1] 3.5. 23-24 vide PSB p. 283.

[2] 2.5. 21.

[3] BU 1.4.1 ; TU 3.1 ; Ch U 6.2.1 etc ; Vide PSB p. 308.

[4] 2.6. 42-45 vide PSB pp. 175-76.

THE CONCEPT OF THE THREE GODS

Associated with the threefold Divine purpose viz, creation, sustenance and destruction, stand the Guṇā'vatāras—Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara.[2] "The Etymological School of Vedic interpretation[3] had arrived at the concept of the triad of gods—fire, wind (Indra) and the sun. And, the concept of the three gods—Brahmā, Maheśvara and Viṣṇu—is the direct result of the evolution of the above triad of the Vedic deities respectively".[4] The mutual unity of the three gods, as emphasised by the Bhāgavata,[5] suggests the composite nature of the holy trinity. But Viṣṇu, the Great Personality (Puruṣa), enjoys unique position among the trinity. Viṣṇu not only heads this trinity but absorbs all gods in His all-comprehensive being,[6] and all categories of existence, both living and non-living.[7] The concept of the three strides of Viṣṇu[8]—a concept that has enjoyed unassailable authenticity throughout the Vedic period[9]—achieved for Him the all-embracing unity that appropriated the sublimity and majesty of all the gods. And, this incorporation of all gods in Viṣṇu gave him the position of unique reality. Viṣṇu, then, stood for all-pervasive Reality—an aspect that obtained the sanction of unbroken tradition.

In the Bhāgavata[10] Rudra came to mean the god of egotism (Ahaṁkāra). As Ahaṁkāra admits of three types viz, sāttvika, rājasa and tāmasa,[11] Rudra embodying each of these characters is called tranquil (*śānta*), active (*rajo-juṣ*) and terrible (*ghora*) respectively.[12] Rudra linked up with sāttvika Ahaṁkāra is conceived a great spiritualist, constantly engrossed in transcendental bliss and taken to be the exponent of the Yoga system of thought.[1] In his rājasa aspect, Rudra is cosmic progenitor (prajāpati) and is said to have elevenfold Vyūha which is the source of different categories of progenitors like Marīci and Atri etc.[2] In his tāmasa aspect, Rudra is not the progenitor but the cosmic destroyer and concerned with the destruction of the three worlds[3] which, for all practical purposes, constitute the universe.

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[1] PSB pp. 175-76.
[2] 11.4. 3-6.
[3] Nirukta 7.5.
[4] PSB p. 191.
[5] 1.1. 23.
[6] 10.4. 39 ab, 42 abcd.
[7] 2.6. 13-16 vide PSB pp. 188-89.
[8] 8.20. 21-33.
[9] RV 10. 90.1 ; VS 5.15 ; VP 3.1. 45.
[10] 10. 88. 3-4 vide PSB p. 208.
[11] 3. 26. 23 vide PSB p. 289.
[12] 12. 10. 17 vide PSB p. 208.

The myth of the emergence of Brahmā from Viṣṇu stands for the differentiation of Hiraṇya-garbha from Viṣṇu. From the centre (*nābhi*) of the Infinite arose finiteness which is pictorially described as the cosmic lotus. Brahmā was a part of that finiteness in that the lotus was his original home. He is called Hiraṇya-garbha because the cosmic lotus of golden colour (*hiraṇya*) served as his embryo (*garbha*).[4] Brahmā or Hiraṇya-garbha emanated from the golden womb of the cosmic egg (*aṇḍa*). Further, the Bhāgavata[5] equates Hiraṇya-garbha with the sun (*mārtaṇḍa*) as really he is. Thus the Bhāgavata seems to conjure up those remote days of creation when the sun first penetrated through the dead clod of the cosmic egg (*mṛta aṇḍa*) and so the sun was called *mārtaṇḍa*. Brahmā has his royal hall at the crest of Sumeru, the mountain of gold[6] and has a white swan as his vehicle. These two elements help to recognise him as the sun.

According to the Bhāgavata,[7] golden lotus or the cosmic egg lay dormant in the womb of cosmic fluidity for long long years amounting to a kalpa and God lived in it in the company of all empirical egos for the same period. The cosmic egg was a lump of matter only—a dead inactive mass. So, God charged it with His power of animation (Cit-śakti) and consequently the efficient causes viz, Kāla, Svabhāva and Karman began to operate upon the categories from Mahat down to five subtle elements. The Bhāgavata[8] describes the employment of Cit-śakti (original stimulus) as the penetration of God (Kṣetra-jña) through the categories ; and, as a result, emerged organism, both cosmic and individualistic.[9] God (Virāṭ-Puruṣa),[10] marked by this stage of infinite diversity, is described as having thousand heads and hands, in short, the Puruṣa of the Puruṣa-sūkta.[1] The cosmic Man whom, in the wake of the Puruṣa-sūkta,[2] the Bhāgavata calls Virāṭ-Puruṣa or Vairāja-Puruṣa is the unity of the fourteen worlds. It was only when God infused the lump with his divine presence, and, suffused it with the vital airs that the entire mass attained the dignity of living organism.

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[1] 4.6. 39 ab.

[2] 3.12. 12-14 vide PSB p. 210.

[3] 2.2. 26 ab.

[4] 5.20. 40 vide PSB pp. 208, 305.

[5] Ibid.

[6] 8.5.18 ab.

[7] 2.10.11 ; 3.6.6 ; vide PSB p. 298.

[8] 3.6.1 ab., 2 cd ; 3. 26.70 ; vide PSB pp. 298, 300.

[9] 2.5. 32-33 ; vide PSB. p. 298.

[10] 3.5. 35.

The gross universe thus begins from the lump of matter made of five gross elements emerging from their unit-potentials in subtle form, i.e., tanmātras. Tanmātras are subtle forms of the elements while their corresponding gross forms are called Bhūtas (elements). The Bhāgavata has dealt with question of the origin of Tanmātras and their corresponding Bhūtas in three different contexts[3] which offer interesting illustration for the conversion of energy into matter and *vice versa.* The first effect of this conversion took the shape of a lump culled from the five gross elements. Due to its imagined shape and size, it was presumed to be the cosmic egg (*aṇḍa* or *brahmāṇḍa*) and was called *viśeṣa* because it represented the stage of differentiation of subtle categories into gross form, directly giving rise to different worlds.[4] Such egg living in water was conceived to be golden, that dispelled the gloom of grossly physical vacuum.[5] The egg was largely earthly,[6] and, therefore, it was noticeable in the womb of water-element that precedes the earth-element.

The lying of the cosmic egg in water for long long years represents the process of its hardening—the hardening of the dead physical mass or inactive clod. The sun shone upon the cosmic egg for thousands of years, and, then, in course of time when the destinies of the individual souls had attained maturity, the sun differentiated the cosmic egg into the different planes of existence with variegated lives fluttering thereon. It was no wonder then that the sun should have the due recognition as the life-giving principle, i.e., the cosmic soul.[7] The sun was elevated to the status of Brahmā and then to the status of God, the inner controller of Brahmā. The analogy between God, the Puruṣa, and the physical sun, pronounced by the Bhāgavata[1], gives us once again the glimpse of the long-forgotten link between God and His crude prototype, the physical sun. Life, man and his civilization are all gifts from the sun.

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[1] 3.7. 21-22.

[2] 2.1.15 ; vide PSB. p. 130.

[3] First context 2.5. 25-29 ; second context 3.5. 32- 32-37 ; third context 3.26. 32 ff. vide PSB. pp. 294, 296.

[4] 3.26. 51-52 ; vide PSB. p. 298.

[5] 3.20. 14 ; 3.26.53.

[6] 3. 26. 49.

[7] 5. 20. 45-46 ; vide PSB p. 305.

The cosmic mass moved out from the state of chaotic inactivity and developed into gross body, both cosmic and individualistic, in which categories from Mahat to the five subtle elements (Tanmātras), collectively called the subtle body (*sūkṣma-śarīra*), were habilitated. From the practical point of view, through Prakṛti, the unmanifest (*a-vyakta*), the subtle body (*sūkṣma-śarīra*) and the physical worlds originating from the cosmic egg—through all these stages, God, the immanent form of Brahman, pursues creation with the aid of his two powers—Māyā and Cit-śakti—enduring in dual forms, Īśvara and Jīva.

Creation finds its fulfilment in the development of physical bodies and correspondig to each of them is a conscious principle. Behind the gross creation God reposed on the element water (the water element) on which floated the cosmic lotus or the cosmic egg or the womb (*garbha*). Brahmā was within the cosmic lotus, i.e., the physical mass, brought about by the five gross elements. The cosmic lotus or egg is traced to god.[2] So, naturally Brahmā merges into the being of God. In this way, both the sentient and the insentient belong to the essence of God who then shines on with His glory that declares the triumph of Divine sport.

THE CONCEPTS OF THE PLANES OF EXISTENCE

The Bhāgavata conception of the fourteen worlds[3] is an illustration of of its creative imagination. The conception is not found in the Vedic cosmogony propagated by the Nāsadīya-sūkta[4] and further elaborated by the Hiraṇyagarbha-sūkta[5] although the Sūktas presuppose cosmic water, Viṣṇu, the primordial creator, and Brahmā who rested in Viṣṇu and eventually brought the three worlds into existence.[6] The three worlds were already recognised by the Puruṣa-sūkta and the Bhāgavata[7] sticks to this old Ṛg-vedic concept as another version of the planes of existence. The three worlds, Pṛthivī, Antarikṣa and Dyau--the earth, the intermediate space and the sky—of the Puruṣa-sūkta are represented in the Bhāgavata by Bhū, Bhuva and Svar respectively. But, as Brahmā had to exist in space (at the end of each kalpa) before he created the three worlds, the upper regions viz, Mahar, Jana, Tapas and Satya had to be conceived. Such regions also served as answers to the various types of the moral deeds performed by the beings on the earth.[1] Yet the concept of the four upper or higher regions beyond the three worlds were still in a nebulous stage, lacking details. The Bhāgavata has elaborated the Ṛg-vedic concept of the three worlds by incorporating in their fold *śiśu-māra-cakra* consisting in a host of planets from the sun to the pole star (Dhruva).[2] The Bhāgavata[3] takes this *cakra* (wheel) to be the axle of the three worlds (*viśva-nābhi*). Dhruva, which is stable, is in fact the axle of constellations which continue their aerial journey till a kalpa[4] and Dhruva-loka (i.e., the pole star surrounded by enormous group of stars, planets and constellations) is therefore symbolically described as *śiśu-māra-cakra*,[5] which forms the last limit of the three worlds.[6] Beyond *śiśu-māra-cakra* which is also called *viṣṇu-cakra* lies Mahar-loka[7]; then Jana, Tapas and Satya are one above the other.

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[1] 2.6. 17 ; vide PSB p. 306.

[2] 5.26. 38 ; vide PSB p. 307.

[3] 2.5. 38-41.

[4] RV 10.129.

[5] RV 10-121.

[6] PSB p. 252.

[7] 2.5.42.

Below the earth, again, are seven lower regions one after the other, Atala, Vitala, Sutala, Talātala, Mahātala, Rasātala and Pātāla, inhabited by gods, demons, snakes and so on.[8] Apparently the elaboration of the higher regions as well as the lower came in to accommodate the ten types of creation mentioned before.[9] The seven lower regions present a picture of the admixture of popular myths and beliefs. But it is surprising that the Bhāgavata[10] would be recognising Saṁkarṣaṇa (the principle of attraction or gravitation) to hold all the worlds together. The description of the earth and different constellations above the earth are new matters not to be found in the Puruṣa-sūkta and they throw light upon the ancient geographical and astronomical speculations respectively.[1] The staggering dimension of the cosmic egg (*brahmāṇḍa*) may thus be said to have three great divisions viz, our earth, the planets or planes above it and the lower regions. Broadly speaking, men (both rulers and hermits) rule on the earth, gods on the upper worlds and demons etc. on the lower regions.[2]

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[1] PSB p. 253.

[2] 5.23. 4-9 ; vide PSB. d. 277.

[3] 2.2. 25 ; vide PSB. note 65 on p. 277.

[4] 5.23.2-3 ; vide PSB p. 302.

[5] 5. 23. 4.

[6] 5.20.37.

[7] 2.2.25 i.e., the above reference no. 43.

[8] 5.24.7.

[9] PSB. p. 277.

[10] 5.25.1.

FLORA

Under the stress of evolutionary process first the face of earth is covered with vegetation. The brief enumeration in the previous Chapter of the principal species of forest, fresh water and cultivated vegetation gives an idea of the immensity of India's vegetation wealth. The vegetation of a courtry depends on and is largely determined by its geographical and climatic features; and India stands in very favourable position in respect to both. The flora of India contains representatives of almost every natural family on the globe. The three botanical areas of India—the Himalayan, Eastern and Western—are rich in forests which supply valuable materials of trade and industry. In the fresh water lakes, pools and other inland waters, the flowering plants are numerous in which the white, blue and red lilies and lotuses are remarkable. The large varieties of cultivated or crop vegetation can be classified into the cereals, pulses, sugar-canes and oil seeds. Rice and wheat (including barley) are three principal cereal crops of India. According to the Bhāgavata[3] barley-corn (*yava*) is the best species (*vibhūti*) of all types of cultivated vegetation (*oṣadhis*). India is said to be the original home of sugarcane. The main oil seeds are rape, mustard, ground-nuts etc. The importance of oil seeds is immence, for, not only they constitute an essential element in the diet of every Indian, but also because they are in great demand for the manufacture of commercial products.[4]

The connected myths and episodes noted in the previous Chapter in this respect also throw light on the importance of forest vegetation in general. The first myth implies that, in the absence of cultivation, the earth is covered with vegetable growth and so their destruction becomes necessary prior to agriculture. But at the same time, the myth clearly points out, their overall destruction is unwarranted and only the fields required for the purpose should be cleared off. This is perhaps borne out by the second myth in which a forest-fire is said to have burnt the wood of reed (*iṣīkātvī*) near Vṛndāvana. It might be inferred that the wood called Muñjāraṇya was cleared with the stalks of grass to grow crop vegetation there or it was transformed into the pasture land for grazing the cows. But, in no other case, the forest vegetation is allowed to be destroyed. On the contrary, their usefulness is emphasised. For example, Kṛṣṇa himself affirms that trees supply valuable material such as timber, firewood, essential oils, seedlings, herbs, roots, seeds, fruits, fragrance and so on. Besides all these material gains from the trees, they provide happiness which is derived from the shadow of dense trees but generally enjoyed only by the persons who travel or work under the blazing sun on their head. Kṛṣṇa also reminds us the superiority of trees over the hard-hearted men, for, the trees live solely for the sake of others enduring the strains of the wind, rainfall, heat and cold while at the same time relieving others from their effects. Like a kind-hearted man they supply means of subsistence to all without discrimination. Thus by their mode, trees teach us to act for others' welfare even at the cost of our wealth or life.[1] Thus trees are useful from various standpoints. From the utilitarian standpoint, again, Manu[2] advises a king to plant tall trees as a mark of boundary between the two villages.

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[1] PSB p. 306.

[2] Śrīdhara on 5.1.

[3] 11.16.21.cd.

[4] VA pp. 119-120.

The third myth suggests the high value of vegetation in general for medicinal purposes. The beverage of gods called *amṛta* (nectar) is said to have been produced from the ocean when different kinds of plants were put into it.[3] Thus nectar seems to be the honey of the glands of plants. It is an accepted fact that plants and herbs are used as medicine very widely and possess greater curing and healing power than artificial medicines. It is in this context, as the fourth myth reveals, that the gifting power of the Pārijāta[4] (*incanthus arbor-tristis*) should be understood. As the sixth myth says, Viṣṇu was lying on the Nyagrodha seedling.[5] The word *nyag-rodha* literally means rooting out (*rodha=roha*) downwards (*nyak*). The Bhāgavata has preferred this word (to the word *vaṭa* which is its synonym) to convey the idea of the emergence of the world from Viṣṇu.[6] The rest of the episodes throw light on the sports of Kṛṣṇa at Vṛndāvana. The last reflects the importance of Pippala or Aśvattha tree in religious matters. Much sanctity is attached to this holy fig-tree under which Kṛṣṇa sat before departure.[1] It is therefore that Aśvattha is declared to be the best species (*vibhūti*) of forest vegetation (*vanaspati*).[2]

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[1] 10. 22. 32-35.

[2] MS 8. 246.

[3] 8.6.22.

[4] 8.8.6.

[5] 12.9. 20-21.

[6] vide PSB fn. 66 on p. 148.

The vegetable growth is marred in the course of time. It is suggested by the prophetic statement that in the Kali age plants shall become minute and trees small.[3] But we find three types of tall trees today, whose specific mention is necessary. The banyan (vaṭa or nyagrodha) with its spreading branches and prop roots; the holy fig-tree (pippala or aśvattha) with its wealth of hanging leaves constantly fluttering in the wind; and, the towering Śālmalī (*bombax mulabarium*) with a blaze of scarlet flowers in early spring are distinctive features of the Indian landscape.

FAUNA

The evolutionary process of movables reaches, in cognenial circumstances, its second point when animals appear on the surface of the earth after vegetation. In brief enumeration,[4] the principal species of animals fall into three classes viz, *Bhū-cara*, *Jala-cara* and *Khe-cara*. Of these, the first class is well represented in the Bhāgavata. The mammals constitute the largest group among the land-animals (*bhū-cara*); and, are of special interest as they seem to include man himself. It is the group of animals that suckle their young. Dvivida[5] and Jāmbavān[6] who had duels with Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa respectively are said to be Ṛkṣa (bear) and Vānara (monkey) respectively. The Bear is a heavy carnivorous animal with long shaggy hair and hooked claws while the monkey is its refined form. The other carnivores which are useful for hunting are lions (*siṁha*), tigers (*vyāghra*) etc. The smaller carnivores are cats (*mārjāra*), jackals (*śṛgāla*), wolves (*vṛka*) dogs (*śvan*) etc. Kṛṣṇa, Ruru and Gaura are three species of deer. Kastūrī-mṛga is found on the Kailāśa mountain.[7] The male of this race of deer bears beneath the skin of the abdomen a gland, the secretion of which is known as musk reputed for its various uses especially for medicinal purposes. The mouse-deer (*śaśa*) is hornless and of small size; but has horns—beautiful and spirally twisted. Several races of deer are found in thick forest. Horses (*aśva*) and asses (*aśvatara* or *khara*) etc. represent the odd-toed category of land-animals. The elephant and the horses formed two component parts of ancient Indian armies and were as such very important for war which too often took place.

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[1] 11.30.27, 42.

[2] 11.16. 21 cd.

[3] 12.2.15 ab.

[4] Vide Chapter I pp. 19-20.

[5] 10.67.2.

[6] 10. 56. 17.

[7] 4.6.20.

According to the Bhāgavata and the Gītā, the best species (*vibhūti*) of different land-animals are as follows: Kāmadhenu of the cows;[1] Uccaiḥśravas of the horses[2] and Airāvata of elephants.[3] In the category of reptiles appear Ananta as the best species (*vibhūti*) of snakes (*nāga*)[4] while Vāsuki, who dwells underground, of serpents (*sarpa*).[5] The largest snakes are the pythons (*ajagara*) and boas (*go-puccha*). Amongst the venomous snakes the commonest is the cobra. The large-sized king cobra, which is known to be extremely fierce and aggressive, is noticeable in Kaliya-nāga whom Kṛṣṇa crushed and ousted from the Yamunā water.[6]

As for the cows, their condition appears pitiable in the kali age. They are becoming like she-goats both in yielding milk and also in measurement of body.[7] People generally abandon their ancestral cow if it does not yield milk.[8] Among the connected myths,[9] the first shows how important it was in the sacrificial era. Its origin from the ocean declares its sacredness.[10] Cow appears as Kāmadhenu, i.e., fulfilling all desires in the *go-dohana* of Pṛthu.[11] In fact each cow is a cow of plenty if taken care of. On the same ground it is worth-taking. The earth is generally spoken of as taking the form of cow either at the occasion of festivity[12] or on such sad occasion when she herself was under distress.[13] There is a striking similarity in the earth and the cow in so far as both yield all desires.

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[1] 11.16.14d ; Gītā 10. 26b.

[2] 11.16. 18a ; *Gītā* 10. 27a.

[3] 11.16.17ab ; *Gītā* 10.27c.

[4] Gītā 10.29a.

[5] 11.16.18d ; *Gītā* 10. 28d ; cf. 5.24.31.

[6] 10.17.11.

[7] 12.2.14b.

[8] 12.3.36d.

[9] Vide Chapter I p. 21.

[10] 8.8.1-2.

[11] 4.18.11-13.

[12] 10.27.22-23.

[13] 1.16.18, 36.

The second class of animals, i.e., J*ala-cara* is best represented by shark (*makara* or *nakra-rāja*),[1] and it is therefore called the best species (*vibhūti*) of marine animals (*jhaṣa*).[2] The high nutritive value of the shark-liver oil has opened up an important trade in the fishing of sharks. The fishes (*matsya*) exhibit considerable diversity in their structure and habits perhaps due to the variety of habitats in which they live. India has abundant fish fauna which accounts for the large section of its population depending on fishes as the staple protein diet.[3] The crocodile (*grāha* or *nakra*) that seized the elephant in the myth[4] also attacks man; and is a marine animal as well as a reptile. Tortoise (*godhā*), essentially a marine animal, is also a reptile. Varuṇa is the Lord of acquatic animals (*yādas*).[5] Swans (*haṁsa*), cranes (*sārasa*) and ducks (*cakra-vāka*) are notable acquatic animals which live in well-watered regions.

Alligators (*śallaka*) and rhinoceros (*kūrma*) are notable sea-animals. These occasionally ascend large tidal rivers. Amongst insects (i.e., *śvedaja*), ants, wasps, cockroaches, butter-flies, moths, worms, mosquitoes, locusts, beetles, fleas and so on mostly subsist on each other and to an extent harmful to human beings.

The last class of animals, i.e., *Khe-cara* is of a considerable interest due to its variety and wide range of distribution. The favourite birds, commonly found around human habitation, are the crows (*kāka*), sparrows etc. The parrots (*śuka*) are well-known cage birds and have wonderful power of imitating the human voice. The cuckoos (*kokila*) also appear in summer season on the mango tree. They lay eggs in the nests of other birds, and the hawk cuckoo (*cakrāhva*) is reputed for its monotonous call notes in the hot season. The owls (*ulūka*) are essentially the forest birds and are said to be nocturnal in habits, but beneficial to agriculture as they feed on those various small animals that cause damage to crop. The best species (*vibhūti*) of all the *khagas* is Garuḍa.[6] As for the relation of animals with human beings, some are directly beneficial to men whereas many others are harmful, causing damage to men's life or property.

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[1] 3.10.24.

[2] Gītā 10.31c. cf. 6.6.37.

[3] vide VA p. 119.

[4] 8.2.28.

[5] 11.16.17ab ; *Gītā* 10.29b.

[6] 11.16.15b. ; Gītā 10.30d.

HUMAN BEINGS

The Bhāgavata offers description as to how gradually man appeared on the face of the earth after vegetation and animal growth. Life, which was unmanifested in vegetable species, became manifested in animals. Then mind, which was without intellect (Citta, Buddhi) in animals, became endowed with resolution (*adhyavasāya*) and certainty ((*niścaya*)—the respective modes of Citta and Buddhi—in man. It is therefore that the sons of Brahmā, recognised as progenitors, are said to be his mind-born sons.[1] The special characterstic of man is that he is always active to eke out his own destiny.[2] Thus man came into existence with emphasis on mind. Naturally, the progenitors and hermits endowed with knowledge and meditation etc.[3] are described to have come first before the ordinary human beings. The Bhāgavata largely[4] describes the life and conduct of Nara and Nārāyaṇa, the two celebrated hermits who were born in the first manvantara from Dharma and Mūrti. They are said to have reborn as Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa in the seventh manvantara.[5]

As to the body (*kāyā*) of man (Manu or *mānava*) or woman (Śatarūpā or *mānavī*), said to have been framed by Brahmā,[6] it is an interesting landmark in the evolutionary process. For example, it is said that God assumed the form of a boar (*varāha*)[7] to liberate the earth. Further it is said that the capital of the first Manu was Barhiṣmatī, so called because the tail-feathers (*barha*) of the Boar (*yajña-varāha*) fell there.[8] Elsewhere, we find the name Barhiṣmatī given to the daughter of Viśvakarman, the architect ; and she was married to Priyavrata, the son of Manu.[9] All these suggest that boar (*śūkara* or *varāha*) was one of the mammals that immediately preceded man in the development of human body.

Woman is absolutely necessary for the propagation of progeny. Therefore we find daughters of the first Manu[10] and of his two sons-in-law viz, Kardama[1] and Dakṣa[2], contributed largely to the expansion of progeny at the beginning of the present kalpa. Henceforth progeny began to increase by leaps and bounds, effected by the mutual co-operation of the opposite sexes.[3] Gradually the four Vedas and the four castes were brought into being.

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[1] 3.12.21-22.

[2] 3.10.25.

[3] 3.20.52-53.

[4] 4.1.54-58 ; vide also 11.4.6-16.

[5] 4.1.58.

[6] 3.12.51cd-53 ab.

[7] 3.13.15, 47.

[8] 3.22.29.

[9] 5.1.24.

[10] 3.12.55 ; vide also 4.1.1.

"The enumeration of the ten types of creation gives us a glimpse of the evolutionary process at work : How from.........God (Puruṣa), gradually evolves, directly from the five subtle elements (Tanmātras), the elemental creation consisting of the physical worlds including our earth ; how, then, gradually the face of the earth is covered with vegetation ; how life appears in congenial circumstances, animals first and then man who organises his own species so that life itself can grow into something fruitful—a focussing point where both the physical demands on the one hand and the moral and spiritual values on the other may converge. Thus, man and God come in close bond".[4]

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[1] 4.1.46 cd.

[2] 4.1.11.

[3] 3.12.53. cd.

[4] PSB p. 249.

THE PRE-FLOOD TRADITION (EXPOSITORY)

TIME SEQUENCE
FOURFOLD DELUGE
A DELUGE EXPERIENCED BY SATYAVRATA
THE UTTĀNAPĀDA FAMILY
THE PRIYAVRATA FAMILY
THE WARS BETWEEN GODS AND DEMONS
THE SIXFOLD BODY OF MANU ETC.

[III] THE PRE-FLOOD TRADITION (EXPOSITORY)

Before we deal with tradition (human history) itself, it is rather unavoidable to deal first with time-sequence and also with the conception of deluge (*pralaya*) closely connected with it.[1]

TIME SEQUENCE

From the standpoint of the Bhāgavata, Time may be looked upon to put on three forms: (i) God, (ii) His power and (iii) Time sequence. The first two concepts are metaphysical while the last one is empirical.[2] According to the first two concepts Time is supra-phenomenal reality that existed before creation. When the Bhāgavata describes Time to be the twenty-fifth[3] among the Sāṁkhya categories it refers to the first concept; when it takes time to be a power of motivation (*vīrya*,[4] *prabhāva*[5] or *kalā*[6] of God) it refers to the second and lastly, reference to Time in terms of years etc. is to be understood in the third sense.[7]

The sun moves across this physical world (This is just the other way round since the days of Copernicus) and the time occupied for its crossing of the atom (*paramāṇu*) is called *paramāṇu* corresponding to the dimension crossed. Similarly, the time occupied by the sun for revolving round the *bhuvana-kośa* (the collective term for the totality of twelve stars) is called *parama-mahat* or year.[8] In between these two lie the different divisions of time—*dyaṇuka*, *tryasareṇu*, *lava*, *yāma*, *dina*, *māsa* etc.[9]

From here the Bhāgavata soars to mythology. A year of man is a day (consisting of the day and the night) of god;[10] and, corresponding to man's hundred years, the highest limit of his longevity, gods also live up to one hundred years considered in terms of the equation: man's one year is equal to god's one day. If we call god's year as divine year (*divya-varṣa*) then the four yugas will constitute a total of twelve thousand divine years. The four yugas viz, satya, tretā, dvāpara and kali come in cyclic order and are replaced more and more quickly. Each yuga (era) is prefixed by a *sandhyā* (literally, the word means the morning twilight preceding sunrise and here it indicates the time preceding the rise of a yuga) and suffixed by a *sandhyā-niśā* (lit. the evening twilight and here the time of the setting of a yuga). Both *sandhyā* and *sandhyā-niśā* thus bring to the notice the beginning and the end of a yuga which is somewhat different from the full swing of the yuga itself. Both these are of equal length in each of the four succeeding yugas. Now, the classification of the yugas in terms of divine years is as follows[1] :

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[1] To expose the Bhāgavata conceptions of time sequence and duluge, we have freely drawn upon the passages of PSB (pp. 181, 248-256). It was unavoidable because none else has done this so beautifully and perfectly. The passages have been arranged to suit our purpose and in doing so some new references have also been added and the existing ones modified to match our text.

[2] 10.16.39ab, 41 ab.

[3] 3.26.15 d.

[4] 1.10.22.

[5] 3.26.16 ab.

[6] 11.9.16.

[7] 3.21.18.

[8] 12.12.46.

[9] 3.11.1-14 ; esp. 3.11.13.

[10] 5.20.30.

	satya	tretā	dvāpara	kali		div. yrs.
sandhyā	400	300	200	100	=	1000
yuga	4000	3000	2000	1000	=	10000
sandhyā-niśā	400	300	200	100	=	1000
	4800	3600	2400	1200		12000

Beyond the three worlds, in the upper regions from Mahar-loka to Satya-loka, one thousand of four yugas form a single day (*kalpa*) of Brahmā. His night falls to the same length. By the time Brahmā's day draws to its close, fourteen Manus who are placed in charge of the three worlds below, complete their career. Hence individual Manu rules for a period of a little over seventy-one yugas. This period is called Manvantara (Manu-period). With the approach of Brahmā's night (*brāhmī rātri*), the three worlds merge into him when the cosmic deluge called Naimittika-pralaya occurs.[2] So, Brahma's everyday is of two kalpas of which one kalpa is meant for his activity while the other is the period of his retirement known as *brāhmī niśā or rātri*. Creation from Mahar-loka to Satya-loka continues up to the life of Brahmā while the three worlds involve his daily activity. Brahmā's longevity runs up to one hundred years made of cosmic days and nights, noted above. Half of this span of life is called *parārdha* (the grand half). Brahmā's longevity therefore is made up of two such grand halves (*dvi-parārdha*).

On the first day of the first grand half, Brahmā was born as śabda-brahman. Brahmā won this title for himself because he brought into being the four Vedas and the four castes.[1] His birth day was then marked as brāhma-kalpa which is also called mahā-kalpa.[2] He appeared in the cosmic lotus next day known accordingly as pādma-kalpa. The first day of the second grand half is known as varāha-kalpa because at the beginning of this current kalpa God incarnated as a boar to liberate the earth and its light (Vedas) from cosmic deluge marked by the dissolution of the three worlds (Naimittika-pralaya).[3]

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[1] 3.11.18-20.

[2] 12.4.2-3 ; 8.13.36 ; 8.14.11.

The longevity of Brahmā, running up to *dvi-parārdha*, must have its end however long it may be. What happens, then, when Brahmā spends up the whole gamut of his life ? The answer is to be sought in the Bhāgavata's conception of pralaya (deluge).

FOURFOLD DELUGE

According to the Bhāgavata, deluge (pralaya) is fourfold: Nitya, Naimittika, Prākṛtika and Ātyantika—brought about by time (Kāla).[4] The characteristic feature of the principle of Time, the supra-phenomenal reality, consists in its disturbing the equilibrium of Prakṛti, the primordial matter.[5] So, Time had initiated the original act of disturbance in the equilibrium of the tripartite Prakṛti, before creation started. That act has been endlessly repeating itself since that moment. Creation, therefore, bears in it the element of change or death. In the constant flux of the phenomenal existence is visible the tide of Time. Things are changing at every moment and there lies the hand of death, the principle of Time.[6] This is what the Bhāgavata calls momentary destruction (Nitya-pralaya) which does not require additional cause excepting Time itself. The periodical destruction (Naimittika-pralaya), on the other hand, occurs when the three worlds merge in Brahmā.[7] This happens at the end of a kalpa with the approach of Brahmā's night. As for the process of destruction the veil of cosmic darkness appears and cosmic fire (saṁvartaka or saṁkarsaṇa agni) consumes all. Storms agitate the oceans which establish themselves in the vacuum left by the three worlds. When the convulsions of the elements cease, there appears on the surface of the unending expanse of water, Lord Viṣṇu reclined on the bed of Ananta. He is then engrossed in super-cosmic sleep (*yoga-nidrā*) with the attending bards from the higher regions.[8] But this is mere sleep of Brahmā after the day's work. A time comes when Brahmā's life comes to its end. Then all creation, both gross and subtle, dissolves into Prakṛti. This is what the Bhāgavata calls Prākṛtika-pralaya.[1] The process of this dissolution is as follows: When involution began, the gross elemental creation dissolved into the five subtle elements and the five subtle elements merged into the unmanifest consisting of the three guṇa-reals (Prakṛti). Time, which at the beginning of creation had disturbed the equilibrium of the three guṇa-reals, restores the same in them.[2] Thus at this dissolution, Time sweeps away all material creation including the abode of Brahmā, Satya-loka; and, this happens at the expiry of *dviparārdha*,[3] the longevity of Brahmā.

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[1] 3.12. 37-48.

[2] Śrīdhara on 3.12.47.

[3] 3.11. 33-37.

[4] 12.4.37.

[5] 2.5.22a ; 3.20.12 ; 3.26.17.

[6] 7.3.31ab.

[7] 12.4.4.

[8] 3.11.28-32 ; 11.24.21-22ab.

When did creation start? The answer is: creation has no first beginning. So, the only rational and practical way to describe the beginning of a specific creation is to state how a particular creation came to its end so that it could serve as a fresh springboard for another creation.[4] This means that the process is endlessly repeating itself. God continues to exist in His pristine glory when the world drama unfolded by *Ajā* (the three guṇas) comes to its close; and the another creation comes into existence as the affirmation of Divine Will (Atma-māyā) and representation of Divine Sport (Viṣṇu-māyā or Bhagavat-līlā).

According to the Bhāgavata, salvation also is a kind of deluge. Man obtains in course of time the intuitive vision of his higher Self and thus extricates himself from his empirical personality (Ahaṁkāra). He then realises his nature untrammelled by any limitations. As liberation (*mukti*) is marked by the state of absolute annihilation of empirical life it is called Ātyantika-pralaya.[5]

A DELUGE EXPERIENCED BY SATYAVRATA

A deluge (flood), on which stands the name of this and succeeding Chapters, is worthy of notice here. According to the Bhāgavata,[6] God descended as fish (*matsya*) at the time of a Naimittika-pralaya when Brahmā had retired to sleep. He then killed the demon Hayagrīva, the son of Diti, who had carried away the Vedas and thus brought back the light of the earth. Another purpose of God's descent as fish and His way of sport (*līlā*) is as follows: Satyavrata, a royal sage, was offering holy waters in the Kṛtamālā river. A small fish came into his hand along with water and asked him to protect her against the larger fishes that may devour her.

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[1] 12.4.5-6.

[2] 11.9.17; 12.4.21.

[3] 9.4.53.

[4] PSB p. 233.

[5] 12.4.33.

[6] 8.24.7-9; 8.24.57, 61 abc.

The kind-hearted king kept it in a kamaṇḍalu. But she outgrew the water-pot and on her request was taken to a pond. Again she became bigger than the pond and Satyavrata took her to a lake. In this way Satyavrata had to take the fish to bigger and bigger places which all she outgrew overnight till she was taken to the sea. The wonder-struck king now thought that it is not the marine animal but God and so asked to explain the purpose of this sport by assuming such form. God, who was desirous of sporting in a deluge (*vihartukāmaḥ pralayā'rṇave*) informed and instructed him thus: The three worlds will be overflooded by a deluge occuring on the seventh day from today. A big boat shall be arranged at that time by me for saving you. You should ride in that boat taking the seven hermits in your company as well as keep the seeds and plants with you. I shall appear in the form of a great fish with one horn. When your boat is rolled away by the howling wind, fasten it with to horn using Vāsuki serpent as the rope. I shall thus save you and hermits etc. till there is Brahmā's night (*brāhmī niśā*). Saying so, God disappeared. The deluge occured at the appointed hour. Ocean was agitated by the heavy downpour and overflooded the earth. Satyavrata, who was prepared as God instructed, saw a boat coming towards him. He sat in it in the company of hermits and also seeds and plants. Soon afterwards a huge fish with one horn appeared on the surface of water and swam towards the boat which was then tied to its horn according to the instructions.[1] Meanwhile, as asked by the hermits, the king prayed God to reveal his true nature.[2] God, pleased by his prayer, imparted the knowledge of the soul and also narrated the Purāṇa-saṁhitā (i.e., the Matsya-purāṇa) to Satyavrata especially.[3] It is expressly declared by the Bhāgavata that the same Satyavrata, who was thus saved and endowed with knowledge by God, was reborn as Śrāddhadeva, the notable son of Vivasvān who was designated as the seventh Manu of the current kalpa.[4]

The tradition of human beings, the progenitors, hermits and Svāyambhuva Manu including his progeny is already noted.[5] Svāyambhuva, the first Manu (man), lived in Brahmāvarta and ruled over the earth[6] for one Manu-period (manvantara)[7] with capital at Barhiṣmatī.[8] He was succeeded by his two sons Uttānapāda and Priyavrata—who ruled over the earth after him.[1] The descendants of the two sons are said to have ruled successively up to the end of the sixth manvantara ; and hence the two royal families originating from the first Manu are now being noticed separately.

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[1] 8.24.12-45abc.

[2] 8.24.45d-53.

[3] 8.24.54-56.

[4] 8.24.10-11, 58.

[5] vide Chapter I pp. 24-25.

[6] 3.21.25.

[7] 3.22.36.

[8] 3.22.29.

THE UTTĀNAPĀDA FAMILY

Uttānapāda, before resorting to the forest in his old age, coronated his son (i) Dhruva on the throne.[2] Dhruva took to worldly life only when he was assured of the highest position, i.e., Viṣṇu-pada granted by God in view of his *tapas* at the age of five.[3] Dhruva ruled for a long time (36000 yrs.), performed sacrifices and royal duties and thus lived the life of a religious householder as well as of an able king. In this way three objects of human life viz, dharma, artha and kāma were fulfilled.[4] His younger brother was killed by the Yakṣas in the Himālaya when he was hunting there. Dhruva as a revengeful warrior attacked the Alakāpurī, the capital city of the Yakṣas on the Kailāśa hill.[5] The capital was also called Puṇya-janālaya because the Gandharvas (musicians of the abode nearest to man) also lived there.[6] Including Yakṣas and Gandharvas many other Guhyakas and Asuras were killed on a mass scale by Dhruva. But, for the intercession of Manu, his grand-father, he deviated from their destruction[7] with restraint on his anger.[8] Dhruva was then visited by Kubera, the king of the region appearing in the company of his kinsmen, the Yakṣas including Cāraṇas and Kinnaras. A truce was made and Dhruva returned to his capital Barhiṣmatī.[9] After the long and peaceful reign Dhruva resorted to Viśālā,[10] whence he attained Viṣṇu-pada as promised by God.[11] Dhruva's elder son Utkala was a parama-haṁsa (ancharite) and was therefore indifferent to worldly affairs. So, the ministers consecrated his younger brother (ii) Vatsara on the throne.[12]

Vatsara's sixth descendant was (viii) Aṅga. He was a royal sage (*rājarṣi*) but had to leave home, capital and kingdom being disgusted of the wickedness of his son, Vena.[13] In the absence of a king, the majority of the people behaved like animals. The hermits of the stature of Bhṛgu etc., the well-wishers of the people, were perturbed to see the anarchy spreading in the country. They consulted Vena's mother, the queen, and coronated prince (ix) Vena on the throne in spite of slight resentment shown by the ministers including the subjects, due to the bad conduct of the prince. No sooner did the tyrant Vena was declared the king, than the offenders, swindllers thieves etc. went underground afraid of his tyranny.[1] But Vena declared vendetta against religion (dharma).[2] The proclamation against religious activities and oppression of people enraged the hermits; but, with restraint they approached the king whom they have installed on the throne, and persuaded him to stop doing such unworthy acts and follow the righteous path of religion, observing the duties of a king.[3] Vena, whose intellect was perverted, not only rejected the request straight away but declared his own divinity also.[4] The hermits now became furious and failing in all their conciliatory means, assassinated the absolute ruler and oppressor while he was seated on the throne.[5] Again, anarchy spread in the country without a king; and this worried the hermits too much.[6] Though the hermits were able to check the spreading disorder but being Brāhmaṇas they did not like to rule—it being not their function. Yet they could not remain indifferent to public welfare.[7] As a person of the same family, i.e., Aṅga's line,[8] was required to be seated on the throne, it is said that the hermits produced (x) Pṛthu from the dead Vena's hand and declared him as 'the first king' of crystal fame.[9] Pṛthu was enthroned on the royal seat in a splendid coronation ceremony.[10] The bards (sūtas, māgadhas and bandins) who tried to sing his praise at this occasion were silenced by the king himself on the ground that his duties and works are yet to be done,[11] although the sūtas etc. did so when inspired by the hermits.[12] The first and the foremost problem which came before Pṛthu was the scarcity of food-grains,[13] which he understood was due to the absence of cultivation.[14] He then levelled the earth and made such fields that may retain water when the rainy season is over.[15] Thus the land was made ready for ploughing with the co-operation of all concerned and when the seeds were sown the land fulfilled the desire of his people.[16] This cultivation of land commenced by Pṛthu is described as his *go-dohana*. The earth afraid of Pṛthu took the form of a cow and Pṛthu in the company of Manu, hermits, gods, demons and so on milked the cow which fulfilled all desires of all concerned.[1] The next and the most important work which Pṛthu did was the habitation of people in fixed dwelling places, such as grāma, pūra, kheṭa, vraja, ghoṣa, ākara, durga etc.[2]

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[1] 4.8.7.

[2] 4.9.66.

[3] 4.9.20-21, 24-25 ; 4.12.41-43.

[4] 4.12.13.

[5] 4.6.22, 27.

[6] 4.10.3-4.

[7] 4.11.1, 10.

[8] 4.11.31, 35.

[9] 4. 12.1, 9.

[10] 4.12.16.

[11] 4.12.35.

[12] 4.13.11.

[13] 4.13.18.

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[1] 4.14.1-3.

[2] 4.14.6.

[3] 4.14.7-22.

[4] 4.14.23-29.

[5] 4.14.30-34.

[6] 4.14.35-40.

[7] 4.14.41.

[8] 4.14.42.

[9] 4.13.19-20 ; 4.15.4.

[10] 4.15.11-20.

[11] 4.15.21-26.

[12] 4.16.1.

[13] 4.17.9-11.

[14] 4.17.12, 24.

[15] 4.18.11.

[16] 4.18.28.

Pṛthu got two titles in view of his above two works. He was called 'the king of kings' (*rāja-rāṭ*)[3] because he was credited with the commencement of agriculture. He was also called as 'the first king' (*ādi-rāja*)[4] because for the first time he started constructing fixed dwellings.[5] As for his conduct he was at the other extreme of his father. Pṛthu was a highly virtuous king and was devoted to the Brāhmaṇas, Vaiṣṇavas and Guru. Among his manifold virtues he was unrivalled in helping others and so pleased his subjects fully by his generous acts.[6] As he was already predicted to be the propagator of religion and destroyer of evil forces by the sūtas[7] and Brahmā[8], he did both successfully. Pṛthu arranged a great ceremony of spiritual initiation at the conclusion of a long lasting sacrifice (*mahā-satra- dīkṣā*)[9] in which he took an oath : I swear to fulfil the wishes of the people because I have been installed as a king by them. I shall maintain law and order and work for the safety and welfare of the people.[10] Sanatkumāra etc. are said to have appeared in this great ceremony to preach the *pārama-haṁsya-dharma* with special emphasis of non-association (*a-saṁga*) and pleasure in the self (*ātma-rati*).[11] Before this great ceremony, Pṛthu had ninety-nine horse-sacrifices to his credit, although he was resolved to perform a hundred on the bank of the Prācī-Sarasvatī in Brahmāvarta, i.e., the territory over which he ruled.[12] It is said that Indra stole his sacrificial horse and thus obstructed in the complesion of the last sacrifice.[13] Brahmā[14] and God[15] advised Pṛthu to suspend the idea of performing the hundredth sacrifice, and he did their bidding.[16]

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[1] Full story 4.17.13-26 ; 4.18.1-27.

[2] 4.18.31.

[3] 4.18-29. Śrīdhara comments : राजराट् राज्ञां राजा सर्वेषामाजीविकादानात् ।

[4] 4.15.4 ; 4.19.41 ; 4.20.21, 32.

[5] Śrīdhara on 4.13.20 comments : आद्यः क्षितीश्वरः पुरग्रामादीनां तेन रचितत्वात् ।

[6] 4.22.55-62.

[7] 4.16.4.

[8] 4.19.37.

[9] 4.21.13.

[10] 4.21.21.

[11] 4.22.21; full preaching 4.22.18-40.

[12] 4.19.1.

[13] 4.19.11.

[14] 4.19.29-38.

[15] 4.20.2-16.

[16] 4.20.17.

In view of his works, conduct and religious practices, Pṛthu came to be recognised as the partial incarnation of God (*Viṣṇu-kalā*).[1]

Pṛthu had five sons, Vijitāśva etc.[2] (xi) Vijitāśva who was also called Antardhāna[3], inherited the throne when Pṛthu resorted to the forest with his wife Arcis.[4] But Antardhāna angaged himself in long lasting satra[5] handing over the administration of different territories (*kāṣṭhā*) to his younger brothers.[6] Antardhāna was succeeded by his son (xii) Havirdhāna.[7] Havirdhāna had six sons Barhiṣad etc.[8] (xiii) Barhiṣad who was also called Prācīnabarhi[9], succeeded Havirdhāna. Prācīnabarhi had ten sons all known by the one name (xiv) Pracetas. They were of similar conduct and vows as well as equally qualified in religious matters.[10] All of them, as directed by the father, went to the western coast and took to long *tapas* there with the desire for progeny.[11] Meanwhile Prācīnabarhi, impelled by Nārada, resorted to the forest; and, the cultivation of land in the country was suspended due to the prevailing disorder in the absence of a king. The suspension of agriculture for a long time resulted in the growth of forest vegetation. So, when the ten Pracetas came back from the western sea after the completion of their avowed penance, they found the land covered with vegetation. To restore agriculture, they burnt down bushes, thickets, wood etc. It is said that Soma, the king of vegetable kingdom, presented Māriṣā or Vārkṣī, his adopted daughter, in marriage to them with the request to stop further destruction of the forest vegetation.[12] Nārada again came to the royal house as he thought that the knowledge attained by Pracetas through *tapas* and instructions must have been shrouded by family life and all that it means.[13] In order to make them intent on knowledge, he instructed them on devotion to God with the result that they finally attained liberation.[14]

The only son of the ten Pracetas was (xv) Dakṣa. Dakṣa Prācetasa is to be clearly distinguished from Dakṣa, the son of Brahmā, although it is said that the same son of Brahmā born in the first manvarntara was reborn as the son of Pracetas in the sixth manvantara.[15] Dakṣa

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[1] 4.16.19 ; 4.19.37.

[2] 4.22.54.

[3] 4.24.3.

[4] 4.23.3.

[5] 4.24.6.

[6] 4.24.1-2.

[7] 4.24.5.

[8] 4.24.8.

[9] 4.24.10.

[10] 4.24.13.

[11] 4.24.14, 19.

[12] 4.30.13-15, 44-48ab ; 6.4.4-16.

[13] 4.31.6.

[14] 4.31.9-24; Instruction—4.31.9-32.

[15] 4.30.48 cd-49 ; 6.4.17 ab.

Prācetasa was so called because of his dexerity in procreation.[1] It is said that Dakṣa's progeny through his daughters filled the three worlds.[2] First of all he underwent arduous *tapas* at the Vindhya range[3] as *tapas* was considered to be the pre-requisite for procreation of human beings in large number and good quality.[4] He then married Asiknī, the daughter of Prajāpati Pañcajana, and earnestly engaged himself in the production of offspring in his wife.[5] He had large number of sons born in two groups. The first group of his sons was known as Haryaśvas who went for *tapas* towards the western direction,[6] but were led to the path of knowledge (*nivṛtti-mārga*) by Nārada.[7] The second group, known as Sabalāśvas, also went for *tapas* and met the same fate like their elder brothers.[8] Dakṣa, who became furious over Nārada for leading his sons to the path of renunciation at pre-mature stage,[9] was however not disappointed and produced sixty daughters in her wife.[10] Of these, ten were married to Dharma, seventeen to Kaśyapa,[11] twenty-seven to Soma and two each to Bhūta, Aṅgiras and Kṛśāśva.[12] His daughters' progeny multiplied through mutual co-operation of the opposite sexes; and, as said above, filled the three worlds.[13]

The son of Dharma was Viśvakarman, the architect (*ākṛti-pati*); and his son was (xvi) Cākṣuṣa, the sixth Manu.[14] The son of Kaśyapa was Vivasvān and his son was (xvii) Śrāddhadeva who was designated as the seventh Manu; and Śrāddhadeva was born through Saṁjñā, the daughter of Viśvakarman and wife of Vivasvān.[15]

THE PRIYAVRATA FAMILY

Priyavrata was unwilling to accept the throne being intent on the knowledge of the soul, attained by Nārada. But he was compelled to accept it for the sustenance of the people, by his father Svāyambhuva.[16] The notable work of Priyavrata during his reign was the division of the earth into seven great islands (*dvīpa*)[1] marked by the boundaries of oceans and this included the survey of mountains, forests and rivers therein.[2] He married Barhiṣmatī, the daughter of Viśvakarman, and had ten sons viz, (i) Āgnīndhra etc. through her.[3] Priyavrata had, from another wife, three more sons viz, Uttama, Tāmasa and Raivata who were Manus of the third, fourth and fifth manvantaras respectively.[4] Of the above ten sons, three viz, Kavi etc. became parama-haṁsas,[5] and the rest of the seven viz., Āgnīndhra etc. became the rulers of the seven islands viz, Jambū-dvīpa etc.[6] Āgnīndhra ruled over Jambū-dvīpa righteously[7] and had nine sons viz, (ii) Nābhi etc. through Pūrvacitti.[8] Jambū-dvīpa was then divided into nine regions (*varṣas*) and the nine sons of Āgnīndhra ruled over them separately each giving his own name to the region he inherited.[9] Nābhi, who became the king of Nābhi-varṣa, married Merudevī[10] and their son was (iii) Ṛṣabha, the born preacher of the *pārama-haṁsya-dharma.*[11] Ṛṣabha inherited Nābhi-varṣa from his father.[12] During his reign the people were happy and contented and so he was their dearest king.[13] To preserve the memory of the celebrated King Ṛṣabha who was also known as Aja, the region under his rule viz, Nābhi-varṣa was renamed as Ajanābha-varṣa.[14] Ṛṣabha had hundred sons born through Jayantī.[15] Of these, (iv) Bharata was the eldest, the other elder nine sons were Kuśāvarta etc. The another group if nine sons was known as nava-yogeśvara as they were all versed in the mystries of the Bhāgavata-dharma and the remaining eighty-one sons were the preachers of the ritualistic Vedic religion and so became Brāhmaṇas for the purpose.[16] Bharata married Pañcajanī, the daughter of Viśvarūpa, and had five sons through her viz, Sumati etc.[17] To commemorate this great king, who inherited the throne of Ajanābha-varṣa from Ṛṣabha, Ajanābha-varṣa was again named as Bhārata-varṣa.[18] After a long and prosperous rule Bharata abdicated the throne and left for Pulhā'śrama distributing the ancestral wealth (*riktha*) among his five sons.[19] This means that none of his sons inherited the kingdom. Instead

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[1] 4.30.50.

[2] 6.4.17cd.

[3] 6.4.20.

[4] 6.4.47-50.

[5] 6.4.51-52

[6] 6.5.1-2.

[7] 6.5.21.

[8] 6.5.24-25, 32.

[9] 6.5.36.

[10] 6.6.1.

[11] It is said that thirteen daughters were given to Kaśyapa and four to Tārkṣya. But, according to Śrīdhara (on 6.6.2) Tārkṣya is another name of Kaśyapa.

[12] 6.6.2.

[13] 6.6.3cd.

[14] 6.6.15.

[15] 6.6.37-38.

[16] 5.1.22.

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[1] For all geographical names mentioned further vide Chapter I pp. 13-14.

[2] 5.1.31, 40.

[3] 5.1.24-25.

[4] 5.1.28.

[5] 5.1.26.

[6] 5.1.33.

[7] 5.2.1.

[8] 5.2.20.

[9] 5.2.21.

[10] 5.2.23.

[11] 5.3.21.

[12] 5.4.5.

[13] 5.4.17.

[14] 5.4.3.

[15] 5.4.8.

[16] 5.4.9-12.

[17] 5.7.1-3 ab.

[18] 5.4.9 ; 5.7.3 cd.

[19] 5.7.8.

Bharata's nine brothers (v) Kuśāvarta etc., noted above, seem to have inherited the paternal kingdom of Bhārata-varṣa which they divided into nine provinces and giving their own names ruled over them separately.[1]

It may be noted here that Bharata was a yogin and practised yoga at Pulhā'śrama. But he could not achieve its final goal because of his attachment to a young deer, under the influence of his own past actions. So, when he died, he was reborn as a deer, the object of his attachment.[2] Yet the practice of yoga in the preceding life helped Bharata to cast off the deer's body ; and he had rebirth in a congenial place, i.e., a learned Brāhmaṇa's house where he became known as Jaḍa-Bharata and attained the final goal viz, unity with Brahman.[3]

The royal sage (xvi) Gaya was the twelfth descendant of Bharata.[4] He performed twofold duties. As a king he looked after the protection and welfare of the people ; and as a householder he maintained his family and performed sacrifices etc.[5] Again, the performance of king's duties brought twofold results. That is, as a monarch he received presents and honour from the tributary kings and enjoyed pleasure hereafter on the strength (one-sixth) of the religious merits of those whom he protected (i.e., the people, especially the Brāhmaṇas).[6] God is said to have been so much pleased by Gaya's works that He expressed His satisfaction (*prīti*) personally in a *yajña* which the latter performed.[7] The tenth lineal descendant of Gaya was (xxvi) Viraja. He was the last king of the Priyavrata family and during his reign the glory of the family reached its zenith.[8]

THE WARS BETWEEN GODS AND DEMONS

The account of pre-flood tradition shall be incomplete without reference to gods (devas) and demons (daityas). Viśvakarman,[9] as already noted, was the son of Dharma, the son-in-low of Dakṣa Prācetasa. Kaśyapa, the another son-in-law of Dakṣa, had twelve sons, Vivasvān etc. through Aditi and these Ādityas were recognised as gods.[10] Vivasvān married the two daughters of Viśvakarman, Saṁjñā and Chāyā. Saṁjñā bore the twin of Yama and Yamī and also Śrāddhadeva while Chāyā bore two sons, Sāvarṇi and Śani and also one daughter, Taptī,[11] Kaśyapa had another wife Diti and her forty-nine sons, all known as Marud-gaṇa, were Daityas (demons) by birth but attained the status of gods and became the hosts of Indra.[1] Yet Diti had a large number of progeny, all known as Daityas, from her two sons Hiraṇyakaśipu and Hiraṇyākṣa.[2] The main line[3] of the Daityas stands thus in succession : Hiraṇyakaśipu, Prahlāda, Virocana, Bali and Bāṇa. As for the persons who come in the category of gods, Viśve-devā[4] and Viśve-sādhyā,[5] respectively the sons of Dharma and Cākṣuṣa Manu, are notable. It would thus seem from the above statements that generally the progeny of Dharma and Aditi (wife of Kaśyapa) falls in the category of gods while that of Diti (wife of Kaśyapa) in that of demons (daityas, rākṣasas or asuras, as they are indiscriminately called). It is interresting to note wars between these two rival step brothers always engaged in power-politics :

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[1] 5.4.10.

[2] 5.8.24.

[3] 5.9.1-2 ; 6.14.41-44.

[4] 5.15.5.

[5] 5.15.6.

[6] 5.15.9.

[7] 5.15.11.

[8] 5.15.14.

[9] 6.6.15.

[10] 6.6.37.

[11] 6.6.38-39.

(i) To show how natural the desire for war is, first, may be noted the war of God Himself with demons.[6] Jaya and Vijaya, the two chief attendants of God Viṣṇu, prevented the spiritual hermits Sanaka etc. to see Viṣṇu on the doors of the Vaikuṇṭha-dhāman. The hermits became angry and cursed both to be demons for three generations successively.[7] Viṣṇu, admitting the offence of his attendants, supported the verdict given by the hermits.[8] The attendants were then born as Hiraṇyākṣa and Hiraṇyakaśipu, the twin of Diti and Kaśyapa, in their first cursed birth.[9] The former was killed by Varāha (Boar Descent of Viṣṇu) in a terrific dual fight when he objected to the uplifting of the earth from the ocean.[10] The latter wanted to take revenge of his brother as well as to become an unrivalled monarch of the three worlds ; and so underwent *tapas* for the purposes. His *tapas* pleased Brahmā and he equipped him with such boons that the demon became almost immortal.[11] Equipped with the boons he let loose the reign of terror and won all the the worlds including Triviṣṭapa of Indra.[12] To make true the words of his devotee (Hiraṇyakaśipu or Prahlāda or Sanaka or Nārada or Brahmā[1]) and His own words too[2], God descended in the form of Nṛsiṁha and killed Hiraṇyakaśipu while abiding by the conditions imposed by Brahmā's boons.[3] Both the demons were reborn as Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarṇa in their second cursed birth ; fought heroically and died at the hands of Śrī-Rāma.[4] In their last birth under the stress of curse, they were born as Śiśupāla and Dantavakra.[5] The former was killed by Kṛṣṇa during the Rāja-sūya sacrifice performed by Yudhiṣṭhira.[6] The latter, who came to take revenge of his friend Śiśupāla, was killed by the same personality in a club fight soon afterwards.[7] Ultimately, both attained the figure of Viṣṇu (*sārūpya*), the Supreme Soul, and again became Viṣṇu's eternal attendants.[8]

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[1] 6.18.19.

[2] 6.18.10-11.

[3] 6.18.12-17ab.

[4] 6.6.7.

[5] 6.6.15.

[6] 7.1.34-39—a concise account.

[7] 3.15.34.

[8] 3.16.2-3.

[9] 3.16.34 ; 3.17.18.

[10] 3.18.14-19 ; 3.19.2-26.

[11] 7.3.35-38.

[12] 7.3.4-8.

(ii) Tvaṣṭā, the fourth Āditya, married the sister of demons namely, Rocanā and their son was Viśvarūpa.[9] Since Bṛhaspati quit the office of the priest of gods for the lack of honour, shown by Indra, Viśvarupa was selected by the gods as their priest.[10] Although Viśvarūpa performed his duties earnestly, Indra doubtful of his favour to the demons killed him.[11] Tvaṣṭā finding his son slain by Indra produced Vṛtra to take vengeance.[12] Vṛtra was so called because he surrounded (*āvṛṇot*) the three worlds by casting his body.[13] Then a fierce war between gods and demons started in which the armies of both the sides were headed by Indra and Vṛtra, his arch-enemy.[14] Vṛtra devoured all kinds of arms and weapons struck and flung at him by the gods.[15] The gods, who were dejected being unable to face Vṛtra, prayed God to save them.[16] God helped them and so the gods won the battle.[17]

(iii) A great consecration ceremony (*mahā-abhiṣeka*) was performed upon Bali on the eve of his raid on Triviṣṭapa.[1] Śukra was already selected as the priest of demons[2] and this means that the Bhārgavas, whose descendant Śukra was, were hereditary priests of demons. So all these Brāhmaṇas aided Bali and he suddenly attacked Indrapurī with his army and won it easily[3] because the gods and their king Indra, as advised by their priest Bṛhaspati, fled away.[4] Bali ruled over the three worlds with capital at Indrapurī and performed hundred horse-sacrifices.[5] God had to court birth through the womb of Aditi to fulfil her desire. Vāmana, the Descent of Viṣṇu, was born. He approached Bali and asked for three steps of land. The required land was donated. Vāmana, who had come in the form of a *baṭu* (a celebate boy reading the Vedas), now assumed His all-pervasive form and covered Bali's whole territory, i.e., the three worlds, with his two steps. Bali submitted himself for the third. Thus God helped to recover the lost kingdom and fame of Aditi's sons, i.e., the gods.[6]

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[1] Śrīdhara on 7.8.18.

[2] कौन्तेय प्रतिजानीहि न मे भक्तः प्रणश्यति। Gītā 9.31cd.

[3] 7.8.29.

[4] 7.10.35-36 ; For Kumbhakarṇa's death see, 9.10-18d, 21a ; For Rāvaṇa's death see 9.10.23.

[5] 7.10.37.

[6] 10.74.43.

[7] 10.78.7-9.

[8] 7.10.37-39 ; 10.74.45 ; 10.78.10.

[9] 3.6.15 ; 6.6.37, 42.

[10] 6.6.43 ; 6.7.32-33 ab.

[11] 6.9.5.

[12] 6.9.11.

[13] 6.9.18.

[14] 6.10.16.

[15] 6.9.19.

[16] 6.9.21-27, 31-32, 33-43, 44-45.

[17] 6.9.54 ; 6.10.13.

(iv) The capital of the demon king Bāṇa was Śoṇitapura. It is said that the Yādava army headed by Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa (the Descents of God) seized the capital when Bāṇa imprisoned Aniruddha, the the grand son of Kṛṣṇa.[7] Rudra, whose devotee Bāṇa was, fought for him against Kṛṣṇa in the company of all his followers viz, bhūtas, pramathas, guhyas, dākinīs, yātudhānas, vaitālas, vināyakas, pretas, mātṛs, piśācas, kūśmāṇḍas and brahmarākṣasas.[8] There was a dreadful battle in which Balarāma struck down Bāṇa's chief warriors and their battlions fled away. Kṛṣṇa crushed the rest of the army and cut off all the weapons, vehicles etc. of Bāṇa.[9] The one thousand hands of Bāṇa were also cut, barring four on the request of Rudra. Thus defeated and gratified, Bāṇa lost his pride and presented Aniruddha to Kṛṣṇa including his daughter Uṣā already wedded to the Yādava prince.[10]

(v) Being informed about the machinations of Naraka demon, Kṛṣṇa flew on his Garuḍa vehicle to Prāgjyotiṣapura and landed on the city which was impassable through the land-route, being surrounded by waters, snares etc. Mura, the commander of Naraka's army, and his seven sons, Pīṭha etc. died facing Kṛṣṇa. Then Naraka came out to fight and was killed.[1] Kṛṣṇa afterwards went to Triviṣṭapa to return the ornaments of Aditi and Indra, which Naraka had snatched from them. While on his return journey to Dvārakā, he rooted out the Pārijāta tree to replant it in the garden of Satyabhāmā, his wife, who had accompanied him all along and had desired so.[2]

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[1] 8.15.4-7.

[2] 7.5.1.

[3] 8.15. 3, 23, 28.

[4] 8.15.32.

[5] 8.15.33-36.

[6] 8.8.12; 8.13.1-6; 8.17.8; 8.19.16; 8.20.21-29, 33 ; 8.23.4, 19.

[7] 10.63.4.

[8] 10.63.10-11.

[9] 10.63.14-19.

[10] 10.63.32, 49-50.

(vi) There was tumultuous war between gods and demons when the latter were deprived of the nectar (*amṛta*), the produce of ocean by their joint venture.[3] The fourfold army consisting of elephants, chariots, cavalry and infantry was plunged into war from both sides, and each part of the army fought with its counterpart on the opponent's side.[4] There was also separate duels between the main warriors of both the armies.[5] Bali, the king and the commander-in-chief of the demon's army fought seated on a plane.[6] He employed demoniacal means (*āsurī-māyā*) as a part of his strategy (*kūṭa-karman*), and made gods unconscious.[7] Seeing the gods in distress, God appeared on the battle-field, destroyed Bali's magic show and killed his army commanders namely, Kālanemi etc.[8] The gods, now revived by God's help, again fought with their respective opponents.[9] In a tough fight Indra killed Namuci.[10] When the demons were on the verge of destruction, Brahmā sent Nārada to ward off the gods. Consequently the war was stopped and both armies returned to their respective headquarters.[11]

(vii) There ensued a frightful war between the gods and the demons on the issue of Tārā. Soma, the grandson of Brahmā, being intoxicated by the glory he enjoyed as the monarch of the planets and performer of the Rāja-sūya sacrifice, committed the great sin of abducting Tārā, the wife of his guru Bṛhaspati. Śukra, envious of Bṛhaspati, took the side of Soma with all his demon disciples.

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[1] 10.59.2-3, 11-21.

[2] 10.59.38-40.ab.

[3] 8.10.5.

[4] 8.10.8.

[5] 8.10.28-34.

[6] 8.10.16.

[7] 8.10.45-52.

[8] 8.10.54-57.

[9] 8.11.1.

[10] 8.11.39-40ab.

[11] 8.11.43-46.

Indra and other gods followed their priest Bṛhaspati. Rudra also came to help Bṛhaspati as he was the disciple of latter's father, Aṅgiras. The awe-inspiring war began for the release of Tārā and culminated in the destruction on both the sides. Brahmā then intervened at the request of Bṛhaspati and denouncing Soma's shameful act forced him to return Tārā to her husband.[1]

(viii) The demons defeated by the gods sought shelter in Maya, the architect, who prepared three castle-like planes (*tri-puras*) for them; and fighting through these flying castles the demons destroyed the gods.[2] Rudra came to help gods and tried to kill demons; but for Maya he could not do so.[3] The intrepidity and designs of Rudra failed, and he was frustrated. Viṣṇu followed by Brahmā then came to assist Rudra who, then, was able to burn down the three castles along with the demons.[4]

SIXFOLD BODY OF MANU ETC.

The Bhāgavata describes the sixfold bodies of Manu etc. that come in succession in each manvantara to practise and propagate the moral and spiritual order and thus sustain the universe for the period of a kalpa.[5] A sixfold group which works in unison in each manvantara comprises Manu, his sons, the gods, the hermits, Indra and a Descnt of God called the Manvantarā'vatāra.[6] Accordingly, in the first manvantara Svāyambhuva was the Manu', Priyavrata and Uttānapāda were his sons, Yāmas etc. the gods, Marīci etc. the seven hermits and Yajña was the Manvantarā'vatāra who ruled over Triviṣṭapa and acted as Indra also. Thus the group was fivefold in the first manvantara because the Descent acted as Indra also.[7] Excepting the first group all others were sixfold. In the second manvantara Svārociṣa was the Manu, Dyumatsena etc. were his sons, Rocana was Indra, Tuṣita etc. were gods, Ūrjastamba etc. seven hermits and Vibhu was the Manvantarā'vatāra who taught the vow of celebacy to 80000 munis.[8] It may be recalled here that Uttama, Tāmasa and Raivata, three sons of Priyavrata, were the Manus of succeeding manvantaras.[9] Uttama was the third Manu, Pravaṇa etc. were his sons, Pramada etc. were the seven hermits, Satya etc. were the gods, Satyajit was Indra and Satyasena was the Manvantarā'vatāra who killed the yakṣas, rākṣasas and bhūtas of bad conduct.[1] The fourth Manu was Tāmasa and among his sixfold body Hari, the Manvantarā'vatāra, is notable for his grace showered upon the elephant who was caught in the clutches of a crocodile.[2] Raivata was the fifth Manu and in his sixfold body Vaikuṇṭha-Viṣṇu was the Manvantarā'vatāra who made Vaikuṇṭha-loka for Ramā after killing Hiraṇyākṣa and Hiraṇyakaśipu.[3] Cākṣuṣa was the sixth Manu and Ajita was the Manvantara'vatāra who assumed the form of a tortoise to help in the churning of the ocean and also managed the drink of nectar for the gods.[4] The seventh Manu was Śrāddhadeva, Ikṣvāku etc. were his sons, Ādityas etc. were the gods, Kaśyapa etc. were seven hermits, Purandara was Indra and Vāmana was the Descent of God who took back the kingdom of Triviṣṭapa from Bali to please his mother Aditi.[5] Bali, who pleased Vāmana by adhering to his words, was duly rewarded in that he was designated as Indra of the eighth manvantara ; and so, for the time beinghe resides in Sutala.[6] As the seventh is the current manvantara, the remaining seven are still to come in the present kalpa. The Bhāgavata describes the sixfold bodies of the future manvantaras, i.e., from the 8th to the 14th, in a prophetic way.[7]

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[1] 9.14.3-8abc.

[2] 7.10.52-54.

[3] 7.10.58-59.

[4] 7.10.60-61, 64-66.

[5] Śrīdhara's intr. to 8.1.

[6] 12.7.15.

[7] Śrīdhara on 8.1.8.

[8] 8.1.19-22.

[9] 5.1.28.

In relation to a Manvantarā'vatāra, the entire organisation—both human and celestial—as noted above, consists in so many Kalās, and with the aid of their respective Kalās fourteen Manvantarā'vatāras incessantly keep themselves engaged in the sustenance of the universe (*jagad-yātrā*) throughout a kalpa.[8] Under the superintendence of a Manvantarā'vatāra each Kalā follows its respective duties which are the same in each manvantara. Manu as the head of the human organisation takes to propagate the fourfold religion (*catuṣ-pāda-dharma*). The sons of Manu, their sons and so on administer human subjects according to the prescription of the Vedas, the holy Scriptures embodying eternal truth. The Vedas are revealed to the hermits who undergo *tapas* for the purpose. The subjects perform sacrifices prescribed by Vedic injunctions, in which the gods, especially Indra, enjoy their their respective shares. It then becomes the duty of Indra, the god of heaven, to pay back the sacrificial benefits in the shape of protection of the three worlds.[9]

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[1] 8.1.23-26.

[2] 8.1.27-30.

[3] 8.5.2-6.

[4] 8.5.7-10.

[5] 8.13.1-6 ; 8.23.19.

[6] 8.13.12cd-14, 8.22.29-32.

[7] 8.13.11-35.

[8] 1.3.27; 8.14.1-3; vide PSB. p. 182.

[9] 8.14.3-7 ; vide PSB p.182.

God goes further to fulfil the divine mission of sustenance of the universe and distributes his attention to each yuga of a manvantara. In His another form, called Yugā'vatāra, then, He imparts knowledge as an enlightened soul (*siddha*, e.g., Sanaka), teaches the path of action as a ritualistic seer (*ṛṣi* e.g., Yājñavalkya), propagates yoga (meditation) as a practical spiritualist (*yogeśa* e.g., Dattātreya), contributes to progeny as a progenitor (*prajeśa* e.g., Mārīci), kills the enemies of man (*dasyus*) as a king (*svarāj*) and, at the end of a yuga, replaces the whole scene by a new one, as Time (Kāla).[1] Like a Yugā'vatāra and Manvantarā'vatāra, protecting the worlds for a yuga and for a manvantara respectively, God protects the worlds for a kalpa, having undergone emanation (Vyūha) of his own self.[2] Apparently this specific Emanation of God refers to Vairāja-Puruṣa manifested in the three worlds ; and, lasting for a kalpa this Emanation may be described as a Kalpā'vatāra in the same way as his form lasting for a yuga or a manvantara is called a Yugā'vatāra or a Manvantarā'vatāra.[3]

The Fourfold Religion :

The *catuṣ-pāda-dharma* which Manus propagate in their respective periods[4] consists in the four pillars (*pādās*) of religion. The Bhāgavata mentions these four pillars (i.e., spiritual virtues) in four different contexts thus : (i) *satya, tapas, dayā* and *śāuca* in the first context[5]; (ii) *satya, tapas, dāna* (*dayā*) and *vidyā* (*śauca*) in the second[6]; (iii) *satya, kṣamā,* (*tapas*), *dayā* and *śauca* in the third[7]; and (iv) *satya, tapas, dayā,* and *dāna* (*śauca*) in the last.[8] The four virtues, which emerge clearly from the above four statements, reconciled by Śrīdhara, are *satya* (truth), *tapas* (contemplation), *dayā* (pity) and *śauca* (internal and external purity). These four constitute the whole of religion and are practised earnestly by the people of the golden age (kṛta-yuga).[9] In the silver age (tretā-yuga) the fourth part of the each virtue diminishes in practice ; and it is due to the four causes of the evil (a-dharma-hetu) viz, *anṛta* (falsity), *asantoṣa* (dissatisfaction), *hiṁsā* (violence) and *dveṣa* or *vigraha* (hostility) respectively.[1] Elsewhere it is said that *anṛta* (falsity), *smaya* (arrogance), *mada* (pride) and *saṁga* (contact with women) destroy the above four pillars respectively.[2] Of these causes, the latter three are seemingly different from their counterparts. But arrogance generates dissatisfaction and destroys contemplation ; pride makes one violent and thus destroys his virtue of pity ; and, contact with woman etc. may cause conflict and thus destroys the internal purity. As for the origin of these causes of the evil, falsity arises from gambling etc. and destroys truth ; dissatisfaction arises from the drinking of wine etc. and makes one quite incompetent for contemplation. Injury to others (*hiṁsā*) is an animal instinct and destroys the sense of pity on other beings. Finally, association with woman leads to the destruction of internal purity. In order to show how the four virtues lose their hold on man, the respective causes and effects are shown above. But, in fact, any one vice may destroy anyone or all the four virtues.[3]

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[1] 8.14.8-9.

[2] 12.11.50.

[3] PSB. p. 195-196.

[4] 8.14.5.

[5] 1.17.23ab.

[6] 3.12.41ab ; Śrīdhara here defines *dāna* as *dayā* and *vidyā* as *śauca* to reconcile the four statemnts.

[7] 12.2.1abc ; Here *Kṣamā* has been taken to mean *tapas* to reconcile the views.

[8] 12.3.18cd. Śrīdhara here equates *dāna* with *śauca* as it is the gift of fearlessness to others indicating the purity of one's mind.

[9] 12.3.18.

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[1] 12.3.20.

[2] 1.17.23-24.

[3] 1.17.37 with Śrīdhara.

THE PRE-FLOOD TRADITION (CRITICAL)

TIME AND DELUGE

THE DELUGE AND THE GREAT FLOOD (IDENTIFICATION)

PRE-HISTORIC CULTURE

THE SUSTENANCE OF THE UNIVERSE

[IV] THE PRE-FLOOD TRADITION (CRITICAL)

TIME AND DELUGE

Of the three concepts of Time,[1] we are concerned with the last, i.e., empirical. This ordinary concept of time, defined in terms of the velocity of the earth in the solar system, has two points of extension (*parimāṇa*), i.e., it extends from the minutest particular (*paramāṇu*) to the largest general (*parama-mahat* or year) ;[2] and reference to time in terms of these is time-sequence. The Bhāgavata conceives three hierarchical grades of time-sequence in relation to man, gods and Brahmā ; and, such grades are based on the longevity of man, gods and Brahmā running up to one hundred years in each of the three cases. But the longevity of gods and Brahmā, which seems to have been founded on the longevity of man, is infinitely longer because of their living in higher grades of time. As year is the unit of man's longevity, similarly *yuga* is the unit of higher grades of time viz, manvantara, kalpa and dvi-parārdha. As the time, the sun takes to cross an atom, is taken to be the lowest limit, so the longevity of Brahmā, i.e., dvi-parārdha, is taken to be the uppermost limit. The grades of time, conceived in relation to gods and Brahmā, fall in the domain of mythology while conception of time in relation to man apparently comes in the fold of history.

According to the Bhāgavata, deluge (pralaya) is fourfold : the momentary destruction (nitya-pralaya), the periodical destruction (naimittika-pralaya), the dissolution of all material creation (prākṛtika-pralaya) and salvation (ātyantika-pralaya).[3] Time brings about all these types with the difference that whereas in the first three types, time continues its work to bring about fresh creation, in the fourth case it ceases to operate once for all ; for, a liberated soul enters eternity that transcends time-space scheme.[4] The principle of Time (Kāla) working behind the first three types of deluges should be, then, understood as a force driving the cosmic process to materialise into subtle and gross creations. Time in relation to these three types may be said to conduce to man's bondage while in relation to the fourth type it apparently leads to emancipation.[5]

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[1] Vide Chapter III p. 45.

[2] 3.11.13.

[3] 12.4.37.

[4] PSB p. 256.

[5] vide PSB pp. 247, 256.

THE DELUGE AND THE GREAT FLOOD (IDENTIFICATION)

Now we come to the intricate deluge connected with Satyavrata and his Saviour, the Fish Descent ;[1] and first see what the Bhāgavata and its faithful commentator, Śrīdhara, have to say about it. As for the Bhāgavata, it was the naimittika-pralaya that occured at the end of the previous kalpa ;[2] and lasted till the night of Brahmā (brāhmī niśā) which falls to the same length as of a kalpa.[3] But, in spite of this statement of the Bhāgavata, the deluge under consideration cannot be of the naimittika type according-to Śrīdhara,[4] on the following grounds :

(i) The similar statement of the Bhāgavata in the first skandha contradicts the above one. It says that the Fish Descent saved Vaivasvata Manu with the help of a boat in the *Cākṣuṣa* (Sixth) manvantara.[5]

(ii) The occurence of this deluge suddenly on the seventh day of its prediction[6] does not agree with the condition that a naimittika-pralaya occurs periodically at the end of each kalpa.

(iii) If, for the sake of argument, we accept that a naimittika-pralaya occured at the end of the sixth manvantara as said in the first point, it is also not admissible on the two pleas : (*a*) If it was so, Śrāddhadeva, who was maternal uncle of Cākṣuṣa[7] cannot be the seventh Manu what he was. (*b*) Moreover, according to the scheme of the Bhāgavata itself, neither naimittika nor prākṛtika-pralaya occurs at the end of a manvantara ; and, nor they have occured up to the present seventh manvantara.[8]

(iv) Further, from practical point of view, the preservation of herbs and seeds and boating of Satyavrata in the company of hermits, as Śrīdhara contends, do not seem possible in a cosmic deluge in which the three worlds are said to dissolve and merge in Brahmā. So, the contention of the commentator is that the deluge experienced by Satyavrata was not real (*vāstavika*) but illusory (*māyika*) similar to that as was shown to Mārkaṇḍeya in the present manvantara.[9]

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[1] vide Chapter III pp. 48-49

[2] 8.24.7.

[3] 8.24.37.

[4] Śrīdhara on 8.24.46.

[5] 1.3.15.

[6] 8.24.32, 41.

[7] vide references 14 and 15 in Chapter III. p. 54

[8] Śrīdhara on 12.8.3.

[9] The Bhāgavata (12.8.15 ; 12.9.10-19) certainly describes the deluge experienced by Mārkaṇḍeya as apparent and not a genuine one.

To reconcile the conflicting statements and thus arrive at a conclusion, we must come to the Bhāgavata again. The Bhāgavata, while describing this deluge at the end of the eighth skandha, has kept the two purposes of the Fish Descent quite distinct: One was to liberate the Vedas and in doing so the demon Hayagrīva was killed.[1] The other was the desire of God Himself to sport in a deluge assuming the form of a fish;[2] and, in doing so Satyavrata came to be involved. Now this may be, as the Bhāgavata itself maintains, understood that the first and the main purpose was fulfilled at the end of the previous kalpa when naimittika-pralaya had occured.[3] It may be recalled here that the Boar Descent has uplifted the earth from the ocean after killing the demon Hiraṇyākṣa at the beginning of this varāha-kalpa.[4] Similarly God assumed the form of a fish and killed Hayagrīva to liberate the light of the earth, i.e., the Vedas. Thus the Bhāgavata is right in declaring the occurence of a naimittika-pralaya in the context of a Fish Descent in so far as the first purpose of the Descent is concerned. As for the other purpose, it was the desire of God and none can annul it. He might have sported and saved Satyavrata incidentally in a deluge which was, as Śrīdhara maintains, illusory, i.e., brought about by God's potency known as *Māyā*.

But the contention of Śrīdhara is acceptable only *pro tempore*. As a Vedāntist he is naturally inclined to term the deluge as illusory; but there are certain evidences that tend to recognise in this deluge a historical fact. Like the story of the Fish Descent and Satyavrata as mentioned in the Bhāgavata,[5] the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa[6] describes a Great Flood in which Manu was saved. The account of the Brāhmaṇa text is the earliest Indian account; and there are embellished versions of this Flood in the Mahābhārata and other Purāṇas.[7] As for the foreign accounts, the Hebrew and Babylonian flood legends also corroborate the Indian one. The Flood in Mesopotania is generally held to have occured about 3000 B.C.;[8] and if the same Flood is mentioned in the Indian accounts, as the case seems to be, it might have occured the same time and would have overflooded the whole middle east Asia.[9] Now the deluge, mentioned by the Bhāgavata, clearly[10] says that Satyavrata, who was saved from it, was reborn as the seventh Manu, Śrāddhadeva ; and he later on became the progenitor of human race, as we all know. In the light of this clear statement, it becomes easy to identify the deluge with the Great Flood that occured at about 3000 B.C. ; and, after that, as we shall see, begins our traditional history taking its start from the same Manu who was implicit in the deluge.

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[1] 8.24.9.

[2] 8.24.31.

[3] 8.24.7-8.

[4] 3.13.15, 47.

[5] vide chapter III pp. 48-49

[6] ŚB 1.8.1.1-6.

[7] VA p. 275.

[8] VA p. 273.

[9] For the date and historicity of the Great Flood see Chapter VI.

[10] 8.24.10-11, 58.

The above identification is not merely a supposition. It can find support from the Bhāgavata itself which gives clue to this identification when it says that Śrāddhadeva was saved by the Fish Descent from a deluge in the sixth manvantara[1] in which Cākṣuṣa was Manu. As we have seen, Cākṣuṣa and Śrāddhadeva were contemporaries.[2] It seems that the said Flood occured at the time of Cākṣuṣa's reign and, somehow, Śrāddhadeva was saved ; and he, in the myth of the Bhāgavata, became S tyavrata first and the seventh Manu afterwards. So, we can conclude that the deluge or the Great Flood, as it will be called later on, was genuine in so far as Śrāddhadeva was concerned. As for his surprising survival from the Great Flood, divine grace or Viṣṇu's *prasāda*, as the Bhāgavata[3] calls it, is the last resort to be relied upon in the absence of any tangible reason.

That this Śrāddhadeva Vaivasvata Manu was the originator of the human race in the seventh manvantara is unanimously declared by all the Purāṇas including the Mahābhārata. And, so the human history or tradition, as it is called, that preceded Śrāddhadeva (i.e., from the 1st Manu to the sixth), and was destroyed by the Great Flood, is treated under the title of "the pre-flood tradition". This pre-flood tradition is recorded in most of the Purāṇas as in the Bhāgavata. It has been already noticed under the two families of Uttānapāda and Priyavrata, with the account of their dynasties.[4] The accounts of such pre-diluvian dynasties are found in Sumer and Egypt also,[5] and this gives additional weight to the authenticity of our records.

PREHISTORIC CULTURE

Human civilisation that started from the first Manu and was sunken in the Great Flood extends over six manvantaras, according to the Bhāgavata and other Purāṇas. But the manvantara is a higher grade of time conceived in relation to the longevity or activities of gods and may be put aside as being mythical. The highest limit of man's longevity, for all practical purposes, may be taken of one hundred years, and on this basis we may calculate the span of pre-flood tradition. As we have seen,[1] the Uttānapāda dynasty runs into seventeen generations from Dhruva, Uttānapāda's son, to the son of Vivasvān namely, Śrāddhadeva. Similarly the Priyavrata dynasty runs into twenty-six generations from Āgnīndhra, the son of Priyavrata, to Viraja who was the last king of the dynasty. Thus seventeen and twenty-six generations are said to have ruled in both the dynasties respectively. So, even if we allow the highest limit of man's longevity to these seventeen or twenty-six kings ruling simultaneously, the pre-flood tradition seems to extend to about a little over two thousand years on an average number of kings in both the dynasties. And, this is the era which the historians call "the pre-historic age."[2]

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[1] vide reference 10 above.

[2] vide reference 12 above.

[3] 8.24.58.

[4] vide chapter III. pp. 50-56 ;

[5] VA p. 274.

The account of pre-historic civilisation and religion, as given by the Bhāgavata and noted in the preceding chapter, is largely and naturally a mixture of myths and legends. The free play of tradition, woven with fact and fiction, is only what can legitimately be expected in the earliest records of a nation.

Notable Works :

In the Uttānapāda dynasty, five kings are notable for their contribution to Civilisation. First is (i) Dhruva who for the first time brings warfare into notice with such hilly tribes as the yakṣas, gandharvas, guhyakas, asuras, kinnaras etc.—all living on the Himālayas, especially on the Kailāśa hill.[3] Dhruva's eighth descendent (ii) Vena who was the only tyrant king in the whole of the tradition, comes second. But his tyranny was useful as far as the anarchy which preceded his reign at once came to hault when Vena was declared the king.[4] Being a despotic and irreligious king, he had to suffer death at the hands of those hermits who had favoured his installation on the throne.[5] The third is Vena's son (iii) Pṛthu, surprisingly enough, the greatest king of exalted position. He is credited with two works which were unheard of : The first was the commencement of agriculture to avert the paucity of food-grains as well as the shortage of the means of subsistance. It is said that he formulated and implemented the art and practice of cultivating the land with plough, its implements and labour, all essentials of agriculture.[1] Secondly, he started constructing fixed-dwellings because the people were previously living hither and thither. With the habitation of people in fixed dwellings, the following types of residential places appeared in his kingdom : (i) villages without markets (*grāma*), (ii) villages of cultivators (*kheṭa*), (iii) villages at the foot of mountains or the banks of the rivers (*kharvaṭa*), (iv) cow-pens comprising the cow-sheds and their stations (*vraja*), (v) stations of herdsmen (*ghoṣa*), (vi) mine-fields in the area where metallic ore, gold and jewels etc. are found (*ākara*), (vii) towns containing large buildings and surrounded by a ditch (*pura*), (viii) capital cities (*pattana*), (ix) fortresses (*durga*) and (x) army-headquarters (*śibira*).[2] In view of the above two special contributions to civilisation, Pṛthu came to be called as *rāja-rāṭ* (the king of kings)[3] and *ādi-rāja* (the first king)[4] respectively. Pṛthu also propagated the religion befitting the age.[5] The oath, which he had taken at the time of spiritual initiation held at the conclusion of a long lasting sacrifice (*mahā-satra-dīkṣā*),[6] was thus fulfilled by him. As for the wordings of that oath,[7] they suitably compare with those taken by any constitutional sovereign of the modern world.

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[1] See the previous chapter in which each king coming in succession is prefixed with successive numbers both in the Uttānapāda and Priyavrata families.

[2] VA, book two.

[3] 4.6.22, 27 ; 4.10. 3-4.

[4] 4.14.3.

[5] 4.14.34.

It seems that agriculture was the sole responsibility of a king because it was suspended when Prācīnabarhi resorted to the forest at an early age.[8] So, when his sons, (iv) the ten Pracetas, came back from *tapas* they had to destroy the forest vegetation that had covered the land in the absence of cultivation, just to revive agriculture ;[9] and for this, they are notable. The last notable king was (v) Dakṣa Prācetasa who was famous for his dexerity in procreation.[10] He contributed to the expansion of progeny through his numerous daughters.[11] Tradition of the Uttānapāda dynasty comes to its close with Cākṣuṣa, the sixth Manu designate and the son of Viśvakarman ;[12] and with Srāddhadeva, the seventh Manu designate, who was the son of Viśvakarman's daughter Saṁjñā married to

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[1] 4.17. 9-11 ; 4.18.3, 11-13, 19, 28.

[2] 4.18. 31-32 ; definitions are given by Śrīdhara on 1.6.11 & 4.13.20 ; vide also 7.2.14.

[3] Śrīdhara on 4.18.29.

[4] Śrīdhara on 4.13.20.

[5] 4.19.37.

[6] 4.21.21.

[7] vide chapter III p. 52.

[8] Śrīdhara on 6.4.5.

[9] 4.30.13-15, 44-48 ab ; 6.4.4-16.

[10] 4.3.50.

[11] 6.6.3 cd ; 6.4.17 cd.

[12] 6.6.15.

Vivasvān.[1] It may be noted here that both of these successive Manus were not liable to rule according to the law of *male primogeniture* and patriarchal succession; because the male line of Uttānapāda dynasty was broken after Dakṣa Prācetasa and these two were the descendents of his daughters married to the fathers of Viśvakarman and Vivasvān.[2]

The Priyavrata dynasty is notable from the standpoint of political geography. Priyavrata divided the earth into seven islands (*dvīpa*) for the purpose of government run by his seven sons respectively.[3] Āgnīndhra, his son, who was the head of the government in Jambū-dvīpa,[4] further divided his island into nine States (*varṣa*) so that his nine sons may rule over them, separately.[5] His one son, Nābhi inherited the important State then called as Nābhi-varṣa.[6] To commemorate Ṛṣabha (Aja) and Bharata, his son and grandson respectively who were celebrated kings, the State was renamed as Ajanābha-varṣa[7] and Bhārata-varṣa[8] successively. Bhārata-varṣa was further sub-divided into nine colonies or provinces viz, Kuśāvarta, Ilāvarta, Brahmāvarta, Malaya, Ketu, Bhadrasena, Indraspṛk, Vidarbha and Kīkaṭa[9] so that nine younger brothers of Bharata may rule there, separately.

Territory :

With the picture of political geography focussed in the assessment of the notable works of the Priyavrata dynasty, the question of the actual territory of the dynasty comes to the forefront. According to the Bhāgavata, as noted above, the dynasty ruled over the earth and its main line in Jambū-dvīpa which may be identified with modern Asia. Then, in the process of division for political purpose, the main line finally came to rule in Bhārata-varṣa, i.e., India, which was further divided into nine colononies at the time of Bharata; and one of these nine colonies was Brahmāvarta which is important in the present context. Svāyambhuva Manu, with whom the pre-flood tradition begins, is also said to have ruled over the earth while living in Brahmāvarta;[10] and his capital therein was Barhiṣmatī.[11] He was succeeded by both of his sons, i.e., Uttānapāda and Priyavrata.[12] But their separate territories are not specified. From all this, it seems, that the elder son Uttānapāda succeeded Svāyambhuva and reigned in the territory in which the father had lived and ruled. As for the rule over the earth, then, it is merely a story-telling. Similarly, the political geography, visible in the Priyavrata dynasty whose territory is not known, may be merely a geographical speculation of the Bhāgavata and not the genuine achievement of Priyavrata and his descendants. Now, Brahmāvarta, the scene of political activities from the beginning, seems to be the region from where human history makes its rise, as is known to us from the records of the Bhāgavata. Brahmāvarta, as defined in the Manu-smṛti,[1] was the tract between the rivers, Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī, and the same tract came to be called as Kurukṣetra, as we shall see further in the post-flood traditional history.

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[1] 6.6.37-38.

[2] 6.6.2.

[3] 5.1.31, 33.

[4] 5.1.33.

[5] 5.2.21.

[6] ibid.

[7] 5.4.3.

[8] 5.4.9 ; 5.7.3 cd.

[9] 5.10.10.

[10] 3.21.25.

[11] 3.22.29.

[12] 4.8.7.

Kingship :

That kingship was hereditary andthe rule of primogeniture prevailed in the pre-historic age may be illustrated from the following instances : (i) The hermits installed Vena, the son of Aṅga, on the throne when the father unexpectedly abdicated the throne and went away. And, this was done in spite of mild opposition by the ministers including the subjects because the prince was well-known for his bad conduct.[2] (ii) The hermits, when Vena was assassinated, are said to have produced Pṛthu from the dead Vena's hand only because a king of the same line was required for the throne.[3] (iii) The rule of primogeniture was modified when the elder son himself was not inclined to rule. This happened in two cases, the one when Utkala, the elder son of Dhruva, declined to rule and his younger brother Vatsara was then enthroned ;[4] and the next, when Vijitāśva, the elder son of Pṛthu himself, handed over ruling power to his younger brothers.[5] (iv) Ṛṣabha consecrated his eldest son, Bharata on the throne in consultation with ministers, citizens etc.,[6] although his own desire and Bharata's right were self-evident. These instances clearly show that, as a rule, the elder son was coronated by his father with the formal approval of the ministers etc. ; and also that the hermits had a say on the matter. In case the elder one declined to rule, the royal scion of the same family, particularly a brother, was preferred.

As for the origin of kingship, a theory suggests itself. The Bhāgavata expressly mentions that anarchy spread in the country as soon as

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[1] MS 2.17.

[2] 4.14.2.

[3] 4.15.4-6.

[4] 4.13.11.

[5] 4.24.1-2.

[6] 5.4.5.

Aṅga abdicated the throne ;[1] and that his son Vena, who ruled for the time being and curbed the anarchy,[2] was stile killed.[3] This means that without a king law and order cannot be maintained ; and that a king is, therefore, necessary for the purpose. The chaotic state of a country without a king is what may be called 'the state of nature'. And, this state may be said to have been a factor that led to the origin of kingship. The factor was sheer political necessity and the evolution of kingly power may be plausibly ascribed to it. The tyrant king Vena claims for himself divine honour ;[4] and this means that divinity of a king—a doctrine which is put forth by the Vedic Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas[5]—was known in the prehstoric age.

Procreation and Tapas :

The king is seen to perform twofold duties, i.e., of a king and of a householder.[6] As a householder, the king led religious life and at the same time contributed to the expansion of progeny. Great emphasis, laid on the procreation of human progeny, is visible throughout the age. Even those kings who were not desirous of entering family life were compelled to do so.[7] It seems that human progeny was scanty at the beginning of the age and therefore everything was geared to make it plentiful. Perhaps, it is for this reason that such hositile tribes as the yakṣas, guhyakas, and asuras etc.[8] and also the rākṣasas[9] were not allowed to be destroyed completely even in open wars. But, a pre-requisite to reproduction was *tapas*. The hermits and the kings had to undergo *tapas* before marrying thus enlarged the existing progeny by the co-operation of the opposite sex. The instances of the hermit Kardama[10] and the kings such as Dhruva,[11] Pracetas,[12] their son Dakṣa-Prācetasa[13] and his sons Haryaśvas[14] and Sabalāśvas[15] are enough to show that *tapas* was a requirement that must be satisfied prior to marriage. It was so because *tapas*, which means austerity in general in the present context, was useful in so far as it provided procreative power to the person who undertook it. The Bhāgavata itself makes this clear when it says that *tapas* is necessary prior to marriage so that the required progeny may be begotten in large number and of desirable quality[1]. Man endowed with *tapas* is said to have the power to produce the offspring of desired sex through his wife[2]. But, Nārada, the only son of Brahmā who remained celebate, always appears as a great hurdle to this demand of the age viz, procreation. Priyavrata was first to come under the influence of his teachings, although Priyavrata's father later on forced him to enter worldly life[3]. Next was Prācinabarhi who could not escape and had to resort to the forest early[4], although he had already produced sons before this. Nārada attempted on these sons also in the last part of their life[5] when they had already contributed their share in the form of Dakṣa Prācetasa. But two large groups of Dakṣa's sons viz, Haryaśvas and Sabalāśvas had to renounce the world in young age when they were undergoing *tapas* before procreation, under the influence of Nārada[6]. Apparently Nārada has always a hurdle in so far as the trend of the age was concerned. But, in the Bhāgavata, Nārada stands for propagating the path of knowledge ; and therefore in his anxiety to do so, led one hurriedly and directly to this path, no matter in what circumstances or stage of life he is, at the time.

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[1] 4.14.1.

[2] 4.14.3.

[3] 4.14.34, 39-40.

[4] 4.14.23-29.

[5] VA p. 430.

[6] For example Dhruva (4.12.13) in Uttānapāda dynasty and Gaya (5.15.6-9) in Priyavrata dynasty.

[7] For example Dhruva by God (4.12.41-43) and Priyavrata by his father (5.1.22).

[8] 4.11.1, 10.

[9] 8.11.43.

[10] 3.21.6.

[11] 4.9.20-21, 24-25.

[12] 4.24.14, 19.

[13] 6.4.51.

[14] 6.5.2.

[15] 6.5.25.

The wars between the gods and the demons[7] may be interpreted thus from the metaphysical standpoint of the Bhāgavata. Bhagavān has endowed man with free will ; and it involves a choice between at least two alternatives. Free will implies struggle between two opposites—instinct and reason—the demons and the gods. Man is the battling ground of these two contrary forces ; and, in this incessant fight, evil, as a rule, gains victory over good, because the divine purpose is accelarated by the process of steady deterioration[8]. When such conflict between the good (the gods) and the evil (the demons) reaches a critical point, Bhagavān realizes His fresh possibility at that juncture by courting embodiment as a Descent[9]. It is in this light that the killing of the three pairs of demons[10]—Hiraṇyākṣa and Hiraṇyakaśpu, Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarṇa,

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[1] 6.4.47-50.

[2] 6.6.1.

[3] 5.1.22.

[4] 4.30.44 ; 6.4.4.

[5] 4.31. 9-22.

[6] 6.5.21, 32.

[7] vide Chapter III pp. 56-61

[8] PSB p. 183.

[9] 3.33.5 ; vide PSB p. 184.

[10] vide Chapter III pp. 57-58

Śiśupāla and Dantavakra[1]—by three Descents of God, Nṛsiṁha, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, is to be understood. But, according to Śrīdhara,[2] these three pairs were killed by God in different wars because God Himself was interested in fighting. Like the desire for creation, the desire for fighting (*yuyutsā*) arose in God ; and it found expression in the curse to Jaya and Vijaya, His two attendants, by the spiritual hermits like Sanaka etc. According to Śrīdhara, the desire of God for fighting can only explain the following impossibilities viz, (i) the adverseness of Viṣṇu's attendants towards the Brāhmaṇas, (ii) the feeling of anger in those Brāhmaṇas, i.e., Sanaka.etc., (iii) the indifference of Viṣṇu towards his own attendants, and (iv) the rebirth of those gone to the Vaikuṇṭha-dhāman. (It may be recalled here that Jaya and Vijaya living in the Vaikuṇṭha-dhāman are said to have taken three births on the earth in the form of the above three pairs of demons.) So, the commentator explains that God with the desire to fight with equal rivals, ie., His own attendants, incited them to keep off the Brāhmaṇas and thereby also roused anger in those Brāhmaṇas who then imprecated the said curse on His attendants. Thus God made Jaya and Vijaya His hostile rivals so that His curious desire for war may be satisfied as there wās none else competent enough to fight with Him. And, as God had willed, everything became possible.

Arms, Weapons, Equipments, Warfare :

From the mundane outlook, the wars between the gods and the demons give the idea of arms, weapons, equipments and modes of war in the prehistoric age. The arms (*śastras*) for striking viz, gadā (club), tomara (an unknown arm,) parigha (iron or wooden bar), paraśvadha (hatchet), mudgara (mace), pattiśa (a spear with sharp edge), carman (shield, mainly the instrument of defence), dhanus (bow), paraśu (battle-axe) and asi-khaḍga-niśtriṁśa-ṛṣṭi (sorts of swords) ; and the weapons (*astras*) for throwing viz, bāṇa, (arrow), cakra (wheel), ulmuka (fire-brand), śūla (trident), bhalla (spear) bhindipāla (sling) and śakti-prāsa-śataghnī-bhuśuṇḍī (types of missiles) were used by gods and demons on each other in different full-fledged wars.[3] A missile (śakti) able to kill one hundred persons and therefore called śātaghnī was flung to Kṛṣṇa by Naraka demon.[4] The appearance of Kṛṣṇa in this age may not be doubted because for the Bhāgavata "Kṛṣṇa is no other than

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[1] The last pair shall appear as the kings of post-flood tradition, but being connected in the story they are treated here.

[2] Śrīdhara on 3.16.19.

[3] 6.10. 22-23, 8.10.35-36.

[4] 10.59.15c.

Bhagavān Himself."[1] And, Bhagavān has always[2] helped the gods when He found them helpless in distress. It is therefore that Kṛṣṇa appeared directly in conflict with Bāṇa demon also. Rudra, fighting on behalf of Bāṇa, used Brahmāstra and it was pacified by the same of Kṛṣṇa. Then the three other divine missiles viz, Vāyavīya, Āgneya and Pāśupata of Rudra were pacified by Kṛṣṇa's Pārvata, Parjanya and Nārāyaṇa respectively.[3] Finally, in that war of Rudra and Kṛṣṇa, Triśiras (a sort of fire-brand called Māheśvara-jvara here) burnt all sides and it was retaliated by Vaiṣṇava-śīta-jvara of Kṛṣṇa.[4] A thunderbalt (vajra) was made by Viśvakarman for Indra to kill Vṛtra.[5] A curious aṛm called phena (lit. foam) was used by Indra to cut the head of Namuci, the commander of Bali's army. The arm was said to be neither dry nor wet but both.[6] Bali affilicted the army of gods by his magical powers employing the services of the evil spirits. This magic show (āsurī māyā) of Bali was shattered by God who was bearing eight arms (aṣṭāyudha-Viṣṇu).[7] The eight weapons of Viṣṇu are : the wheel (sudarśana cakra), the conch-shell (pāñcajanya śaṅkha), the club (kaumodakī gadā), the sword (asi), the bow (śārṅga dhanus), the arrows (iṣu), the plough (hala) and the pestle (muṣala).[8] Sometimes the plough the pestle, the two special weapons of Balarāma with which he struck down the chief warriors of Bāṇa's army[9] and also Balvala demon later on at Naimiṣa,[10] are alternated in Viṣṇu's (Kṛṣṇa's) hand with the shield (carman) and the noose (pāśa) ;[11] or with the shield and the lotus (padma).[12]

As for the equipments, the sañjīvanī-vidyā and the Vaiṣṇavī-vidyā helped the demons and the gods respectively to win each other in succession.[13] Śukra, the priest of the demons, possessed the sañjīvanī-vidyā, a kind of elixir, with the help of which he revived those wounded and struck the demons whose limbs or heads were cut but not lost.[14] The Vaiṣṇavī-vidyā furnished by Viśvarūpa, the officiating priest of the gods, to Indra comprised mantras in which Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu and His different incarnations are prayed to protect from numerous calamities always and everywhere ; and, to shatter the opponents into pieces.[1] This prayer composed in the form of mantras propitiating god Nārāyaṇa was considered as preservative like an armour (varman or kavaca) and therefore it was called *Śrīman-Nārāyaṇa-kavaca* also. It is said that the Nārāyaṇa-varman was received from Dadhīci by Tvaṣṭā who gave it to his son Viśvarūpa.[2] Besides the sañjīvanī-vidyā helpful in reviving the demons, they were sometimes rejuvenated through the process of dipping them in the well of nectar prepared by Maya, the architect of the demons.[3] Maya is said to have equipped the demons with three moving castles (*pura*) made of gold, silver and iron. All the three castleslike planes were impenetrable, moved at will and their movements were hardly visible.[4] The planes seem to be a sort of engines used for assaulting strongholds.

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[1] 1.3.28b.
कृष्णस्तु भगवान् स्वयम्

[2] 6.9.54 ; 6.10.13 ; 7.10.60-61 ; 8.10. 54, 57 ; 8.17.8 ; 8.23. 4, 19.

[3] 10.63.12-13 ; Dhruva used the *Nārāyaṇa* weapon against the Yakṣas 4.11.1.

10.63. 22-24.

6.9.54 ; 6.10.13.

[6] 8.11.39-40ab.

[7] 8.10.54.

[8] 11.27.27abc.

[9] 10.63.6.

[10] 10.79.4.

[11] 6.4.36cd.

[12] 4.7.20cd.

[13] 6.7.39-40 ; 6.8.2, 33, 50.

[14] 8.11.47.

The army (senā) consisted in four parts viz, chariots, cavalry, infantry and elephants ; and each part fought with its counterpart.[5] A large army consisting of 21870 chariots, as many elephants , 65610 horses and 109350 foot soldiers was called one *akṣauhiṇī*.[6] A commander of 1000 charios was called *sahasraṇī*.[7] The king or army general generally fought while seated on a plane[8] or an elephant.[9] As soon as the actual war started the main combtants of both the rival armies had their separate duels.[10] The army sometimes retreated or fled away without fighting when the time was unfavourable. The gods fled away to hide themselves in an unknown place when Bali suddenly raided over Triviṣṭapa.[11] But the warriors like Vṛtra thought this retreat as their defeat, opposed to the sentiment of heroism. It was Vṛtra's declaration therefore that 'death either through absorption in the Supreme Soul (*Brahma-sandhāraṇā*) or on the battle-field is highly approved by the Scriptures.'[12] As for the policy of war, retreat at times may be unavoidable ; and, victory is gained if secrecy of military operation is maintained before going to the next war.[13] At resting time, the armies retired to their respective camps or entrenchments (*śibira*) and at peace-time they lived in fortresses (*durga*).[14] According to the

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[1] 6.8.10-32 ; esp. 6.8.31.

[2] 6.9.53.

[3] 7.10.58.

[4] 7.10.53 ; Maya is said to have made one plane for Bali also (8.10.16) and also one viz, "Saubha" for Sālva (10.76.-6-8).

[5] 8.10.8.

[6] Śrīdhara on 1.8.48 cites Vyāsa for this dimension of an Akṣauhiṇī.

[7] Śrīdhāra on 1.9.30.

[8] 8.10.16.

[9] 10.59.20.

[10] 8.10.28-34.

[11] 8.15.30.

[12] 6.10.33.

[13] 8.17.20.

[14] 4.18.30.

Bhāgavata, the best (*vibhūti*) of all the arms is the bow[1] or the thunderbolt;[2] the best of all the commanders is Skanda[3] and the best archer is Rudra.[4]

THE SUSTENANCE OF THE UNIVERSE

The three worlds, lasting for a kalpa and placed in charge of fourteen Manus, constitute the daily creation of Brahmā; and Viṣṇu sustains them for the same time when they are created. As Viṣṇu, God sustains the universe up to the end of a kalpa by his unflagging vigilance.[5] The picture of the Descent of Viṣṇu, the Great Personality (Mahā-Puruṣa), is offered by the Vairāja-Puruṣa, the Cosmic Man, manifested in the physical world for its sustenance.[6] And, as a kalpa is made up of a few manvantaras, each of which, again, consists in a number of yugas, God marked by these units of time is said to reveal himself as Descents. This is how God came to be recognised as Manvantarā'vatāras and yugā'vatāras. In every manvantara, under the sustained inspiration from God (the Manvantarā'vatāra), operate Manu, his sons, the hermits, Indra and the gods in their joint venture to maintain law and order (*sad-dharma*) which is basically moral and spiritual in character.[7] Of the entire organisation which is sixfold, the first three constituents viz, Manu, his sons and the hermits may be said to constitute the human organisation while the rest of the three viz, Indra, the gods and the Manvantarā'vatāra constitute the celestial one. But under the guidance of a Manvantarā'vatāra, gods and men (both rulers and hermits) enter into close co-operation to fulfil the divine mission of the sustenance of the universe.[8]

Manus as the heads of the human organisation propagate and practise the fourfold religion in their respective periods while their sons etc. administer the human subjects. The hermits endowed with *tapas* and knowledge direct kings and men in their religious practices, according to the Vedic injuctions.[9] The fourfold religion viz, truth (*satya*), contemplation (*tapas*), pity (*dayā*) and purity (*śauca*)[10], propagated by Manu is practised by the subjects up to their full extent in the Kṛta-yuga (the golden age) : a fourth part of each virtue is lost in practice in the Tretā-yuga (the silver age) : the virtues are reduced to half in the dvāpara-yuga (the copper age) and they are practised nominally in the Kali-yuga (the iron age). When the murky age is in full swing all the virtues, excepting truth, the fundamental pillar of religion, are totally abandoned. Finally, truth also vanishes at the climax of the Kali-age.[1] This proportionate decline in the quantum of spiritual virtues shows the diminishing capacity of the people to practise them in successive yugas. According to the Bhāgavata, this decline is due to the evils (*adharma-hetu*) viz, falsity (*anṛta*), dissatisfaction (*a-santoṣa*), violence (*hiṁsā*) and hostility (*dveṣa*) respectively.[2] And, these four evils arise from the vices viz, gambling, drinking of wine, injury to others and contact with woman respectively.[3]

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[1] 10.16.20c.

[2] *Gītā* 10-28a.

[3] 10.16.22c ; *Gītā*-10.24c.

[4] 10.16.20d.

[5] 5.20.41.

[6] PSB pp. 195-196.

[7] 8.14.2 ; vide also Śrīdhara's introduction to 8.1.

[9] PSB pp. 181-182.

[9] 8.14.3-7.

[10] 1.17.23*ab* ; 3.12.41ab ; 12.3.18cd.

In every era of Manu, called Manvantara, kings in the lineage of Manu are born in succession and they, as noted above, look after the administration and at the same time contribute their share in laying emphasis on the increase of human progeny. But, since the hermits, gods and angels blessed this world by their birth, there became certain kings who dedicated themselves to the spiritual cause. Utkala,[4] the elder son of Dhruva and Antardhāna[5], the elder son of Pṛthu, in the Uttānapāda dynasty ; Kavi etc.[6] the three sons of Priyavrata, and the greatest anchorite Ṛṣabha[7] are notable in the Priyavrta dyanasty. Ṛṣabha had a large progeny and he ruled also as a king but in the later part of his life he became the exponent of the pārama-haṁsya-dharma. On the other hand, the hermits, who are supposed to be devoted to the spiritual cause, were not indifferent to public welfare and are seen taking active part in the enthronement of a king like Vena[8] and also assassinating him when the proved himself unworthy.[9] When Vena was killed by them, they again took keen interest in installing his son Pṛthu on the throne[10] who proved himself as the most worthy king of the pre-historic age.

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[1] 12.3.18, 20, 22, 24.

[2] 12.3.20 ; cf. 1.17.23-24.

[3] 1.17.37.

[4] 4.13.11.

[5] 4.24.6.

[6] 5.1.26.

[7] 5.3.21.

[8] 4.14.2.

[9] 4.14.34.

[10] 4.15.4-6.

POST-FLOOD TRADITIONAL HISTORY (ENUMERATIVE)

THE SCHEME FOR ENUMERATION
A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE TRADITIONAL HISTORY
SOLAR RACE (SŪRYA-VAṀŚA)
LUNAR RACE (SOMA-VAṀŚA)
BIOGRAPHY OF ŚRĪ-KṚṢṆA

[V] POST-FLOOD TRADITIONAL HISTORY (ENUMERATIVE)

THE SCHEME FOR ENUMERATION

1. The Bhāgavata professes to record genealogy (vaṁśa and vaṁśā'nucarita) of Mānava-vaṁśa (Manu's progeny) abundantly (*prācuryeṇa*)[1] and declares to have done so completely (*vistareṇa*)[2] in its ninth skandha (Book). The Bhāgavata gives the complete genealogy of Manu's posterity under two heads: (i) Sūrya-vaṁśa and (ii) Soma-vaṁśa. These two vaṁśas (races) originate from Śrāddhadeva, the seventh Manu. He was the son of Vivasvān Āditya (identified with the physical sun) and therefore his sons (mānava) and their descendants come under the first head; and their genealogy is recorded in the first half of the ninth skandha. From Śrāddhadeva's daughter Ilā, whose husband was Budha, the son of Soma (identified with the physical moon), descended the Ailas who fall under the second head; and their genealogy is recorded in the second half of the skandha. Likewise, then, the Mānavas and the Ailas are enumerated separately under the same two heads.

2. In the Soma-vaṁśa, the Bhāgavata has reversed the order of description so far as the seniority in age is concerned. It is done to describe the Yādava family, which was sanctified by the birth of Kṛṣṇa, in the last and in greater detail.[3] And for this the order has been reversed from the very beginning. The first king of the Soma-vaṁśa was Purūravas. His eldest son was Āyu, his eldest son was Nahuṣa and his eldest son was Yayāti. But all these received the attention of the Bhāgavata when their younger brothers were described. In the same strain the youngest son of Yayāti received first attention and the eldest son Yadu, for whom the whole order has to be reversed, came in the last, being the favourite of the Bhāgavata. Since the Bhāgavata has preferred this type of description in the Soma-vaṁśa, we have extended it to the Sūrya-vaṁśa also, on the same basis, i.e., the importance of the family. Accordingly, the pedigree (vaṁśāvalī) and duration of the lineage (vaṁśa-krama) are taken as factors to determine the importance of a certain family or dynasty. So, the smaller lineages or families with shorter duration are given first place, while those having larger pedigree and therefore longer duration are enumerated in the last. Thus in the hierarchy

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[1] 9.1. 4, 17 ab.

[2] 10.1.1; 12.2.25.

[3] 9.23.18-19; Śrīdhara on 9.17.1.

of importance, the least important lineage or family comes at the beginning and the most important at the end. Again, among these lineages (e.g., Ānavas), or families (e.g., Yādavas), or dynasties (e.g., Ayodhyā), treated under the above two heads, were junior lines or branch lines besides the main; and they founded different dynasties elsewhere out of the ancestral territory of the main line. They have also been enumerated in the lineage or family to which they belong in hierarchical order, based on the same factors that have been applied to determine the importance of the main families or dynasties.

3. Śrāddhadeva, the son of Vivasvān, who was designated as the seventh Manu, is simply referred to here as Manu for the sake of brevity. His personal name, patronymic or designation is mentioned only where it was necessary to do so.

4. The two great Vaṁśas (Sūrya and Soma) originating from Manu are henceforth called "races" (Solar and Lunar) to distinguish them from numerous new family lineages (anvaya or anuvaṁśa) and dynasties (rāja-vaṁśa) that emerged among the family succession (vaṁśa-paramparā) of the two original races.

5. For the Bhāgavata, genealogy is just a peg to hang the myths (purā-kathā), stories (ākhyāyikā), ancedotes (ākhyānaka) and narratives (ākhyāna or upākhyāna) of gods (deva), hermits (ṛṣi) and kings (including men). The Bhāgavata[1] has invoked them only to enhance the fervour of knowledge (*jñāna*) and detachment (*vairāgya*). As we are not concerned with this revolutionary attitude of the Bhāgavata towards history, all these legendary stories (kathā), whether they are directly described or only alluded to, are summarily noted in historical perspective.

6. Since traditional history goes back to long long time (said to be twenty-eight four yugas), it was perhaps necessary to assign progeny and reigns to kings in vast figures. So, some kings are said to have hundreds or even thousands of sons; and a few are said to have ruled for thousands of years. If we utilize the power of discrimination as rational beings, it would seem that the figures denote many sons and long reign respectively. Hence, such progeny is expressed in the enumeration by the terms—many sons or near descendants or a large number of progeny—as the case approximately seems to be. Similarly, the terms—long or very long or the largest possible time—are used in connection with regnal period of a king if it is given by the Bhāgavata in the vast figure.

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[1] 12.3.14.

7. The relation of kings with their sons or successors, as given by the Bhāgavata, is maintained throughout. But it will appear *infra* that a father may be an ancestor and a son may be a descendant. So, wherever sonship is controversial, another version is mentioned in the bracket e.g., son (or descendant). There are also a few cases in which the relationship mentioned by the Bhāgavata may be *vice versa*, and such cases are noted in the schematic part.

8. Often the hermits of the same name appear with kings either continuously for generations together or with another king who was generations apart. It may be understood that patronymics or gotra names are used in such cases instead of the personal names of the hermits. As for patronymics, either used in case of a king as said above or in case of a hermit, they need not be taken to denote immediate sonship.

9. All the names of kings etc., given by the Bhāgavata, are not accurate and variants appear in other Purāṇas. But the Bhāgavata text contains no variants even as a part of another reading (*pāṭhāntara*). Hence the names are enumerated in like manner and notice of variants or correct names shall be taken in the schematic part.

10. Marriage alliances of kings and hermits are noted with the name of the wife and her father in each case, if given by the Bhāgavata. These marital notices shall be helpful in ascertaining the position of connected persons by way of synchronisms. Moreover, while dealing with the social history, they shall throw light on the existing customs and usages of marriage.

11. There was a unique phenomenon of the emergence of the Brāhmaṇa sub-families (*gotras*) from the members of the royal families ; and the genealogies duly take notice of them. Similarly, there are plain statements that the Kṣatriya princes became Brāhmaṇas. This phenomenon and statements concerning it are noted and they will be considered in detail with special reference to the time of the emergence of such gotras and their affiliation to the original and chief Brāhmaṇa families further in chapter eleven.

12. The whole span of traditional history, recorded in the present chapter, extends between Manu and Kṛṣṇa in terms of personality or between the Great Flood and the Great War in terms of event. All the dynasties described in the ninth skandha (excepting a few) fall between these two limits ; and so Manu or the Great Flood is to be understood as the starting point and Kṛṣṇa or the Great War as the closing point of traditional history. As an exception to the general rule that the Great War forms the last limit

of the post-flood tradition, the Bhāgavata takes Yudhiṣṭhira and Parīkṣit, the post-war kings, as ruling before the closure of the traditional account. So they have been enumerated, and this may be taken as the slight transgression of the last limit.

A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE TRADITIONAL HISTORY

When the pre-historic human beings and their civilisation were wiped out by the Great Flood, Vaivasvata Manu became the progenitor of the human race in post-flood traditional history. The genealogy of the two great races viz, the solar and the lunar—that descended from him, flourished and continued up to the Great War (the Kurukṣetra war) and also afterwards—form the subject-matter of the ninth skandha (Book) of the Bhāgavata.[1]

The solar race comprises Manu's sons and their posterity. Manu had ten sons, Ikṣvāku, Diṣṭa, Śaryāti etc. Ikṣvāku's immediate descendents became the rulers in the central region of Āryāvarta.[2] Ikṣvāku himself founded a dynasty at Ayodhyā. From his eldest son Śaśāda, a Śaśāda lineage (anvaya) continued to rule at Ayodhyā up to the Great War and onwards. Nimi, the second son of Ikṣvāku, founded another dynasty at Mithilā. This came to be known as Videha dynasty which was continued by Janaka and flourished till the limit of our traditional history, i.e., the Great War. Diṣṭa and Śaryāti founded comparatively small dynasties in the realms of Vaiśālī and Ānarta (Gujarat) respectively.

The lunar race comprises Ilā's son and his posterity. Purūravas, the son of Ilā and Budha, was the first Aila king ; and so he may be understood as the founder of the lunar race. He inherited the kingdom of his mother at Prathiṣṭhāna (Prayāga) and his son Āyu continued the main line of the Aila dynasty there. Vijaya, another son of Purūravas, founded a kingdom at Kānyakubja (Kanauj) while Āyu's son Kṣatravṛddha founded the second earliest kingdom of the lunar race at Kāśī (Vārāṇasī). Āyu's grandson Yayāti had five sons from whom descended five clans viz, the Turvasus, Druhyus Ānavas, Pauravas and Yādavas. These five clans of hierarchical importance spread all over north India in the course of time. The first three clans played comparatively small role in traditional history while the latter two dominated up to the last. The short-lived Turvasu line perhaps ruled in the hilly tracts round the modern town Rewa in Madhyapradeśa. The Druhyu line, being driven away from the realm awarded by the common ancestor of the five clans, i.e., Yayāti, finally enabled to establish itself in Gāndhāra (North-West Frontier); and it may be noted that the Druhyus founded their principalities beyond north India. The Ānavas divided into two branches after some generations. The first branch, which may be called *NW* Ānavas, founded many small kingdoms in the Punjab while the other, which may be called E. Ānavas, moved to East India and soon developed many kingdoms convering the areas of modern Bihar, Bengal and Assam including the coastal strips.

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[1] 9.1. 1-4.

[2] Āryāvarta is defined in the Manu-Smṛti (2.22) as the territory between the Himālayas and Vindhya mountains in the north and south respectively and the sea-coasts on the east and west sides.

Pūru, the youngest son of Yayāti, inherited the ancestral throne of Pratiṣṭhāna ; and soon after him the Paurava dynasty went into eclipse till it was revived by Duṣyanta. After Bharata Dauṣyanta, the central seat of the Paurava activities shifts to Hastināpura,[1] and many branch lines among the Bhāratas shooted up and founded different kingdoms in the doab of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā. Power politics brought about many battles between the main line and the branch lines of the Paurava family, with the result that interruption and usurpation took place especially in the era that preceded the Great War. On the whole, the main line of the Pauravas may be said to have ruled in Brahmāvarta[2] while its branch lines in the upper Gangetic doab.

Yadu, the eldest son of Yayāti, was, according to the Bhāgavata, assigned a territory in the south direction with reference to the ancestral kingdom of Pratiṣṭhana which Pūru obtained. The Yādavas, since their inception, split into two great branches, the Haihayas and the Yādavas proper. The Haihayas reigned in the Narmadā region and played noteworthy part in traditional history, although the lineage lasted only for the one-third of its span. The main reason of the Haihaya downfall was their conflict with the Bhārgava family of the Brāhmaṇas, particularly with Paraśurāma. And, Sagara, the king of Ayodhyā, was destined for their destruction. The Yādavas proper flourished in Western India from Mathurā to Dvārakā and outnumbered all other clans mentioned above. They also penetrated in the south traversing over the ruins of the Haihayas and carved out a new kingdom of Vidarbha (the area south of Nagpur previously called Berar and now in Mahārāṣtra-pradeśa). Later on, the Yādavas developed into numerous branches which ruled in Ānarta and Surāṣtra up to the time of Kṛṣṇa. The Kurukṣetra war and the tragedy at Prabhāsa-kṣetra brought about the annihilation of the great Yādava family. The brief sketch of the traditional history, outlined above, may be exhibited in the form of a genealogical tree of Manu as follows :—

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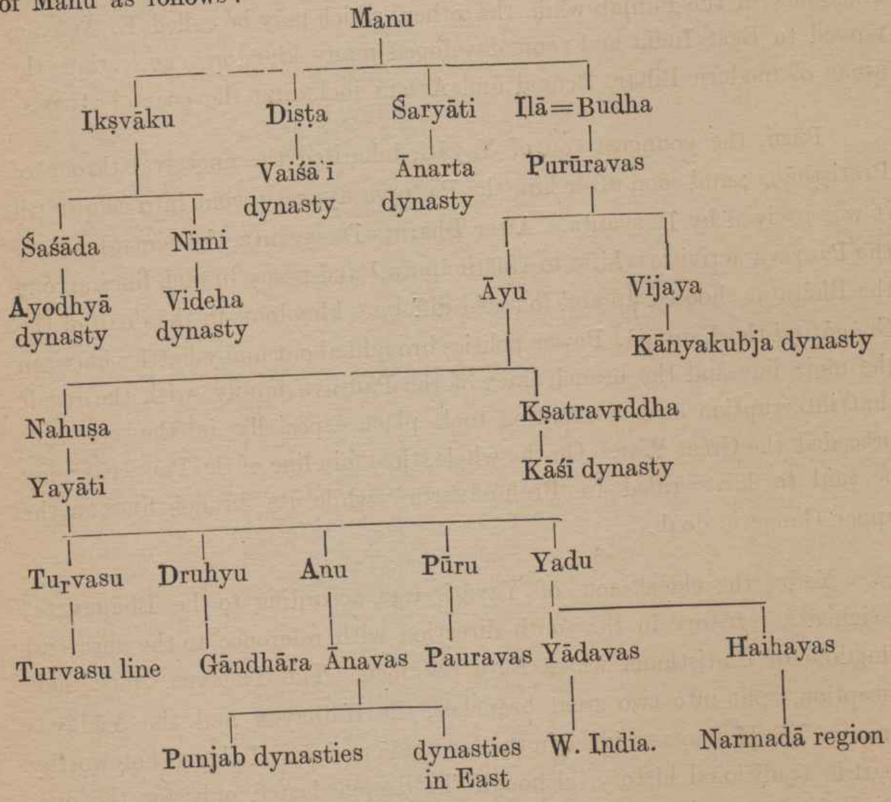
[1] Hastināpura was situated some fifty miles north-east of the modern Delhi—vide Apte's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*.

[2] Brahmāvarta, according to the *Manu-Smṛti* (2.17), was the tract between the rivers Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī. It may be recalled that pre-historic rulers are also said to have ruled here (3.21.25).


Manu
Ikṣvāku
Diṣṭa
Śaryāti
Ilā=Budha
Vaiśā'ī dynasty
Ānarta dynasty
Purūravas
Śaśāda
Nimi
Ayodhyā dynasty
Videha dynasty
Āyu
Vijaya
Kānyakubja dynasty
Nahuṣa
Kṣatravṛddha
Kāśī dynasty
Yayāti
Turvasu
Druhyu
Anu
Pūru
Yadu
Turvasu line
Gāndhāra
Ānavas
Pauravas
Yādavas
Haihayas
Punjab dynasties
dynasties in East
W. India.
Narmadā region

SOLAR RACE (SŪRYA-VAṀŚA)

Manu's Sons and Their Realms :

Śrāddhadeva, the seventh Manu, was the son of Vivasvān and Saṁjñā.[1] His ten sons born through Śraddhā were : (i) Kavi, (ii) Pṛṣadhra, (iii) Nṛga, (iv) Dhṛṣṭa, (v) Nariṣyanta, (vi) Karūṣa, (vii) Nabhaga, (viii) Śaryāti, (ix) Diṣṭa and (x) Ikṣvāku.[2] The order of this list, according to our scheme, shows the hierarchical importance of Manu's sons in the field of political history. Kavi and Pṛṣadhra had no progeny. Since his childhood, Kavi was detached from material pleasure and therefore he resorted to the forest in his young age where, with concentration on the Divine, he attained coalescence with the Supreme Soul.[1] An anecdote[2] says how Pṛṣadhra followed Kavi. It is said that he happened to kill a deep-brown cow under the wrong impression of a tiger, and for this, he was cursed by the family-priest Vasiṣṭha to be a Śūdra. He, then, with single-pointed devotion attained Brahman. Nṛga's six descendants are named[3] but there is no account of them. Both Dhṛṣṭa and Nariṣyanta seem to have no kingdom because their descendants became Brāhmaṇas relinquishing the Kṣatriya status. The only difference was that the Dhārṣṭa gotra of the Brāhmaṇas immediately descended from Dhṛṣṭa,[4] while the Āgniveśyāyana gotra descended from Agniveśya, the tenth lineal descendant of Nariṣyanta.[5] A short notice of Karūṣa discloses that from him descended the Kārūṣas—the valiant fighters and righteous rulers—who became protectors (*goptārāḥ*) of Uttarāpatha.[6]

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[1] 8.13.1.

[2] 9.1.12 ; A previous list of Manu's sons (8.13.2-3) omits the names of Nṛga and Kavi and inserts Nābhāga and Vasumat instead. As for Nābhāga, he was Nabhaga and it is merely a difference in reading (Śrīdhara on 9.1.12).

The account of Nabhaga begins with a story[7] that describes the guileless character of his son, Nābhāga; and consequent grace of Rudra showered upon him. Nābhāga's son was Ambarīṣa who is said to be a glorious monarch[8] but without mention of his dominion. As a monarch of high reputation, he ruled under the guidance of the learned Brāhmaṇas ; and as a devotee of God he, with unitary vision, surrendered all his actions including their fruits to God.[9] He performed many horse-sacrifices on the bank of the river Sarasvatī, always changing the venue of sacrifice from its mouth at Maru desert to its origin upward.[10] Ambarīṣa Nābhāgi came in conflict with the irascible hermit Durvāsas, but the latter's magic fire (*kṛtyā'nala*) could not hurt him.[11] An episode[12] connected with the king's vow of *dvādaśī* picturesquely describes how the unfailable curse of a Brāhmaṇa failed to react upon this tranquil devotee of Viṣṇu ; and how the Brāhmaṇa Durvāsas had to kneel down for his own safety before the Kṣatriya king. The Nabhaga line ends with Rathītara, the son of Ambarīṣa, because his kṣetraja sons born through the niyoga of an Āṅgirasa Brāhmaṇa themselves became Brāhmaṇas[1] and no further account of the Rathītaras is available.

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[1] 9.2.15.

[2] 9.2.3-14.

[3] 9.2.17 ab-18.

[4] 9.2. 17 ab.

[5] 9.2. 19-22 ab.

[6] 9.2. 16.

[7] 9.4. 1-11.

[8] 9.4.15.

[9] 9.4.21.

[10] 9.4.22.

[11] 4.4.13.

[12] 9.4. 29-71 ; 9.5. 1-22.

Ānarta :

Of the three remaining important sons of Manu, Śaryāti founded a fresh kingdom in the country which came to be known as Ānarta after his son, Ānarta.[2] Ānarta's son Raivata, who extended the paternal kingdom by annexing the surrourding areas, built the capital city namely, Kuśasthalī in the waters of the sea that bordered his kingdom in the west.[3] Raivata had many sons among whom Kakudmī was the eldest. All of them were not only ousted from the kingdom but are said to have been destroyed by the Puṇyajan' s also called the Yakṣas.[4] There are two interesting stories connected with the marriage of the daughters of Śaryati and his great grandson Kakudmī. An episode[5] describes how Śaryāti happened to marry his daughter Sukanyā to Cyavana Bhārgava at later's wish. The second fable tells that Kakudmī offered his daughter in marriage to Balarāma, the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa.[6] When the Śāryātas were ousted and Kakudmī departed to some unknown place,[7] the Ānarta dynasty passed into oblivion.

Vaiśālī :

The dynasty of Vaiśālī founded by Diṣṭa is so called in anticipation of the name of Diṣṭa's 23rd descendant Viśāla who founded the capital of the kingdom, Vaiśālī.[8] The Vaiśāla kings, as they are called[9] ruled in the Vaiśālī realm successively after Diṣṭa for at least the two-third of the whole span of traditional history, as will appear. It is said that Diṣṭa's son Nābhāga (to be distinguished from Nabhaga's son Nābhāga mentioned above) became a Vaiśya;[10] and there is no account of Vaiśāla kings till we come to Karandhama, the 11th descendant of Diṣṭa, whose epithet 'mahā-rāja'[11] may well put him in the category of notable kings. Karandhama's grandson Marutta Āvīkṣita was the first and the only paramount monarch (*cakravartin*) mentioned in the Vaiśālī dynasty.[12] He performed a great sacrifice conducted by his priest, Saṁvarta, an Āṅgirasa Brāhmaṇa. It is said that this sacrifice was unparalleled in grandeur and gifts which satisfied the invitees completely[1]. Marutta's 9th descendant Tṛṇabindu was another notable king because his successors are said to have retained his glory,[2] at least in memory if not by works. Tṛṇabindu married a celestial damsel Alambuṣā and had, among offspring, one daughter through her. The daughter Iḷaviḍā was married to Viśravas and their son was Kubera.[3] The notable son of Tṛṇabindu was Viśāla who is credited with the founding of the capital and giving his name to the dynasty, as already said above. The last king, about whom something is said, was Somadatta, the 6th descendant of Viśāla. He performed many horse-sacrifices[4] and may be therefore included in the category of notable kings. The dynasty of Vaiśāla kings ends after naming Somadatta's two successors.[5]

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[1] 9.6. 1-3.

[2] 9.3. 27.

[3] 9.3.28.

[4] 9.3. 29 ab, 36 ab.

[5] 9.3. 2-9.

[6] 9.3. 36 cd, vide also 10.52.15.

[7] 9.3. 36 ab, ef.

[8] 9.2. 33ab.

[9] 9.2. 36.

[10] 9.2. 23 ab.

[11] 9.2. 25 cd.

[12] 9.2. 26 ab.

Videha :

Among Ikṣvāku's many sons, Vikukṣi, Nimi and Daṇḍaka are named and they are said to be the rulers of Āryāvarta.[6] The first two sons founded their respective dynasties in Ayodhyā and Videha realms simultaneously while the third son is no more heard of. According to our scheme, Videha dynasty, which was a branch of the solar race and less important than Ayodhyā, should be considered first.

Nimi, the second son of Ikṣvāku, founded the kingdom of Videha in the east of Āryāvarta and his son Janaka founded its capital, Mithilā.[7] Since then the kings who ruled at Mithilā were locally called the Maithilas[8] and may be generically called the Janakas. The genealogy of the Maithilas is, for the most part, merely a list which gives the names of fifty-two direct descendants of Janaka.[9] A notable king was Sīradhvaja, the 20th descendant, whose daughter Sītā was married to Śrī Rāma.[10] The dynasty of Videha is closed with the unique announcement that the kings of Mithilā were versed in the knowledge of the soul, due to the grace of Yājñavalkya etc., and were therefore free from the turmoils of the active worldly life.[11]

Ayodhyā :

Now we come to the most important dynasty in the solar race, i.e., Ayodhyā. Ikṣvāku was the first and the famous king of Ayodhyā. His eldest son Vikukṣi, well-known as Śaśāda, inherited the kingdom after him.[1] The elongated Ikṣvāku family of kings[2], springing from Śaśāda, continued to rule uninterruptedly in the Ayodhyā realm down to the great war. The Śaśāda lineage was thus the main line of the solar race and the largest one also. Purañjaya, the son of Śaśāda, is said to have won over Daityapura on behalf of the gods who sought for his help to defeat the demons.[3] Purañjaya's 6th descendant Śābasta founded the city, Śābastī.[4] His grandson Kuvalayāśva, accompanied by the large number of his near descendants, raided and killed Dhundhu demon for the pleasure of the hermit, Utaṅka. It is said that in this raid all his associates, with the exception of his three sons, were destroyed by the fire coming out from Dhundhu's mouth.[5] Yuvanāśva II, the 6th descendant of Kuvalayāśva, was issueless and resorted to the forest early with his many wives. The hermits there conducted a *putra iṣṭi* for him and Māndhātṛ was born.[6] Māndhātṛ then became the first paramount monarch of Ayodhyā,[7] and his empire extended widely.[8] He performed many sacrifices and donated gifts liberally.[9] He had three sons—Purukutsa, Ambarīṣa and Mucukunda—born through his wife Bindumatī, the daughter of the contemporary paramount monarch Śaśabindu Yādava.[10] There is no account of Mucukunda in the genealogy; but elsewhere there is a story[11] about him. It is said in it that requested by the gods, he protected them against the demons. The gods granted him a boon of long sleep as desired by him and he slept in a cave until a Yavana king, who was after Kṛṣṇa, came there and disturbed his age-long sleep. The Yavana king was reduced to ashes as soon as Mucukunda awoke, who, then, had a chance to meet Kṛṣṇa there. As for Ambarīṣa, his descendants became Brāhmaṇas;[12] and hence the genealogy does not take their notice furthermore. Purukutsa naturally succeeded on the throne of the empire built by his father Māndhātṛ. He married Narmadā, the sister of the Nāgas. A story[13] says that Narmadā led her husband to Rasātala where he killed the Gandharvas who were inimical to the Nāgas in general and Narmadā's brothers in particular.

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[1] 9.2. 26 cd-28.

[2] 9.2. 36 d.

[3] 9.2.31-32 ab.

[4] 9.2.35.

[5] 9.2.36.

[6] 9.6. 4 cd-5.

[7] 9.13. 11-13.

[8] 9.13. 27 a.

[9] 9.13. 14-26.

[10] 9.13. 18.

[11] 9.13.27.

Purukutsa's 6th descendant was Satyavrata, well known as Triśaṅku. He was deprived of the throne by his father for his misconduct, and the famous fiction,[1] alluded to by the Bhāgavata, tells that Viśvāmitra raised Triśaṅku towards heaven. Triśaṅku's son was Hariścandra. Again, the Bhāgavata alludes briefly to another famous fiction[2] that there was long-lasting feud between Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha for the sake of Hariścandra. It is said[3] that Viśvāmitra took away all the belongings of the king on the pretence of the fee (*dakṣiṇā*) which he charged for conducting the Rāja-sūya sacrifice. Vasiṣṭha then became angry and both the hermits, on their own account, fought for many years on this issue. A myth[4] says that Hariścandra got a son, Rohita, due to the grace of the god Varuṇa on the promise of sacrificing the son himself. Naturally the father evaded the fulfilment of his promise with clever means and Rohita fled away when he was young. Eventually Rohita returned with Śunaḥ-śepha, the son of Ajīgarta Bhārgava, for sacrificing him in lieu of himself. The ritual of the Puruṣa-medha was performed with Śunaḥ-śepha as the substituted sacrificial animal (*puruṣa-paśu*). Rohita was succeeded by his son Campa(?) who is said to have founded Campā-purī.[5] The 7th descendant of Rohita was Bāhuka. He had to resort to the forest with his wives because Ayodhyā kingdom was seized by the enemies (the Haihayas).[6] Bāhuka died in the hermitage of Aurva Bhārgava leaving behind a pregnant queen who then gave birth to Sagara.[7] Sagara, later on, took back his ancestral kingdom from the enemies and became the paramount monarch of greater glory and power[8] than his predecessor, Māndhātṛ. He destroyed the Haihayas in general and the Tālajaṅghas in particular. The barbarian tribes viz, the Yavanas and the Śakas, who had aided and abetted the Haihayas in the devastation and capture of Ayodhyā kingdom that culminated in the exile of his father, were killed and crushed by Sagara vigorously. He was bent upon their extinction; but for the intercession of Aurva, his spiritual father, he left the remaining hordes alive, although in a most degraded and subdued condition.[9] Sagara, then, performed many horse-sacrifices conducted by Aurva.[10]

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[1] 9.6.11.
[2] *9.6-12.*
[3] 9.6. 13-19.
[4] 9.6. 21 ab.
[5] 9.6. 22-23.
[6] 9.6. 25 cd-30.
[7] 9.6. 30 cd, 34.
[8] 9.6. 37.
[9] 9.6. 35 ab.
[10] 9.6. 38.
[11] 10.51. 14-23.
[12] 9.7. 1-2 ab.
[13] 9.7. 2 cd-3.

At this turning-point of the traditional history, as we shall see further, two myths connected with Sagara's sons are noticeable. The first myth[11] says that to prevent the completion of one of the horse-sacrifies performed by Sagara, Indra once stole the horse which was let loose to impress Sagara's sovereignty. The 60000 valiant and obedient sons of Sagara, born through his wife Sumati, dug the earth all round in search of the animal, and finally found it in the north-west direction near the hermitage of Kapila where Indra had hidden it. The sons of Sagara took Kapila, the propounder of the Sāmkhya system of thought, as the thief and passed scornful remarks on him. The result was that all of them were reduced to ashes instantaneously, for their disregarding a great soul. Later on Aṁśumān, the grandson of Sagara, approached there, pleased Kapila and brought back the animal with which Sagara completed the rituals of his unfinished horse-sacrifice. The next myth,[1] which is the carry-on of the first, says that according to the instruction of Kapila, Aṁśumān engaged himself in *tapas* to bring down the Gaṅgā on the earth for the emancipation of Sagara's dead sons. When Aṁśumān died, his son Dilīpa carried on the penance with the same purpose in view. But he was also unable to achieve the end, like his father. Then his son Bhagīratha continued the noble mission of his two predecessors with ardent zeal and was successful in bringing down the Gaṅgā on the plain with the grace of god Śiva. He led the water to the place where Sagara's sons had died and with the touch of Gaṅgā's water all of them attained heaven.

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[1] 9.7. 5 cd-7 ab.

[2] 9.7.7 cdef.

[3] Śrīdhara on 9.7.7.

[4] 9.7. 8-22 ab.

[5] 9.8. 1 abc.

[6] 9.8. 2 bcd.

[7] 9.8. 4.

[8] 9.8. 4d-5a.

[9] 9.8. 5cd-7 ab.

[10] 9.8. 7cd-8 ab.

[11] 9. 8. 8 cd-12, 30 ; It is also said that Sagara's sons made the sea (9.8. 5b) while digging the earth (9.8.9.).

Besides Sagara's fabulous sons, mentioned in the myths above, he had one son viz, Asamañjasa born through his another wife Keśinī (the Vidarbha princess).[2] But, being a parama-hamsa, he withdrew himself from the world.[3] Hence Aṁśumān, the son of Asamañjasa, inherited the exalted throne of Ayodhyā from his grandfather Sagara when the latter attained liberation through the means shown by Aurva.[4] Aṁśumān was succeeded by his son Dilīpa and he by his son Bhagīratha. All these three underwent penance,as told above, for the undertaken mission.[5] Ṛtuparṇa, the 5th descendant of Bhagīratha, was a friend of Nala, the king of Niṣadha. He learnt skill in taming the horses (*aśva-vidyā*) from Nala and in exchange taught him to achieve perfect skill in gambling by conversance in the throw of dice (*akṣa-hṛdaya.*).[6] Ṛtuparṇa's great grandson Saudāsa or Kalmaṣapāda had conflict with his priest Vasiṣṭha in the early part of his reign.[7]

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[1] 9.8. 29cd ; 9.9. 1-12.

[2] 9.8. 15 ab.

[3] 9.8. 15-18.

[4] 9.8. 15 cd, 31.

[5] 9.9. 1-2.

[6] 9.9. 17 abc.

[7] The story 9.9.19-38 ab ; For the details of the story see under 'Appelations and Names' Chapter VI ; and also under 'The Vasiṣṭhas' in Chapter VIII.

However, the relation became amicable afterwards and Aśmaka is said to be the kṣetraja son of Kalmāṣapāda through Vasiṣṭha's niyoga.[1] Aśmaka's son was Mūlaka who is said to have been protected by hiding him in the midst of women-folk when Paraśurama was bent upon destroying the Kṣatriya kings. Later on he tried to revive the beaten and subdued Kṣatriyas elsewhere.[2]

Khaṭvāṅga, the 4th descendant of Mūlaka, was the third paramount monarch of the Ayodhyā dynasty,[3] the first and the second being Māndhatṛ and Sagara. As an invincible fighter he is said to have killed the demons in a war when he was asked to do so by the gods.[4] His immediate descendants were Dīrghabāhu, Raghu, Aja and Daśaratha successively,[5] about whom the Bhāgavata has nothing to say. Daśaratha's son, Rāma is said to be the king of Kośala,[6] and this means that henceforward Ayodhyā kingdom acquires the new name, Kośala kingdom. The purpose of Rāma's incarnation as well as his life and works have been largely described by the contemporary hermit Vālamīki Prācetasa and by others later on.[7] In a short sketch of Rāma's life and conduct, the Bhāgavata first points to the salient features of his early life culminating in marriage with Sītā. Then, the resorting to the forest, accompained by the younger brother Lakṣamaṇa and the devoted wife just on the eve of his royal function, on account of the intrigues of his step-mother ; the long and difficult journey to the southward ; the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa ; friendship with Sugrīva, the exiled prince of Kiṣkindhā ; and, also with Hanumān, the counsellor of Sugrīva ; the march of the Vānara army to the south sea-shore ; the bridge-making, crossing it and landing in Laṅkā ; war with the Rākṣasas resulting in the end of their king Rāvaṇa ; the enthronement of Vibhīṣaṇa as the king of Laṅkā ; the return journey to Ayodhyā by air, the reception by Bharata who all along the period of Rāma's banishment had acted as the selfless regent of Kośala camping outside the capital at Nandi-grāma ; and, the installation of Rāma on the throne at Ayodhyā as a king of Kosala—are the features of the middle part of Rāma's life, which the Bhāgavata has summarily reiterated in extraordinary long verses.[8] After his coronation, Rāma aspired to be a paramount monarch and his edict for the conquest of the directions was carried out by his brothers.[1] He then performed many sacrifices and donated all the land under his sovereignty to the priests, although the priests returned the proprietory right[2], considering him the sustainer of all.[3] Being an ideal king, Rāma had to separate Sītā; for there was some censure against her. Abandoned in pregnant state, she reached the hermitage of Vālmīki where she gave birth to twin namely, Kuśa and Lava whose initial purificatory rites and education was conducted by the same hermit.[4]

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[1] 9.9. 38 cd-39.

[2] 9.9. 40.

[3] 9.9. 41 d.

[4] 9.9. 42 ab.

[5] 9.10. 1.

[6] 9.10.4.

[7] 9.10. 3 cdef.

[8] 9.10. 5-48 ; esp. 9.10.4.

During the reign of Rāma (Rāma-rājya) the subjects followed their respective duties and functions according to the Varṇā'śrama-dharma. Nature provided the desired objects for them. There was no pre-mature death and people did not suffer from diseases, pains, decripitude, dejection, sorrow, fear and weariness. In short, although Rāma ruled at the close of the Tretā-yuga (the silver age), he turned the trend of the age so as to remind the restoration of the lost "paradise," i.e., the Satya-yuga (the golden age).[5]

As for the brief account of Rāma's brothers given by the Bhāgavata, Bharata killed the Gandharvas in his victorious compaigns and brought the captured wealth for presentation to Rāma.[6] Śatrughna killed Madhu's son Lavaṇa, said to be a demon, at Madhu-vana. He, then, cut down the the forest and built a city namely, Madhu-purī there.[7] Lakṣamaṇa's two sons are named Aṅgada and Citraketu; Bharata's Takṣa and Puṣkala; and Śatrughna's Subāhu and Śrutasena.[8]

Kuśa succeeded Rāma on the throne of Ayodhyā. Kuśa's lineage (*Kuśā'nvaya*)[9] contains 27 direct descendants who ruled there down to the great war at Kośala. Of these, three are notable for their accounts. Hiraṇyanābha, the 13th descendant, was more a *Yogā'cārya* (practical spiritualist) than a king. He is said to be the disciple of Jaimini and preceptor of Yājñavalkya in the field of the *adhyātma-yoga* (the intuition of the soul within).[10] Kuśa's 19th descendant Maru, a Yogin said to be staying at Kalāpa-grāma, is predicted tor evive the solar race again when it would be extinct in the kali-yuga (the iron age).[11] The last descendant was Bṛhadbala, the son of Takṣaka. He was killed by Abhimanyu, the father of Parīkṣit, in the Great

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[1] 9.11. 25 ab.

[2] 9.11. 1-5.

[3] 9.11. 6-7.

[4] 9.11. 8-11.

[5] 9.10. 50cd-54 ab.

[6] 9.11. 13cd-14 ab.

[7] 9.11. 14 cd-15 ab.

[8] 9.11. 12-13 ab.

[9] 9.12. 1-8 abc.

[10] 9.12. 3cd-4.

[11] 9.12. 6, 15.

War.[1] With Bṛhadbala ends the genealogy of the celebrated Ikṣvāku kings whose distinguished Śaśāda lineage reigned at Ayodhyā in a continuous series of monarchs and famous kings right from the beginning to the close of the traditional history. And, with the enumeration of this largest dynasty ends the genealogy of the solar race.

LUNAR RACE (SOMA-VAṀŚA)

Ilā's Progeny :

To show the origin of the lunar race, there are three myths connected with one another in the Bhāgavata. These myths give an account of the births of Budha, Ilā and Purūravas respectively. The first myth[2] says that Brahmā's grandson Soma (on whose name the human race under consideration exists) seduced Tārā, the wife of his preceptor Bṛhaspati, and had a son namely, Budha through her. The second myth[3] says that Manu had a daughter, Ilā before his ten sons Ikṣvāku etc. were born. The father was not happy at her birth and his priest Vasiṣṭha, therefore, managed to transform Ilā into a male with the name Sudyumna. But Sudyumna again became a female when he went for hunting and entered the forest near the mountain Meru, because it was the place where the males would become females according to the words of Lord Śiva, given to his wife, Bhavānī. Vasiṣṭha again came to the rescue of Ilā from her plightful condition but this time she could not be transformed into a male for ever. Instead, she attained dual personality, i.e., she could become both male and female in alternating months. The third myth,[4] interwoven in the second, describes Ilā's meeting with Budha in the forest where she had lost the male form. Both mutually agreed to marry and their son was Purūravas.

Sudyumna (Ilā's male form in alternate months) was the king of Pratiṣṭhāna[5] and ruled for some time. He had three sons viz, Utkala, Gaya and Vimala who became kings of Dakṣiṇāpatha.[6] When he resorted to the forest, Purūravas, whose mother he was in the form of Ilā, inherited the maternal throne and kingdom of Pratiṣṭhāna.[7] Thus Purūravas Aila was the first king of Pratisṭhāna after his mother and as such he was the founder of the lunar race about which the Bhāgavata has much to say. Before we enumerate this main line of the lunar race continued by Purūrvas's eldest son at Pratiṣṭhāna, the two earliest dynasties founded by the branch lines require our attention first.

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[1] 9.12. 7d-8 ab.

[2] 9.14. 2-14.

[3] 9.1. 13-32, 36-39 ab.

[4] 9.1. 33-35 ; 9.14. 15 ab.

[5] 9.1.39 cd.

[6] 9.1. 41.

[7] 9.1. 42.

Kānyakubja (Kauśikas) :

Purūravas's one son was Vijaya (?) who founded a kingdom at Kānyakubja and ten kings down to Viśvāmītra are said to have ruled in succession there.[1] Jahnu, the 3rd descendant of Vijaya, was a famous king who is said to have swallowed the water of Gaṅgā in one draught.[2] Jahnu's 4th descendant was Kuśa who had four sons among whom the eldest was Kuśāmbu[3]. Kuśāmbu (which is an easy variation of Kuśika) seems to have given his name to the royal family so that his descendants came to called Kuśikas[4] or Kauśikas.[5] Kuśāmbu's son was Gādhi whose daughter Satyavatī was married to Ṛcīka Bhārgava.[6] Gādhi's son was mighty Viśvāmitra who relinquished the ancestral kingdom and attained the spiritual pre-eminence worthy of a hermit by his penance.[7] After him, the Kauśika family was divided into many branches (gotras) through his sons, due to his adoption of Śunaḥ-śepha (Devarāta) ; and, he himself founded a separate family of the Brāhmaṇas, which was continued by the adopted son.[8] The Kānyakubja genealogy, therefore, gives no further account of the Viśvāmitras.

Kāśī (Kāśyas) :

Purūravas's eldest son was Āyu[9] and his one son was Kṣatravṛddha[10] who founded a kingdom at Kāśī. The kingdom seems to get its name after Kṣatravṛddha's grandson Kāśya, and the lineage of the rulers came to be called as Kāśyas after him, or as Kāśis after his son Kāśi.[11] The Kāśī dynasty[12] comprises 19 descendants of Kāśya, who are said to have ruled there successively (or interruptedly as we shall see). Among all the Kāśyas, two kings are of note. Pratardana, the 8th descendant of Kāśya, is notable here for six appellations (including Pratardana) reserved for him.[13] Alarka, the said son of Pratardana, may be taken as a paramount monarch because the Bhāgavata says that he was an unrivalled king and reigned for the largest possible time.[14] There is no account of any king after Alarka excepting the names surviving in the Kāśī genealogy.

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[1] 9.15. 1, 3-4 ; 9.16. 28.

[2] 9.15. 3cd.

[3] 9.15. 4 abc.

[4] 9.15. 6d ; 9.16. 36 a.

[5] 9.16. 37 a.

[6] 9.15. 5-7.

[7] 9.16. 28.

[8] 9.16. 29-37.

[9] 9.15. 1. abc.

[10] 9.17. 1-2.

[11] 9.17. 4 ; cf. Gītā 1.17a.

[12] 9.17. 4-10 ab.

[13] 9.17. 6 abcde.

[14] 9.17. 7.

Kāśya had two younger brothers viz, Kuśa and Gṛtsamada. The Kuśa line[1] had eleven descendants who are said to be kings, but their realm is not specified. So, where this junior line of Kṣatravṛddha ruled is not definitely known. Gṛtsamada had a son called Śūnaka and his son was Śaunaka from whom descended the Śaunaka gotra of the Brāhmaṇas.[2]

Pratiṣṭhāna (The Early Aila Kings) :

Having noticed the two earliest dynasties, we return to the main line at Pratiṣṭhāna. A myth[3] largely describes the marriage of Purūravas with the celestial damsel Urvaśī who came to him, effected by the love-shaft ; and who, after sometime, left the king and returned to her original abode, Triviṣṭapa. Purūravas had six sons viz, Āyu etc. through the womb of Urvaśī.[4] Āyu, the eledest son, naturally succeeded on the throne of Pratiṣṭhāna and had five sons, Nahuṣa etc.[5] Nahuṣa, who succeeded Āyu, seems to have won over the kingdom of heaven (Tri-ṇāka or Tri-viṣṭapa) because a myth,[6] briefly alluded to, says that he was deposed by the hermits (Agastya etc.) from the heavenly throne when he tried to molest Śacī, the wife of Indra. A reference to Rajī, the younger brother of Nahuṣa, is relevant here. A myth[7] says Rajī helped gods to recover the kingdom of Triviṣṭapa seized by the demons and was awarded the throne of heaven in view of his help. The Rājeyas (the large number of powerful sons ascribed to Rajī) continued to rule over Triviṣṭapa after their father in spite of opposition by Indra and were, therefore, destroyed by Bṛhaspati who employed violent magic fire for the purpose. As for Nahuṣa's other brothers, Kṣatravṛddha is already noted above, as the founder of the Kāśī dynasty ; and the remaining two viz, Rambha and Anenas are not important from the standpoint of political history. Rambha's great grandson was Akriya (?) whose descendants became Brāhmaṇas.[8] The five descendants of Anenas are named. Among them, the last was Śāntaraya who, being a parama-haṁsa, had no progeny.[9]

Nahuṣa had six sons viz, Yati, Yayāti etc.[10] Yati, being a parama-haṁsa, declined to accept the throne[11] and hence Yayāti succeeded Nahuṣa.[12]

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[1] 9.17. 16 cd-18 abc.

[2] 9.17. 3 bcd.

[3] 9.14. 15-32.

[4] 9.15.1.

[5] 9.17. 1-2 a.

[6] 9.18. 3 abc ; 6.13.16 & Śrīdhara on it.

[7] 9.17. 12 cd-16 ab.

[8] 9.17. 10 cd-11 a.

[9] 9.17. 11 bcd-12 ab.

[10] 9.18.1.

[11] 9.18. 2.

[12] 9.18. 3 d.

Acting himself as the hereditary head of the estate, Yayāti appointed his four younger brothers as governors in the four provinces of his kingdom.[1] Yayāti first married Devayānī, the daughter of Śukra Bhārgava, and later on Śarmiṣṭhā, the daughter of the demon king Vṛṣaparvan whose priest Śūkra (Kāvya) was.[2] Yayāti had five sons : Yadu and Turvasu through Devayānī; Druhyu, Anu and Pūru through Śarmiṣṭhā.[3] During his long reign, Yayāti enjoyed material pleasure up to his heart's content. Finally, the downpour of pleasure roused the sense of satiety in him and with the mosaic of devotion, detachment and knowledge he attained emancipation (*bhāgavatī gati*).[4] A story[5] says that Pūru, the youngest son of Yayāti, had exchanged pre-mature decripitude of his father caused by the curse of Śukra, for his own youth so that the father may enjoy sensual pleasures which he liked most. In view of this obedience and sacrifice for the father, Yayāti declared Pūru as the king of the ancestral kingdom with centre at Pratiṣṭhāna ; and, all the four elder brothers of Pūru, who got the surrounding territories, were put by Yayāti under his sovereignty.[6] The four directions, which were allotted to his four elder sons by Yayāti, and which should be understood with reference to the ancestral kingdom inherited by Pūru, are as follows : south to Yadu, west to Turvasu, south-east to Druhyu and north to Anu.[7] From these five sons of Yayāti, emerged five distinct clans which flourished in their respective territories. Of these, the smaller ones shall be called as lines or lineages and the larger ones as families, when we notice them below according to our scheme.

Turvasu-line :

The genealogy of the Turvasus[8] gives only six names of kings said to be the direct descendants of Turvasu. Karandhama, the 5th descendant, appears to be a notable king as he is said to be noble-minded (*udāra-dhī*) ;[9] and it will appear that he was in fact so. The last descendant Maruta was issueless and adopted Duṣyanta, but the latter returned to his Paurava family being greedy of his ancestral kingdom (*rājya-kāmuka*).[10]

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[1] 9.18. 4 ab.

[2] 9.18. 4 cd ; For the full story of the two marriages—9. 18. 5-32.

[3] 9.18. 33.

[4] 9.19. 18-20, 24-25.

[5] 9.18. 45 ; For the full story—9.18. 34-45.

[6] 9.19. 23.

[7] 9.19.22.

[8] 9.23. 16-17.

[9] 9.23. 16 d.

[10] 9.23.17.

Druhyu-line :

The genealogy of the Druhyus[1] gives the names of nine descendants of Druhyu ; and nothing is said about them excepting the last. But the the two kings viz, Ārabdha and Gāndhāra are notable, as will appear. The last were the 100 Prācetasas, the sons of Pracetas, who are said to have become kings in the countries of the Mlecchas beyond north India.[2] And, this statement about the last descendants of Druhyu is very important from the standpoint of Aryan immigration and their original home, as we shall see further.

Ānava Lineage :

The genealogy of the Ānavas[3] fall into two parts. Anu ruled in the north (i.e., the territory allotted by Yayāti) and his 6th descendant was Mahāmanas. From Mahāmanas's two sons viz, Uśīnara and Titikṣu,[4] the Ānava lineage split into two separate branches. Uśīnara, who headed the northern branch and ruled in the north, had four sons viz, Śibi, Vana, Śami and Dakṣa. Of these, the first was the famous king from whom descended the Śibis.[5] Śibi Auśīnara had also four sons namely, Vṛṣadarbha, Suvīra, Bhadra (Madra) and Kaikeya[6] who were all founders of new kingdoms in their names. But the Bhāgavata has notihing to say about these kingdoms of this northern (or north-western) branch of the Ānavas further.

Titikṣu moved eastward and found a 'kingdom in the East'. His 4th descendant was Sutapa-Bali who had six sons : Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kalinga, Suhma, Puṇḍra and Andhra. All these sons founded different kingdoms in their names and their descendants ruled therein.[7] Of these six kingdoms in the East, the Bhāgavata takes notice of only the Aṅga dynasty. The Aṅga genealogy[8] gives the names of eighteen descendants of Aṅga among whom two kings are notable for their acounts given therein. The first is Romapāda, the 4th descendant of Aṅga, who being issuless adopted Daśaratha's daughter Śāntā and married her to the hermit Ṛṣyaśṛṅga.[9] Ṛṣyaśṛṅga conducted a *putra-iṣṭi* for Romapāda and later on for Daśaratha, the king of Ayodhyā, so that both of them got sons.[10] The next notable king in the Aṅga dynasty happens to be Karṇa who was born from Kuntī before her marriage to Pāṇḍu. Karṇa, who was deserted by his mother, was adopted by Adhiratha, the 16th descendant of Aṅga. With Karṇa and his son Vṛṣasena, who were killed in the Great War, ends the Aṅga dynasty.[1]

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[1] 9.23. 14-15.

[2] 9.23. 15.

[3] 9.23. 1-13.

[4] 9.23. 1-2 abcd.

[5] 9.23. 2 cdef.

[6] 9.23. 3 abc.

[7] 9.23. 3d-5.

[8] 9.23. 6-13.

[9] 9.23. 7.

[10] 9.23. 9.

Paurava Family :

The larger and more important family of the Pauravas may be noticed in three portions : the Pauravas from Pūru to Bharata (exclusive) ; the Bhāratas from Bharata to Kuru (exclusive) ; and, the Kauravas from Kuru to Parīkṣit II—all coming in succession in the Paurava family that took its start from Pūru, the youngest son of Yayāti.

Pauravas :

Pūru, as we have seen, inherited the ancestral Aila kingdom of Pratiṣṭhāna in view of his obedience to the father. The Pauravas from Pūru to Duṣyanta,[2] numbering sixteen, are enlisted without any substantial account. Raudrāśva, the 10th descendant of Pūru, married a celestial damsel, Ghṛtācī and had ten sons through her.[3] Raudrāśva's grandson was Rantibhāra ; and from his great grandson Medhātithi (in a junior line) descended the Brāhmaṇas, Praskaṇva etc.[4] Rantibhāra's grandson, in the direct line, was Raibhya ; and, according to the Bhāgavata,[5] Duṣyanta was the son and successor of Raibhya. But, as we shall see later on, there was a long gap of some twenty-one generations between the said father and the son. Duṣyanta married Śakuntalā, the daughter of Viśvāmitra, born through the celestial damsel Menakā and nourished by Kaṇva-Kāśyapa.[6] Duṣyanta's adoption by the Turvasu king Maruta, as noted above, was the passing phase of his life. He was desirous of reviving his ancestral kingdom, i.e., the Paurava realm lying in abeyance for long. So, he is said to have returned to his family being aspirant of its kingdom (*rājya-kāmuka*).[7]

Bhāratas :

Bharata, the only son and successor of Duṣyanta, succeeded on the Paurava realm (round about Pratiṣṭhāna) revived by his father. He was the first paramount monarch of great glory (*yaśas*) and majesty (*mahiman*) among the Pauravas.[8] As a distinctive device therefore to perpetuate his greatness, the Paurava family is henceforth referred to as the Bhāratas. As for his life, works and reign, first may be noted a pathetic aspect of his life which led him towards emancipation through detachment. An anecdote says[1] that his sons were killed by their mothers. It happened so because of Bharata's remark about his sons : 'they are unlike me.' Then the three queens of Bharata, who were Vidarbha princesses, did the cruel job for fear of abandonment. As for the works, the emperor (*adhirāj*) Bharata, after his coronation, performed innumberable sacrifices on the the banks of both the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, always changing the venue of each sacrifice from their origins to the mouths of those holy rivers with Māmateya Dīrghatamas as his principal and permanent priest.[2] In the course of his conquest of the directions (*dig-vijaya*), he killed and subdued the hostile tribes viz, the Kirātas, Hūṇas, Yavanas, Andhras, Kaṁkas, Śakas, Mlecchas and other kings who were unfavourable to the Brāhmaṇas.[3] A myth[4] says that he brought back the wives of the gods, abducted and taken away to Rasātala by the demons, and handed them over to their husbands. Thus in view of his sacrifices and conquests mentioned above, Bharata was an unparalleled king.[5] The monarch (*samrāj*) who enjoyed the supreme sovereignty (*śrī*) and affluence (*aiśvarya*) like the protecting gods (loka-pālas) reigned for the largest possible time with absolute power (*askhalita-cakra*) and during his reign the subjects were quite happy.[6] Alas ! consequent upon the tragedy noted above, the paramount monarch of absolute power was sonless. A myth[7] narrates that Bharata performed the Marut-soma-yāga to have a continuator of his line. The gods, called Maruts, thus pleased by the sacrifice, gave Bharata a child viz, Bharadvāja for adoption. The son so adopted was of Bṛhaspati born through his conspicuous copulation with Mamatā, the wife of his elder brother Utathya. As both the father and the mother were unwilling to keep and nourish the illegitimate offspring, Maruts gave him to Bharata so that his line may not become extinct or vain (*vitatha*). Bharadvāja, the offspring of the Āṅgirasa Brāhmaṇa, was voluntarily taken by Bharata as his own child and he renamed him as "Vitatha" who then continued the main Paurava line.[8]

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[1] 9. 23. 12 bcd-13 ; For the details of Karṇa's birth see—9.24. 31 cd-36.

[2] 9.20. 1-7.

[3] 9.20. 3 d-5.

[4] 9.20. 6 bcd-7 ab.

[5] 9.20. 7 cd.

[6] 9.20. 8-15 ; esp. the last verse.

[7] 9.23. 17.

[8] 9.20. 22, 25-27.

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[1] 9.20. 32 d-33.

[2] 9.20. 23-24.

[3] 9.20. 29.

[4] 9.20. 30.

[5] 9.20. 28.

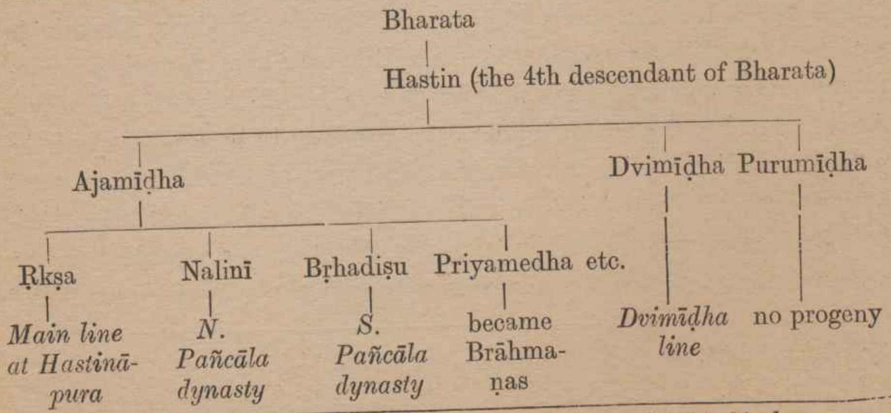
[6] 9.20. 31-32 abc.

[7] 9.20. 34-38.

[8] 9.21. 1 ; Śrīdhara comments—
वितथसंज्ञो भरद्वाजः स च ब्राह्मणोऽपि भरतस्य दत्तः पुत्रो जात इति तदवंशोऽनुक्रम्यते ।

In the junior lines of Vitatha, emerged three gotras (i.e., the sub-families of the Brāhmaṇas) viz, Sāṁkṛtis,[1] Gārgyas[2] and Duritakṣayas[3] which shall be dealt with at their proper places.[4] Here we may take note of the famous king Rantideva, the son of Saṁkṛti.[5] There is no mention of his territory but instead the Bhāgavata tells a vivid story that presents a clear and striking picture of the sense of universal pity which was surging in the heart of this king. The story[6] says that out of his natural mercy (*karuṇā*) for all living beings without any discrimination, he was unable to bear others' sorrows. The sense of pity led him to sacrifice all that he had. Thus he relieved others from sorrows—an act that gave him hapiness. It was no wonder then that all his descendants, the Sāṁkṛtis, would have become Yogins devoted to God Nārāyaṇa.[7]

In the direct line of Vitatha, Hastin was his great-grandson who founded Hastināpura.[8] It may be noted here that after Bharata there is no mention of Pratiṣṭhāna ; and Hastināpura appears as the central seat of the main Paurava line. Hastin had two notable sons viz, Ajamīḍha and Dvimīḍha.[9] Between these two, Ajamīḍha may be taken as a famous king because among his three sons (or descendants), the first viz, Ṛkṣa continued the main line, while the second viz, Nalinī and the third viz, Bṛhadiṣu founded separate dynasties of North and South Pañcāla respectively. Dvimīḍha, whose territory is not specified, founded a different line of the Dvīmīḍhas elsewhere. Again, Hastin's last son Purumīḍha was issuless;[10] and Ajamīḍha's descendants, Priyamedha etc. became Brāhmaṇas.[11] All this development of the Bhāratas may be shown as follows :—


Bharata
Hastin (the 4th descendant of Bharata)
Ajamīḍha
Dvimīḍha
Purumīḍha
Ṛkṣa
Nalinī
Bṛhadiṣu
Priyamedha etc.
Main line at Hastināpura
N. Pañcāla dynasty
S. Pañcāla dynasty
became Brāhmaṇas
Dvimīḍha line
no progeny

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[1] 9.21. 2 ab.

[2] 9.21. 19ab.

[3] 9.21. 19 cd-20 ab.

[4] Vide Chapter. XI.

[5] 9.21. 2.

[6] 9.21. 3-14.

[7] 9.21.18.

[8] 9.21. 20 cd.

[9] 9.21. 21 ab.

[10] 9.21. 30 b.

[11] 9.21. 21 cd.

We shall consider the genealogy of the Bhāratas according to our scheme (point two) :—

Dvimīḍha Line :

The genealogy of the Dvīmīḍhas,[1] the branch line of the Bhāratas, gives fourteen names of kings who are said to be the lineal descendants of Dvimīḍha. The only king who receives attention from the Bhāgavata is Kṛtin just because he learnt Yoga from Hiraṇyanābha, the king of Ayodhyā and then arranging or dividing the Sāma-Veda (Eastern) into six Saṁhitās (compilations) he taught them to his disciples.[2] On account of this unique accomplishment and sacred work, Kṛtin may he taken as a king of note. His grandson (near descendant) Ugrāyuḍha[3] was also a notable king for secular purposes, as will appear. The Dvimīdha line, whose realm is not mentined, came to its close four generations after Ugrāyudha[4] on the eve of the Great War.

South Pañcāla (Bārhadiṣvas) :

The genealogy of the Bārhadiṣvas[5] i.e., the descendants of Bṛhadiṣu, gives the names of thirteen successive kings who ruled in S. Pañcāla.[6] Nīpa, the 9th descendant of Bṛhadiṣu, may be mentioned here from whom descended the Nīpas.[7] Brahmadatta, the famous king of S. Pañcāla dynasty, is said to be the son and successor of Nīpa[8] but we shall see that he was generations apart from his said father in the same way as Raibhya and Duṣyanta, noted above among the Pauravas, were. Like Kṛtin in the Dvimīḍha line, Brahmadatta was a Yogin among the Bārhadiṣvas. He composed the Yoga-tantra according to the instructions of his preceptor Jaigīṣavya.[9] Brahmadatta's son was Viṣvaksena[10] and with his grandson Bhallāda[11] ends the genealogy of the Bārhadiṣvas, to whom S. Pañcāla realm has been asigned in anticipation.

North Pañcāla (Pañcālakas) :

The N. Pañcāla dynasty was a prominent branch of the Bhāratas and its genealogy[12] mentions eighteen descendants of Nalīnī, the founder. Bharmyāśva, the 6th descendant of Nalinī, had five sons viz, Mudgala etc. whom the father thought as 'five capables' (*pañca alam*) to rule over five principalities (*viṣaya*).[1] Thus the dynasty and the five principalities combined into one realm came to be known as "Pañcāla" while the rulers as the "pañcālakas".[2] With reference to this realm of the Pañcālakas, which was in the north of the realm of the Bārhadiṣvas, the later dynasty came to be called as S. Pañcāla while the former as N. Pañcāla. Mudgala is a notable king for two reasons. Firstly, a Maudgalya gotra of the Brāhmaṇas sprang from him.[3] Secondly, his daughter Ahalyā was married to a Gautama belonging to the original Brāhmaṇa family of the Āṅgirasas. And, for this reason, the side line of the Āṅgirsas came to be introduced in the N. Pañcāla genealogy,[4] which will be considered further. Mudgala's son (or descendant) Divodāsa was a famous king[5] and after him the kings are named without any account. Similar to the two cases of long gap in the genealogy of the Pauravas and the Barhadiṣvas as noted above, there is a gap in the genealogy of the Pañcālakas. Jantu and Pṛṣata, the two kings of the N. Pañcāla dynasty coming later on are said to be the sons of Somaka;[6] but, as we shall see, the former was the far ancestor of the latter. The N. Pañcāla dynasty, described above, may be shown in a genealogical tree as follows :—

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[1] 9.21. 27-30 a.

[2] 9.21. 28 cd-29 a ; Śrīdhara explains प्राच्यसाम्नां षट् संहिता जगौ विभज्याध्यापितवान् on 9. 21. 28.

[3] 9.21 29 ab.

[4] 9.21. 29 cd-30d.

[5] 9. 21. 22-26.

[6] S. Pañcāla has been taken as the realm of the Bārhadiṣvas in anticipation.

[7] 9.21. 24 cd.

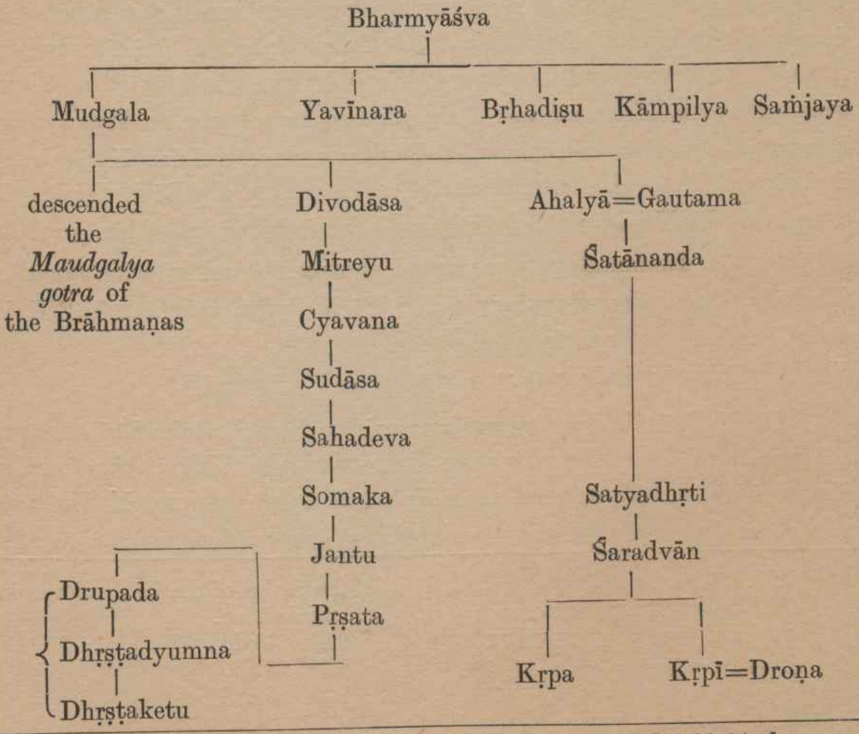
[8] 9.21. 25 ab.

[9] 9.21. 25 c, 26 ab.

[10] 9.21. 25 cd.

[11] 9.21. 26 cd.

[12] 9.21. 30 cd-34 ab ; 9. 22. 1-3ab.


Bharmyāśva
Mudgala
Yavīnara
Bṛhadiṣu
Kāmpilya
Saṁjaya
descended the *Maudgalya gotra* of the Brāhmaṇas
Divodāsa
Ahalyā=Gautama
Mitreyu
Śatānanda
Cyavana
Sudāsa
Sahadeva
Somaka
Satyadhṛti
Jantu
Śaradvān
Drupada
Pṛṣata
Dhṛṣṭadyumna
Kṛpa
Kṛpī=Droṇa
Dhṛṣṭaketu

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[1] 9.21. 31 cd-33 ab.

[2] 9. 22. 3 b.

[3] 9. 21. 33 cd.

[4] 9.21. 34 cd- 36.

[5] 9.21 34 ab.

[6] 9.22. 1 d-2 ab.

The dynasty, being important, is shown in the tree including the side line that emerges from Ahalyā. But two points are to be borne in mind here. As for the dynasty, the last three kings, especially the last two, were not able to rule in N. Pañcāla ; and as for the side line, it is abbreviated. Both these points shall be taken into account at their appropriate places.

Hastināpura (Main line) :

After enumerating the branches of the Bhāratas that established their dynasties in the adjoining realms, we now return to see the genealogy of those Bhāratas who were the continuators of the main Paurava line at Hastināpura, the new capital of the Paurava realm as Pratiṣṭhāna is no more heard of.

That Hastin, the 4th descendant of Bharata, founded Hastināpura and his son was Ajamīḍha[1] who succeeded him on the throne, are the two points which are already noted while showing the development of the Bhāratas. According to the genealogy, Ajamīḍha's son was Ṛkṣa, his son was Saṁvaraṇa and his son was Kuru.[2] And, if these three are taken as immediate successors, there remains nothing more to say about the Bhāratas as Kuru forms their limit according to our division of the Paurava family in three portions. But, as we shall see, the genealogy is greatly abbreviated after Ajamīḍha and that Ṛkṣa was his far descendant and Saṁvaraṇa was Ṛkṣa's far descendant. Since the names of kings falling in the gaps have been lost and the Bhāgavata has nothing to say about those which survive in its list, the account of the main line at Hastināpura is closed abruptly, so far as the Bhāratas are concerned.

Kauravas :

From Kuru we may call the continuators of the main Paurava line as Kauravas who form the third and the last portion of the Pauravas. Kuru is called as the king of Kurukṣetra (Kurukṣetra-pati),[3] and this gives the idea of the Paurava realm whose capital so far and onwards was Hastināpura. Kuru had four sons viz, Parīkṣit I, Sudhanus, Jahnu and the last Niṣadhāśva[4] who is no more mentioned. According to the Bhāgavata,[5] Parīkṣit I was issueless. Even if he had sons, as we shall see, it is certain that he or his sons lost sovereignty which was then vested in Jahnu or in his son Suratha[6] who continued the main line. But, before we consider the genealogy of the main line, the branch lines springing from Sudhanus may be considered first.

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[1] 9.21. 20 cd-21 a.

[2] 9.22. 3 cd-4 ab.

[3] 9.22. 4 ab.

[4] 9.22. 4 cd.

[5] 9.22. 9 c.

[6] 9.22. 9d.

Cedi &c. (*Vāsavas*) :

Sudhanus's 4th descendant was Vasu-Uparicara and he had five sons viz, Bṛhadratha, Kuśāṁba, Matsya, Pratyagra and Cedipa—all said to be kings of Cedi (*cedipāḥ*).[1] In fact, as we shall see, Vasu had conquered the kingdom of Cedi from the Yādavas and had extended it by annexing other territories. So, all his sons, who may be called Vāsavas, may be understood to have inherited their respective shares in the enlarged kingdom of their father. As for Cedipa, he seems to have inherited the original Cedi kingdom. But there is no account of the Cedi kings till we come to Damaghoṣa, his son Śiśupāla and his son Dhṛṣṭaketu—all contemporaries of the 'Great War. The famous king Śiśupāla was killed by Kṛṣṇa during the *Rāja-sūya* sacrifice performed by Yudhiṣṭhira.[2] And, with his son ends the dynasty of Cedi in so far as the Vāsavas or Cedipas are concerned. The Bhāgavata has nothing to say about other Vāsavas and their realms, (which we shall take into account further) excepting Bṛhadratha who founded an important dynasty in Magadha.

Magadha (*Bārhadrathas*) :

Vasu's eldest son Bṛhadratha took Magadha kingdom which was conquered by his father and founded the famous Bārhadratha dynasty there. The genealogy[3] of Bārhadrathas names nine descendants of Bṛhadratha down to Śrutaśravas without any account excepting that of the astonishing birth of Jarāsandha, the famous king. Jarāsandha, who is said to be the son of Bṛhadratha from an unnamed wife,[4] was the powerful enemy of Kṛṣṇa and attacked on Mathurā seventeen times with huge army.[5] In connection with his conquest of the directions, he imprisoned myriads of kings in the fort of Girivraja.[6] He was killed by Bhīma in a single combat which was the stratagem of Kṛṣṇa.[7] Jarāsandha was succeeded by his son Sahadeva[8] who was installed on the throne of Magadha by Kṛṣṇa after his father's death.[9] Sahadeva's son was Somāpi[10] or Mārjāri[11] both being the names of one person. The son of Somāpi or Mārjāri was Śrutaśravas[1] with whom ends the Bārhadratha dynasty in Magadha in so far as the Great War is taken as the last limit of the traditional history.

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[1] 9.22. 5-6 ab.

[2] 10. 74. 43.

[3] 9.22. 6 cd-9 ab.

[4] 9.22. 7cd.

[5] 10.50. 42.

[6] 10. 70. 23-24.

[7] 10.72. 44-47.

[8] 9.21. 9a.

[9] 10. 72. 48 abcd.

[10] 9.22. 9b.

[11] 9.22. 45 d.

Kurukṣetra (Main Line) :

Having noticed the branch lines of the Kauravas, we now come to the main line which was continued by the Jāhnavas. Kuru, as we have seen, was the king of Kurukṣetra with his capital at Hastināpura. The genealogy of the Kauravas[2] (or Jāhnavas as they may be called now because Kuru's third son Jahnu continued the main Paurava line after Kuru's death) starts from Suratha, the son of Jahnu or grandson of Kuru, and ends with his 16th descendant, Parīkṣit II, the son of Abhimanyu or grandson of Yudhiṣṭhira. After Kuru, there was rivalry for one or two generations to hold the throne of Hastināpura ; but, as only the genealogy of Jahnu's son Suratha is given, it seems certain that the Jāhnavas continued the main line by holding power on the throne. Among the Jāhnavas, the junior line of the Kauravas, no notable king is visible until Pratīpa, the 10th descendant of Suratha.[3] Pratīpa was a famous king and had three sons viz, Devāpi, Śantanu and Bālhīka.[4] Devāpi, being detached from the kingdom etc., resorted to the forest early in his young age and therefore Śantanu succeeded Pratīpa.[5]

Bālhika's son was Somadatta and his three sons viz, Bhūri, Bhūriśravas and Śala are named[6] but their realms etc. are not mentioned. Perhaps they ruled in Bālhīka (or Vāhlīka) country of the Punjab.

Śantanu's son was Bhīṣma Gāṅgeya, the great warrior who is said to have a contest with Paraśurama.[7] Between Śantanu's other two sons born through Sarasvatī, the elder Citrāṅgada died early[8] and the younger Vicitravīrya died soon after his marriage.[9] Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Pāṇḍu and Vidura were, then, the kṣetraja sons of Vicitravīrya.[10] The five Pāṇḍavas, Yudhiṣṭhira etc., were also the kṣetraja sons of Pāṇḍu.[11] Dhṛtarāṣṭra had many sons, Duryodhana etc. through Gāndhārī.[12] The Pāṇḍavas and the Dhārtarāṣṭras both belonged to the Kaurava lineage being the descendants of

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[1] 9.22. 9b ; 9.22. 45d. i.e. the above two references.

[2] 9.22. 9d-33.

[3] 9.22. 11d.

[4] 9.22. 12 ab.

[5] 9.22. 12 cd:-13 a.

[6] 9.22. 18 cd-19 a.

[7] 9.22. 19-20 a.

[8] 9.22. 20 cd-21 ab.

[9] 9.22. 23 cd-24.

[10] 9.22. 25.

[11] 9.22.27-28 ab.

[12] 9.22. 26 abc.

Kuru;[1] but the later came to be widely known as the Kauravas while the progeny of Pāṇḍu was distinguished from them by the exclusive patronymic, the Pāṇḍavas. The less comprehensive patronymic was especially needed for the five Pāṇḍavas in the course of their war with many Dhārtarāṣṭras who were, then, entitled to more comprehensive patronymic, the Kauravas, because they were elder cousins and greater in number. The Bhāgavata[2] only alludes to the Great War, the Kurukṣetra war, in which the Kauravas were completely destroyed ; and, according to the Bhāgavata,[3] the Pāṇḍavas emerged victorious in that deadly earnest armed conflict against the Kauravas with the help of Kṛṣṇa's diplomacy. It is well-known from the Mahābhārata that there was intense jealousy between these cousin brothers since their childhood. The young Pāṇḍavas contended with Duryodhana for the share of the Kaurava kingdom and received the small principality of Indraprastha. Authorised by the king Yudhiṣṭhira, then, the four younger brothers collected wealth and material from the surrounding kingdoms, with which the king performed the Rāja-sūya sacrifice that brought about for him not only glory but ensured the highest title of sovereignty over all.[4] But, for Duryodhana all this was unbearable[5] Once Duryodhana entered the palace of Yudhiṣṭhira and could not distinguish between water and land therein, as it was the architecture of Maya, the master builder. He roamed about on the land with the notion of water and fell in water mistaking it as solid floor, on account of the close resembalance between the two.[6] This fall of Duryodhana gave rise to laughter which he took as his contempt.[7] The man behind this laughter was Kṛṣṇa who thus sowed the seed of the Kurukṣetra war destined for Kaurava destruction.[8] It is said that defeating through contrivance in the game of dice, Duryodhana banished the Pāṇḍavas for fourteen years as the penalty of losing at dice. At the termination of their exile, the Pāṇḍavas reclaimed the kingdom and having been refused categorically, entered war—the Great War as we have preferred to call it.

As for the events after this war,[9] Yudhiṣṭhira was coronated and ruled as a paramount monarch at Hastināpura with the support of Kṛṣṇa ;[1] and under his benign reign the subjects were happy.[2] Soon after Yudhiṣṭhira's coronation, Vidura advised Dhṛtarāṣṭra to resort to the forest ; and acting accordingly, the latter reached the southern slope of the Himālayas where he was consumed in a conflagration.[3] After the departure of Kṛṣṇa, Yudhiṣṭhira became detached from the wordly life ; and followed by his brothers, he went to that sacred direction of the Himālayas where his ancestors and many other kings and hermits have nursed their footsteps with devotion for emancipation.[4] On the eve of his march to the final journey (*mahā-patha*), Yudhiṣṭhira coronated his grandson viz, Parīkṣit II on the exalted throne of Hastināpura.[5] Parikṣit II (so marked to distinguish him from Parīkṣit I, the son of Kuru) was the son of Abhimanyu who, in turn, was the son of Arjuna.[6] To avenge the destruction of the Kauravas in the Great War, Aśvatthāman tried to nip this scion of the Pāṇḍavas in the bud but Parīkṣit was saved by Kṛṣṇa.[7] Parīkṣit also became a paramount monarch by conquering the surrounding territories and annexing them in his empire.[8] A beautiful allegory,[9] showing the approach of the kali-yuga and curbing of its tendencies by Parīkṣit, describes that during the conquest of the directions he met a Śūdra king (the kali-yuga personified) who was striking the couple of a cow (the earth incarnate) and a bull (dharma incarnate) ;[10] and had broken the three legs (pillars of religion)of the later excepting the one(*satya*).[11] The emperor Parīkṣit suppressed the Śūdra king and restored the three legs (*tapas*, *dayā* and *śauca*) of the bull.[12] The Śūdra king, then, was not able to influence the subjects by his traits.[13] The allegory points out that the emperor worked for the prosperity of *dharaṇī* (country) and *dharma* (religion) while subduing the unrighteous tendencies of the subjects and also of the rulers elsewhere out of his own dominion. Parīkṣit is applauded as a royal sage, a devotee of God and the performer of horse-sacrifices.[14] He performed at least three horse-sarifices, on the bank of the Gaṅgā, which were conducted by Kṛpa Śāradvata.[15] It is said that the noble emperor, once in a very dejected mood happened to disregard Śamīka in his hermitage, although, later on, he was repentant for the act.[1] But a curse was imprecated by the son of Śamīka that Takṣaka, a serpent, shall bit and kill the emperor on the seventh day.[2] The curse, which serves as the pivot of the theme of the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa led Parīkṣit to detachment and he sat calmly on the bank of the Gaṅgā fasting unto death with his ears eager to listen to God and with his mind concentrated on the Divine.[3]

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[1] Śrīdhara on 1.10. 33.
[2] 9.22. 34 a.
[3] 9.24. 67.
[4] 10.72. 7--11 ; 10. 74. 51.
[5] 10. 74. 53.
[6] 10. 75. 37.
[7] 10. 75. 38-39 abcd.
[8] 10. 75. 39 ef.

[9] According to the scheme (point twelve) certain post-war kings have been included and their account is gathered from other skandhas if not found in the ninth one embodying traditional history.

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[1] 1.9. 49.

[2] 1.10. 4-6.

[3] 1.13. 49.-50.

[4] 1.15. 44.

[5] 1.15. 38 ; 11.31. 26.

[6] 9.22. 33.

[7] 9.22. 24.

[8] 1.16. 4 ab. ; 1.17. 43.

[9] 1.16. 10-36 ; 1.17. 1-41.

[10] 1.16. 4.

[11] 1.17. 23.

[12] 1.17. 41.

[13] 1.18. 5.

[14] 1.18. 46.

[15] 1.16. 3.

Yādava Family

Having enumerated the prominent Paurava family, we now come to describe the largest and the most important family of the Yādavas that descended from Yadu, the eldest son of Yayāti. The line of Yadu was at once divided into two great branches viz, the Haihayas and the Yādavas proper from his two sons, Sahasrajit and Kroṣṭā respectively. According to the point number two of our scheme, the Haihayas, who were comparatively little important from the standpoints of progeny and duration of the dynasty, shall be noticed first; and the Yādavas proper, who had the largest progeny and longest duration of their dynasties, afterwards.

Haihayas :

The Haihaya genealogy[4] gives the names of fifteen descendants of Sahasrajit in which the account of Arjuna and to some extent of his successors is given. As for the name of this great branch of the Yādavas, it seems to receive it from Sahasrajit's grandson, Haihaya.[5] Arjuna Kārtavīrya, the 10th descendant of Haihaya, is extolled in glorious terms. He was the only paramount monarch in the Haihaya dynasty; and unparalleled so far as his sacrifices, gifts, penance, meditation (*yoga*), learning, valour and conquests were concerned. So he enjoyed sovereignty over the extensive region and reigned for the largest possible time.[6] He propitiated Dattātreya who, then, taught him *yoga* and furnished him with one thousand hands.[7] In view of these teaching and equipment, he became a virtuous and powerful monarch. He was in the state of armed conflict throughout his life; and therefore, among his large number of sons only five viz, Jayadhvaja etc. remained alive and the rest died in the warfare.[8] Jayadhvaja's son was Tālajaṅgha and his many sons, known as the Tālajaṅghas, were also valiant fighters like their predecessors ; but, they were all destroyed by the Ayodhyā king Sagara who derived his power from his preceptor, the Bhārgava Aurva.[1] Vītihotra,[2] the eldest son of Tālajaṅgha, seems to survive the onslaught of Sagara and as such was the last king of the Haihaya dynasty which faded away from the political field, for ever.

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[1] 1.18. 46 ; 1.19. 1.

[2] 1.18. 37.

[3] 1.4.10 ; 1.19. 7.

[4] 9.23. 20-29 ab.

[5] 2.23. 21 ab.

[6] 9.23. 23 ab, 24-25.

[7] 9.23. 23 cd ; 9.15. 17-18.

[8] 9.23. 26.

The story of Haihaya-Bhṛgu conflict came to be inserted in the Kānyakubja genealogy in the context of[3] Ṛcīka Bhārgava's marriage with Satyavatī, the daughter of the Kānyakubja king Gādhi and the elder sister of Viśvāmitra. Ṛcīka's son was Jamdagni,[4] who married a princess of the Ayodhyā king and their youngest son was the well-known Paraśurāma.[5] Now the story[6] starts from Arjuna's arrival in the hermitage of Jamadagni and carrying away his cow reserved for sacred purposes. Consequently, Paraśurāma attacked on Māhiṣmatī, the capital of the Haihayas. The story goes on to say that in a long-drawn open war, Paraśurāma single-handed destroyed Arjuna's great army and cut off his one thousand hands (arms). The victorious Rāma returned with the cow to his father's hermitage. Later on, the sons of Arjuna killed Jamadagni to avenge their father's death. The wrath of Rāma now knew no bounds. The exasperated Paraśurama, with the furious spirit of vengeance, rooted out not only the Haihayas but also the Kṣatriya kings elsewhere. It may be added in this story here that Paraśurama had started the destruction of the Haihayas and it was completed by Sagara a few generations afterwards.

Yādavas (Proper) :

The term Yādava is befitting the lineage that sprang from Yadu's son Kroṣṭā. The Yādava genealogy may be noticed in two parts, i.e., from Kroṣṭā down to Sātvata who may be called the Yādavas immediate constituting the first part ;[7] and, the other known as the Sātvatas as well as their branches viz, the Vṛṣṇis etc. constituting the next part.[8]

Yādavas (Immediate) :

In the first part, then, Śaśabindu-Caitraratha-Mahābhoja, the 5th descendant of Kroṣṭā, was the first paramount monarch.[9] Very large number of progeny[1] ascribed to him may be referred to here as the Śāśabindavas. Śaśabindu's great grandson (near descendant) Uśanas is a notable king because he is said to be the performer of one hundred horse-sacrifices.[2] The next famous king was Jyāmagha, the grandson (far descendant) of Uśanas.[3] He married a Śaibyā princess and had a son viz, Vidarbha through her.[4] An interesting story[5] describes how Jyāmagha was a hen-pecked husband of Śaibyā, the barren wife ; and, how his fear from her effected the birth of Vidarbha. Vidarbha founded the new Yādava kingdom in his own name in the region which thenceforward came to be known as the kingdom of Vidarbha. Vidarbha had three sons viz, Kuśa, Kratha and Romapāda.[6] The Bhāgavata does not take the first son into account furthermore and Kratha continued the main Yādava line at Vidarbha. From Kratha down to Sātvata, the genealogy[7] is merely a list of nineteen kings who came in succession on the throne of Vidarbha. Of these nineteen, the two kings viz, Bhīmaratha and Madhu are notable and famous kings respectively, as will appear. One marital notice, which is remarkable in political history, may be made here before we close the genealogy of the immediate Yādavas. It is said that Keśinī[8] (the daughter of Vidarbha) was married to Sagara and their son was Asamañjasa, the parama-haṁsa, already noted in the Ayodhyā dynasty.

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[1] 9.23. 27.

[2] 9.23. 28 a.

[3] 9.15. 5-7.

[4] 9.15.11cd.

[5] 9.15. 12 cd-13.

[6] 9.15. 23-36 ; 9.16. 9-18.

[7] 9.23. 29 cd-38 ; 9.24.1-6 ab.

[8] 9.24. 6cd-55 ab.

[9] 9.23. 30cd-31 ab.

Cedi (Sub-line) :

As for the third son of Vidarbha viz, Romapāda, he is said to have founded another small and new kingdom of Cedi where his successors reigned for five generations. The said sub-line of Romapāda stands thus :—Babhru, Kṛti, Uśika, Cedi, Caidya etc.[9] The word 'etc.' (*ādyāḥ*) clearly suggests that there were many other kings in the sub-line, who are not named. Furthermore, it should be noted that there is divergence regarding both the founder and the last king mentioned in the sub-line which shall be considered further.

Sātvatas &c. :

The next part of the Yādava genealogy comprises the progeny of Sātvata and numerous branches springing from that progeny. Elsewhere, it is said that the Yādavas were an aggregate of hundred and one families.[1] To name some of them—the Andhaka, Kukura, Kuntaya, Dāśārha, Bhoja, Mādhava, Vṛṣṇi, Visarjana and Sātvata—were the nine famous family branches which were flourishing in the regions from Arbuda to Śūrasena.[2] The number of the preceptors of the Yādava princes are said to be three crores and this may well give the idea of the number of princes in the ratio of one preceptor and many students ; and, then, of the Yādava populace.[3] In view of this staggering number, to which the Yādava family developed after Sātvata, we have to be careful while enumerating them.

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[1] 9.23. 31cd-32.

[2] 9.23. 33 ab.

[3] 9.23. 33 f.

[4] 9.23. 38 abc.

[5] 9. 23. 34-38.

[6] 9.24.1.

[7] 9.24. 3-6 ab.

[8] 9.8. 15 ab.

[9] 9.24. 2.

Sātvata had seven sons viz, Bhajamāna I, Devāvṛdha, Mahābhoja, Vṛṣṇi I, Andhaka I and two more[4] who are no more mentioned. Bhajamāna I had six sons[5] as shown below in the Table. Devāvṛdha's son was Babhru and both the father and the son are extolled in an old verse which says that they were celebrated among men and gods for their spiritual attainment and imparting the spiritual knowledge to others.[6] From Mahābhoja, the righteous ruler, descended the Bhojas.[7] The progeny of Vṛṣṇi I[8] may better be read from the Table. Andhaka I had four sons viz, Kukura, Bhajamāna II etc.[9] From Kukura descended the Kukuras ;[10] and, from Bhajamāna II, the Andhakas proper[11] ; and these are shown in the Table. Among the Andhakas, two kings are notable for their puzzling positions : Firstly, Vidūratha was either the son of Bhajamāna II and as such belonged to the Andhaka branch ; or the son of Pṛthu Caitraratha who belonged to the Vṛṣṇi branch.[12] Secondly, Devamīḍha is taken as the son of Hṛdīka in the absence of clear mention of this relationship, on the suggestion of Śrīdhara.[13] Later on we shall see that Devamīḍha can be shifted from the Andhaka branch to the Vṛṣṇi branch where more justified place awaits him. The development of the Sātvatas, outlined above, may be put in the genealogical tree of Sātvata as follows :—

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[1] 10. 90. 44.

[2] 11.30. 18.

[3] 10.90. 41-42.

[4] 9.24. 6 cd-7 ab.

[5] 9. 24. 7 cd-8.

[6] 9.24. 9-11 ab.

[7] 9.24. 11 cd.

[8] 9.12. 12-18.

[9] 9.24. 19 ab ; These are not explicitly said to be sons of Andhaka but Śrīdhara suggests so on the basis of Parāśara as follows :— कुकुरादयश्चत्वारोंऽधकस्य सुता इति ज्ञेयम् तथा च पराशरः······ ।

[10] 9.24. 19 cd-24.

[11] 9.24. 26-29, 46, 53 cd-55 ab.

[12] 9.24. 26 ab ; Śrīdhara comments :— भजमानाच्च विदूरथः पुत्रोऽभूत्···इति पराशरादिवचनात् यद्वा···पूर्वोक्तचित्ररथात्मजात्··· ।

[13] 9.24. 27 cd ; Śrīdhara comments :—देवमीढो हृदीकस्यैव सुतः यथाह पराशरः ।

Sātvata

- Bhajamāna I
  - (six sons) Nimloci, Kiṅkiṇa & Vṛṣṇi II from one wife ; and Śatājit, Sahasrājit and Ayutājit from another.
- Devāvṛdha
  - Babhru
- Mahābhoja
  - descended the *Bhojas*
- Vṛṣṇi I
  - (the *Vṛṣṇis*)
  - Yudhājit
    - Anamitra
      - Śini II
        - Satyaka
          - Yuyudhāna
            - Jaya
              - Kuṇi
                - Yugandhara
      - Vṛṣṇi II
        - Śvaphalka
          - Akrūra etc. 12 sons
            - Devavāna & Upadeva
        - Citraratha
          - Pṛthu
            - Vidūratha etc. many Vṛṣṇi princes
      - Nimna
        - Satrājit
        - Prasena
    - Śini I
  - Sumitra
- Andhaka I (see next Table)

Andhaka I

- Kukura (from whom descended the *Kukuras*)
  - Vahni
    - Viloman
      - Kapotaroman
        - Anu
          - Andhaka II
            - Dundubhi
              - Aridyota
                - Punarvasu
                  - Āhuka
                    - Devaka
                      - Devavān etc. four sons
                    - Ugrasena
                      - Kaṁsa etc. nine sons
- Bhajamāna II (from whom descended the *Andhakas*)
  - Vidūratha ?
    - Śūra I
      - Śini
        - Svayambhoja
          - Hṛdīka
            - Devabāhu
            - Śatadhanus
            - Devamīḍha ?
              - Śūra II
                - Vasudeva etc. 10 sons
                  - Kṛṣṇa etc. 8 sons through Devakī
                  - Balarāma etc. many sons through Rohiṇī
            - Kṛtavarman

Thus, in spite of the taciturnity of the Bhāgavata on some points, we have traced the genealogy of the Sātvatas down to Kṛṣṇa. His grandfather was Śūra II who married Māriṣā, the Bhoja princess, and produced ten sons viz, Vasudeva etc. and five daughters viz, Pṛthā etc. in her.[1] The Bhāgavata mentions in detail Vasudeva's wives Devakī etc. and their sons ;[2] Vasudeva's nine brothers Devabhāga etc., their wives and sons ;[3] and, Vasudeva's five sisters Pṛthā etc., their husbands and sons.[4] Of these five sisters, the first Pṛthā was first given for adoption to the king Kuntibhoja who was issueless. It was done so because Kuntibhoja was the friend of her father Śūra II. At Kuntibhoja's house she came to be called Kuntī ; and also happened to give birth to a child viz, Karṇa in her maidenhood. Later on, she was married to Pāṇḍu and the child became the famous king of Aṅga.[5] It may be added here that Subhadrā, the daughter of Vasudeva, was married to Pāṇḍu's son Arjuna, the grandfather of Parīkṣit II.[6] Śrutadevā, the second sister of Vasudeva, was married to Vṛddhaśarman, the king of Karūṣa ; and their son was Dantavakra, the resolute enemy of Kṛṣṇa.[7] Śrutakīrti, the third sister, was married to Dhṛṣṭaketu, the king of Kaikeya ; and Santardana etc. were their five sons.[8] Rājādhidevī, the fourth sister, was married to Jayasena, the king of Avanti ; and their two daughters were Vindā and Mitravindā.[9] Śrutaśravas, the last sister, was the wife of Damaghoṣa, the king of Cedi ; and their son was Śiśupāla,[10] another resolute enemy of Kṛṣṇa. Thus with the enumeration of Vasudeva's brothers, sisters and sons ends the Yādava genealogy.

BIOGRAPHY OF ŚRĪ—KṚṢṆA

Kṛṣṇa :

According to Śrīdhara,[11] the Bhāgavata records the traditional history from the earliest times to the birth of Kṛṣṇa in its ninth skandha (Book) only as a background to embody Kṛṣṇa's full-fledged biography in the tenth skandha. Although every skandha of the Bhāgavata, it may be added, bears the indelible stamp of Kṛṣṇa, the tenth skandha is exclusively concerned with his life and activities. Indeed this skandha occupies a unique position in the field of devotion, as a full-fledged biography of Bhagavān Śrī-Kṛṣṇa. This is borne out also by Śrīdhara. He introduces the tenth skandha as follows: "In this tenth skandha the highest is being considered. He is the final resort or the last source (Āśraya) of the helpless devotees and the universe. Born in the family of the Yadus, the infinite bliss displays here the magic of Divine Sport."[1] So, from the standpoint of the Bhāgavata, it will be a fruitless pursuit to take note of only the traditional history from the ninth skandha and exclude Kṛṣṇa's biography recorded in the succeeding one. Hence, at least the cardinal points of Kṛṣṇa's biography are reproduced here from the tenth skandha, although some relevant statements or episodes have been drawn from other skandhas also. But, in doing so, we are faced with the problem of maintaining a consistency between metaphysics and history. "*Kṛṣṇas tu bhagavān svayam*" (Kṛṣṇa is no other than Bhagavān Himself)—[2] is the dictum which the Bhāgavata has propounded, with all emphasis at its command, at the beginning. "If the Kṛṣṇa-concept of the Bhāgavata is a metaphysical deduction how can this be reconciled with the historical Kṛṣṇa who is believed to have flourished some three thousand years ago at the family of the Yadus ? How can a historical personality be taken to have been culled from metaphysical data ? How can Kṛṣṇa who thus belongs to the world of thought be clothed in flesh and blood ? How to bridge this gap between metaphysics and history ?"[3]

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[1] 9.24. 27 cd-31 ab.

[2] 9.24. 22 cd-23, 45-55 ab.

[3] 9.24. 25, 40 cd- 44.

[4] 9.24. 30-40 ab.

[5] 9.24. 31 cd-36.

[6] 9.24. 55 cd.

[7] 9.24. 37.

[8] 9.24. 38.

[9] 9.24. 39 ab.

[10] 9.24. 39 cd-40 ab.

[11] vide Śrīdhara's intr. to ninth skandha.

It is true that the accredited author of the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata composed it exclusively for the purpose of delineating the concept of Bhagavān Śrī-Kṛṣṇa ; and Bhagavān Kṛṣṇa being the pivot of the Bhāgavata philosophy, all the skandhas are woven in the texture of this Kṛṣṇa-concept. But the Bhāgavata has propounded the doctrine of that eternal (Bhagavān) Kṛṣṇa whose activities are reflected in the life of historical Kṛṣṇa. The Bhāgavata seems to believe in the eternality of Kṛṣṇa's activity, his abodes and his form. As to the exact relation between Bhagavān Kṛṣṇa and the historical Kṛṣṇa the Bhāgavata takes it to be of perfect identity.[4] Thus we can say that historical Kṛṣṇa was the perfect manifectation of Bhagavān Kṛṣṇa. How the historical Kṛṣṇa transcends himself to attain the lofty status of Bhagavān is another problem. As for the historicity of Kṛṣṇa, it will be considered further. Now that the historical Kṛṣṇa is accepted as the perfect manifestation of the eternal Kṛṣṇa, we might concentrate on the biography of the former as depicted in the Bhāgavata.

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[1] PSB. p. 75.

[2] 1.3. 28 b ; for phraseology vide PSB. p. 54.

[3] PSB. p. 82.

[4] vide PSB. pp. 82-84.

Biography of the Historical Kṛṣṇa :

"The Bhāgavata has recorded different views with regard to the purpose for which Kṛṣṇa was incarnated : (1) Some consider Kṛṣṇa to have incarnated for extending the fame of Yudhiṣṭhira as a righteous monarch ; (2) others take him to have revealed himself for the welfare of the earth and for the destruction of the demons ; (3) still others opine that Kṛṣṇa took a tangible form for providing such activities as would sanctify the memory and ears of the people constantly tormented in this world by false knowledge and greed."[1] All these views are tenable and retrospectively visible in Kṛṣṇa's life distributed successively at three places viz, Vṛndāvana, Mathurā and Dvārakā. The last purpose is most manifest at Vṛndāvana, the second at Mathurā and the first at Dvārakā. But, the second purpose, as declared by the Gītā[2] and reiterated in similar words by the Bhāgavata[3] just at the close of the Yādava genealogy where his birth was mentioned, seems to be the main purpose of his incarnation. Accordingly, the lightening of the burden of the earth through the destruction of the evil forces and protection of the good and thus re-establishing religion, was the main purpose of Kṛṣṇa's incarnation in the Yādava family. Kṛṣṇa's heroic valour, in fulfilment of this main purpose, starts from the destruction of Pūtanā and ceases after killing Vidūratha.[4] We shall now see, through the series of events, how Kṛṣṇa acted in this direction directly up to Vidūratha and indirectly afterwards.

The biography of Kṛṣṇa, as mentioned above, falls into three parts, i.e., at Vṛndāvana, Mathurā and Dvārakā. Summarily it may be put as follows : Kṛṣṇa was born at Mathurā in a prison cell on a moonless night. His parents were Vasudeva and Devakī. He was then taken to Vṛndāvana where his early life was spent. To the world at large, he was the son of Nanda and Yaśodā. At Vṛndāvana he played many a sport with the cowherd boys and girls, the climax of which was "rāsa-līlā". He then came to Mathurā and having killed the tyrant maternal uncle, Kaṁsa, installed Ugrasena, Kaṁsa's father, on the throne. Subsequently he was at Dvārakā where he raised a huge family. Kṛṣṇa, who was all along destroying the evil forces, ultimately brought about the extermination of the Kauravas in the Great War ; and then, the annihilation of his own entire lineage at Prabhāsakṣetra. At last he departed from this world leaving his undying fame behind. Vṛndāvana experienced his sweetness and majesty, Mathurā his glory and power and Dvārakā found him a careful householder and at the same time the destroyer of the evil forces especially in favour of the Pāṇḍavas. Now we may see his activities at the three venues separately and in some detail.

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[1] 1.8. 32-35 ; vide PSB. p. 92.

[2] Gītā *4. 7-8.*

[3] 9.24. 56.

[4] Śrīdhara on 10.78. 17.

Vṛndāvana :

At Vṛndāvana Kṛṣṇa's life was nothing but a continuous series of sports revealing his majesty at every step up to the extent that the natural was over-arched by the supernatural. We visualize the miracles of child Kṛṣṇa when he killed Pūtanā,[1] Śakaṭa,[2] Tṛṇāvarta,[3] Vatsa and Baka[4]— all at Vraja. From the metaphysical standpoint, the death of the demoness Pūtanā is the destruction of Avidyā which binds man to external objects ; and the devastation of the demon Śakaṭa is the severence of all contacts with external objects.[5] In this way Kṛṣṇa's childhood sports may be explained. At the age of five years Kṛṣṇa was shifted in the near vicinity called Vṛndāvana.[6] Here he killed Aghāsura[7] and saved the dwellers from devastating fire at two occasions.[8] Grazing the cows and playing on the bank of the Yamunā,[9] ousting Kāliya-nāga from its water,[10] the well-known "vastra-haraṇa-līlā" on its bank[11] and showering of the grace on the wives of the Brāhmaṇas engaged in the Vedic sacrifice[12]—are some of the sports of boy Kṛṣṇa here. The famous supernatural exploit of Kṛṣṇa was the lifting of the hill, Govardhana, to save Vṛndāvana and its inhabitants from the shower of rains.[13] All the dwellers were wonder-struck to see this feat of Kṛṣṇa at the age of seven.[14] In consonance with his main purpose of incarnation, the boy Kṛṣṇa then killed Śaṅkhacūḍa,[15] Ariṣṭa,[16] Keśī[17] and Vyomāsura.[18]

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[1] 10.6. 6-18.

[2] 10.7. 4-10.

[3] 10.7. 18-30.

[4] 10.11. 25-40.

[5] PSB. p. 101.

[6] 10.11. 48.

[7] 10.12. 12-33.

[8] The first occasion—10.17. 20-25 the next—10.19. 11-12.

[9] 10.15. 10-19.

[10] 10.16.1.

[11] 10.22. 1-27.

[12] 10.23. 25-32.

[13] 10.25. 19-28.

[14] 10. 26. 3, 14, 25 ; 10. 43. 27 ; 10.57.16.

[15] 10.34. 20-31.

[16] 10. 36. 1-15.

[17] 10.37. 1-9.

[18] 10. 37. 27-34.

Of all the activities of Kṛṣṇa at three regions, those at Vṛndāvana are the highest. Again, of all the sports of Kṛṣṇa at Vṛndāvana "rāsa-līlā"[1] stands the highest in which the cowherd girls were singularly privileged to participate. It was in consonance with the third purpose of his incarnation that Kṛṣṇa's blissful nature underwent the most perfect expression, i.e., *rāsa*. 'Rāsa-līlā' was the exuberant jubilation of Kṛṣṇa for the satisfaction of the gopīs. It exhilarated the minds of those gopīs who had taken refuge in him; and, it is meant for extinguishing carnal desires of those who recite or listen to it. Śrīdhara at the outset of his commentary on the 29th chapter of the tenth skandha expresses the above view and says that the final import of Kṛṣṇa's dalliances with the gopīs is just the reverse of what the ordinary people think about the five chapters on "*rāsa*".[2] Kṛṣṇa left Vṛndāvana at the age of eleven years[3]—is the simplest answer to such ordinary people as may raise objection on moral grounds.

Mathurā :

Kaṁsa, the tyrant king of Mathurā, feared Kṛṣṇa as he was divined to meet his death at the hands of Kṛṣṇa.[4] Nārada accelerated the divine purpose of destroying the evil forces by instigating Kaṁsa to do cruel acts towards the Yādavas in general and Kṛṣṇa in particular.[5] Consequently Kaṁsa arrested Kṛṣṇa's parents, tormented the Yādavas and sent for Kṛṣṇa to kill him.[6] So, from Vṛndāvana, Kṛṣṇa proceeded to Mathurā where his exploit started with the breaking of the bow in the sacrificial hall prepared by Kaṁsa as a part of his conspiracy to kill Kṛṣṇa.[7] Then he killed the elephant, Kuvalayāpīḍa, at the gate of the arena in a chasing fight.[8] Kaṁsa organised a pugilistic encounter (*bāhu-yuddha*) in the arena (*malla-sabhā*) to get Rāma and Kṛṣṇa killed by his robust wrestlers. So, the boxing match was fixed between Kṛṣṇa and Cāṇura on the one hand and between Rāma and Muṣṭika on the other.[9] In the first pair, the art and strength of Cāṇūra, shown in close hand-to-hand fight, was foiled and when he was dashed against the ground, he died.[10] Similarly in the second pair counter-blows of Rāma brought about the end of Muṣṭika.[11] The other professional pugilists viz, Kūṭa etc. were also killed after the two.[1] Kaṁsa who was witnessing this final phase of his conspiracy, seated on a raised dias, was then hurriedly caught and thrown down on the floor of the arena by Kṛṣṇa and he died instantaneously.[2] Kaṁa's eight brothers who came forward were killed by Balarāma.[3] Soon afterwards, Ugrasena, the father of the deceased Kaṁsa, was reinstated on the throne of Mathurā, the capital of Śūrasena, as the king of the Yādavas.[4]

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[1] The five Chapters on "*rāsa*"—10.29-33.

[2] PSB. pp. 99-100.

[3] 3.2. 26.

[4] 10.1. 34 ; 10.4. 34.

[5] 10.1. 62-64 ; 10.36. 16-18.

[6] 10.1.65-69 ; 10. 36. 19-46.

[7] 10.42 17.

[8] 10.43. 1-17.

[9] 10. 43. 41.

[10] 10. 44. 23.

[11] 10. 44. 24-25.

Vasudeva then performed the rite of a twice-born (*upanayana*) upon his sons viz, Balārama and Kṛṣṇa. They were initiated to the rite by the Brāhmaṇas especially by Garga, the family-priest of the Yādavas.[5] Both of them then went to the *guru-kula* at Avantipura where Sāndīpani Kāśya educated them.[6] After their return from the *guru-kula*, Jarāsandha, the king of Magadha, struck the note of dissent. He was the father-in-law of Kaṁsa; and instigated by his widow daughters he beseized Mathurā from all sides with the aid of his huge army.[7] Both Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma came out to fight and their divine weapons including the chariot marked by Garuḍa-dhvaja appeared themselves on the spot.[8] In consonance with the main purpose of his incarnation, Kṛṣṇa with his Śārṅga-dhanus[9] and Balarāma with his notorious pestle (muṣala)[10] faced and crushed his army but allowed Jarāsandha to go alive so that he may repeat his warfare in the company of the wicked kings whose destruction was desirable, swiftly and collectively.[11] As Kṛṣṇa had anticipated, Jarāsandha attacked on Mathurā seventeen times with a large number of army that was destroyed each time.[12] On the eve of Jarāsandha's last attack, a war-monger Kāla-yavana blocked Mathurā with the aid of his Mleccha troops.[13] Subsequently Kṛṣṇa had to shift all the Yādavas to a newly constructed and fortified city of Dvārakā which was built in the water of the western sea-coast.[14] Having placed all in the safe place, Kṛṣṇa came back to face Kāla-yavana and got him burnt to death through a device.[15] When Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma were on their way to Dvārakā, with all the war material and wealth seized from Kāla-yavana's army at Mathurā, Jarāsandha attacked with increased spite at the juncture. Both Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma had to flee away leaving everything behind. Jarāsandha made a wild-goose-chase and both secretly and safely reached Dvārakā.[1]

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[1] 10. 44. 26-27.
[2] 10. 44. 37-38.
[3] 10. 44. 40-41.
[4] 10. 45. 12.
[5] 10. 45. 29.
[6] 10. 45. 31.
[7] 10. 50. 4.
[8] 10. 50. 11-13.
[9] 10. 50. 23-27.
[10] 10. 50. 28-29.
[11] 10. 50. 32.
[12] 10. 50. 42.
[13] 10. 50 47.
[14] 10. 50. 50.
[15] 10. 51. 12.

Dvārakā :

'The Kṛṣṇa of the Mahābhārata is by and large the Kṛṣṇa of Dvārakā'[2] He lived the last part of his life here. Having established the Yādavas in Ānarta country with Ugrasena as their king in the capital city Dvārakā, Kṛṣṇa started his career of a householder. His marriages, as we shall see now, were more or less political alliances that strengthened the Yādava hold elsewhere also. His first marriage was with Rukmiṇī, the daughter of the Vidarbha king Bhīṣmaka.[3] He reached Kuṇḍinapura, the capital of Vidarbha kingdom, on the invitation of the bride herself whom her father was about to marry to Śiśupāla.[4] Suspicious of bride's abduction, Jarāsandha etc., many kings friendly to Śiśupāla, were ready with their armies to effect the marriage.[5] But Kṛṣṇa did what the bride had desired.[6] The hostile kings, aiding the rival, suffered defeat and were forced to retreat by the Yādava army headed by Balarāma.[7] Rukmī, the brother of the bride and a sworn enemy of Kṛṣṇa, determined to bring back his sister, followed Kṛṣṇa and giving the call of contest fought till he lost his last weapon ; and would have lost his life also ; but for the intercession of her sister he was left alive.[8] It may be noted here that Rukmī did not return to Kuṇḍinapura and founded a new town, Bhojakaṭa near the place where he was defeated and lived there.[9] The Syamantaka jewel episode,[10] which will be noticed later, was responsible for Kṛṣṇa's second and third marriages with Jambavatī,[11] the daughter of Jambavān ; and with Satyabhāmā,[12]the daughter of Satrājita ; in which both the fathers presented their daughters to him, voluntarily. It happened so when Kṛṣṇa went to the forest in search of the Syamantaka *maṇi*. There he had a duel with Jambavān which lasted for twenty-eight days and in which both used fist blows freely on each other. At last Jāmbavān, who had also used stones and trees as weapons, became infirm and realized that his favourite god Śrī-Rāma had descended in the form of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa.[1] Then he presented his daughter to him. Similarly Satrājita, who had offended Kṛṣṇa by alleging the theft of the *maṇi* on him, was repentant and so as an atonement for the false charge, offered his daughter to him, although she was demanded in marriage by Kṛtavarman etc.[2] Kṛṣṇa's fourth marriage took place with Kālindī who liked to marry none else.[3] Mitravindā, as we have already seen, was the daughter of Jayasena, the king of Avanti, and was Kṛṣṇa's cousin sister. But she was attached to Kṛṣṇa and therefore was abducted from the *svayaṁvara* (the ceremony held for a girl to select the husband of her choice) defeating the rivals, Duryodhana etc.[4] The sixth wife of Kṛṣṇa became Satyā, the daughter of the Ayodhyā king, Nagnajit. The king, before marrying her daughter to him, set a stipulation (*samaya*) of controlling the seven restive bulls, which Kṛṣṇa did and then married his daughter Satyā also called Nāgnajitī.[5] Again, Bhadrā, as already noted, was the cousin sister of Kṛṣṇa and the daughter of the Kaikeya king, Dhṛṣṭaketu. But her uterine brothers Santardana etc. presented Bhadrā to Kṛṣṇa in marriage.[6] Kṛṣṇa's eighth marriage took place with Lakṣamaṇā, the daughter of the Madra king, whom he abducted alone from the *svayaṁvara*.[7] Besides these eight principal wives viz, Rukmiṇī, Jāmbavatī, Satyabhāmā, Kālindī, Mitravindā, Satyā, Bhadrā and Lakṣamaṇā —all married in succession, Kṛṣṇa collectively married those princesses who were confined by Naraka, the king of Prāgjyotiṣapura, under his custody. Kṛṣṇa went to his capital for the release of the girls and as they desired to marry him they were all brought to Dvārakā where Kṛṣṇa married them in a fashion which confirms that he was Bhagavān, the highest metaphysical reality.[8]

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[1] 10. 52. 5-14.

[2] PSB. p. 92.

[3] 10. 52. 16.

[4] 10. 53. 6-7.

[5] 10. 53 ; 17-18.

[6] 10. 53. 56.

[7] 10.54. 1-9.

[8] 10. 54. 38-34.

[9] 10. 54. 52.

[10] 10. 56. 2-45.

[11] 10.56. 32.

[12] 10.56. 1, 44.

Other Exploits :

Thus we have seen the marriages of Kṛṣṇa. As a householder, Dvārakā had to be his headquarters. But, with Dvārakā as the base, he continued his exploits in fulfilment of the main purpose of his birth. They may be enumerated as follows :

(i) The breaking and burning of the three castles (*tripura-dāha*) was difficult for others, which Rudra did. But Rudra was not able to do it alone without the help of Kṛṣṇa who supplied material as well as spiritual power with which Rudra burnt down the three castles (*tri-pura*).[1]

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[1] 10. 56. 23-28.

[2] 10. 56. 40-44.

[3] 10. 58. 21, 29.

[4] 10. 58. 30-31.

[5] 10. 58. 32-47.

[6] 10. 58. 56.

[7] 10. 58. 57.

[8] 10. 59. 33-36, 42.

(ii) Kṛṣṇa's contest with Rudra when the latter helped the demon Bāṇa is most significant from the standpoint of former's position as the supreme godhead. Kṛṣṇa emerged victorious in the full-fledged war between the Yādava army headed by Balarāma on on the one side and the combined army of Rudra and Bāṇa on the other.[2]

(iii) Śatadhanvan, the Vṛṣṇi prince, had slain Satrājita, the father-in-law of Kṛṣṇa and had snatched the Syamantaka *maṇi* from him. For fear of Kṛṣṇa, he fled away placing the *maṇi* with Akrūra. But he was chased, caught and killed by Kṛṣṇa in the forest near Mithilā.[3]

(iv) Pauṇḍraka, the king of Karīṣa, challenged the valid position of the historical Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva in being the eternal Kṛṣṇa who took the tangible form for the purposes mentioned above. Kṛṣṇa, having accepted his challenge to settle the issue by contest, went to Kāśī on a chariot where Pauṇḍraka was staying with his friend, the king of Kāśī. The fourfold army of both the enemy kings numbering five akṣauhiṇīs jointly faced Kṛṣṇa but was destroyed. After killing their kings, Kṛṣṇa returned to Dvārakā with his position as the perfect manifestation of Bhagavān, re-established.[4]

(v) Kṛṣṇa came to know through an envoy that Jarāsandha had confined myriads of kings in his fort in connection with his conquest of the directions.[5] At the same time he got invitation to attend the Rāja-sūya sacrifice performed by Yudhiṣṭhira.[6] Uddhava, whose advice was sought on the preference to be given to the work between the two and also on the method of performance, advised Kṛṣṇa to attend the Rāja-sūya first because it implies the victory over other kings and as such shall provide a chance to win over Jarāsandha and thereby to release those kings who had taken refuge in him.[7] As to how Jarāsandha, the powerful monarch, be killed, Uddhava told Kṛṣṇa to fix a single combat between Jarāsandha and Bhīma.[1] Accordingly, Kṛṣṇa went to Indraprastha with his army and family and stayed with Yudhiṣṭhira for some months.[2] In the course of their conquests, the two Pāṇḍavas viz, Arjuna and Bhīma accompained by Kṛṣṇa went to Girivraja, the capital of the Māgadha king Jarāsandha, in the guise of the Brāhmaṇas, as advised by Uddhava.[3] There they asked for single combat and the king agreed to fight with Bhīma. Both the combatants came out on the open ground and fought for twenty-seven days with clubs as their only weapon. On the last day Bhīma, being fatigued, expressed his inability to kill Jarāsandha. But Kṛṣṇa encouraged him and showed such a device through which he was able to make the opponent half fall down and split him into two parts by tearing asunder from the anus to the head like a branch of tree.[4] Kṛṣṇa, then, installed Jarāsandha's son Sahadeva on the throne of Magadha and released the kings confined in the fort of Girivraja.[5]

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[1] 7.10. 50-68 ; For details vide Chapter III. p. 61.

[2] 10.63. 4-50 ; For details vide Chapter III. p. 59.

[3] 10. 57. 5, 18, 20-21.

[4] 10. 66. 1-23.

[5] 10.70. 23-24.

[6] 10.70. 41-42.

[7] 10.70. 46-47 ; 10.71. 1-3.

(vi) Śiśupāla, the king of Cedi, had nothing but hatred for Kṛṣṇa, although both were cousin brothers. He could not, therefore, bear to see the highest reverence paid to Kṛṣṇa during the Rājasūya and opposed the idea vehemently.[6] In spite of his opposition, Kṛṣṇa was worshipped first of all. Śiśupāla then became extremely impetuous and heaped vile abuse upon Kṛṣṇa with the result that his head was cut off by Kṛṣṇa with his Sudarśana wheel.[7]

(vii) When Kṛṣṇa was at Indraprastha in connection with the Rājasūya, Śālva, the friend of Śiśupāla, declared solemnly to extinct the Yādavas. He propitiated god Paśupati for the purpose who, being pleased with his worship, furnished him with an iron plane namely, Saubha, made by Maya, the architect of the demons. Śālva then encompassed Dvārakā and ruined the city with downpour of various weapons. The Yādava warriors under the leadership of Pradyumna came out to face the disaster and a melee ensued that lasted for twenty-seven days.[8] During the battle, Pradyumna became unconscious being hit by the club of Dyumān, the minister of Śālva. He was taken back from the battle field by his charioteer. When Pradyumna gained consciousness he did not approve the action of his charioteer, although it is the duty of both the charioteer (*sārathi*) and the warrior who fights from a chariot (*rathin*) to protect each other in times of distress.[1] Before Pradyumna retired, Sātvata warriors threw arrows—inflammatory like fire, scorching like the sun and deadly like poison—on Śālva and his army.[2] Soon Pradyumna, full of heroic sentiments, returned and killed Dyumān who had compelled him for unconscious retreat and at the same time the Sātvatas destroyed the army under his command.[3] Kṛṣṇa, who had apprehended this revengeful attack on Dvārakā by Śālva, came in the meanwhile from Indraprastha and at once encircled the Saubha plane with the net of arrows. Śālva pierced in his left hand and lo ! the Śārṅga-dhanus fell from Kṛṣṇa's hand. Then Kṛṣṇa hit on his collar-bone with the club.[4] Śālva disappeared and used demoniac artifices (*āsurī māyā*) to confound Kṛṣṇa. For example, he produced Vasudeva as fettered and killed him before Kṛṣṇa.[5] But as his divine missile, called śataghnī, had failed to react on Kṛṣṇa,[6] similarly the evil spirits could not produce any effect on him and Śālva, who was not visible till now,came on the ground to have a duel with Kṛṣṇa. Eventually, his head was cut off with a bear.[7]

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[1] 10.71. 7.

[2] 10.71 22, 46.

[3] 10. 72. 15-16.

[4] 10. 72. 17-45.

[5] 10. 72. 48.

[6] 10. 74. 30-37.

[7] 10.74. 43.

[8] 10. 76. 3, 9-16 ; 10-77. 5-6.

(viii) Dantavakra, the king of Karūṣa, attacked on Kṛṣṇa to take the revenge of his two friends Śiśupāla and Śālva whom he had killed. He had a club fight with Kṛṣṇa in which he fell dead unable to survive the counter-blow of the club, Kaumodakī, on his chest.[8] According to the Bhāgavata, Śiśupāla and Dantavakra were the attendants of the eternal Kṛṣṇa and this was their third and the last birth in the mortal frame, effected by the curse of Sanaka etc.[9] Being killed by Kṛṣṇa, both attained coalescence with the Supreme Soul (*sāyujya*) and became what they were—the attendants viz, Jaya and Vijaya, while attaining the figure of Viṣṇu (*sārūpya*).[10]

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[1] 10. 76. 27-32.

[2] 10. 76. 24.

[3] 10. 77. 2-4.

[4] 10. 77. 9-11, 14-15, 20.

[5] 10. 77. 25-27.

[6] 10. 77. 12-13.

[7] 10. 77. 28, 33-36.

[8] 10.78. 1-9.

[9] 3. 15. 34.

[10] 7. 10. 37, 39 ; 10.74. 45 ; 10. 78.10. and Śrīdhara on 10. 78.4.

(ix) Jarāsandha was killed on the eve of the Rāja-sūya, Śiśupāla in the middle of it and Śālva and Dantavakra at its close. Now Vidūratha came to take the revenge of his elder brother Dantavakra ; and he was the last victim of Kṛṣṇa's Sudarśana wheel.

Henceforth Kṛṣṇa ceased to show his valour directly inasmuch as the main purpose of his birth was partially realized. Partially, because the burden of the earth was there in the form of the Kauravas. So, he made the Pāṇḍavas his instrument to realise the purpose fully.[1] Kṛṣṇa sowed the seed of Kaurava destruction in the laughter that was raised in the palace of Yudhiṣṭira at Duryodhana when the later, due to his misapprehension, fell in water.[2] Kṛṣṇa, then, waited silently and the plant grew and bore fruits in due course. The humiliation of Duryodhana served as the preliminary cause which brought about the Kurukṣetra war,[3] already noted at the end of the Paurava family. The Kaurava-Pauravas were destroyed completely in this war but Kṛṣṇa was not satisfied because the burden of the earth still remained there in the form of the Yādavas—the large, powerful and flourishing family.[4] Being his own, Kṛṣṇa liked to destroy it by another medium.[5] The curse of the hermits to Sāmba, the son of Kṛṣṇa through Jāmbavatī,[6] served as the medium in the direction of Yādava destruction.[7] Being deceived with the jestful contrivances of Sāmba and other Yādava princes, the hermits predicted the extermination of the Yādava family by means of a pestle (muṣala) that was to come out from the womb of Sāmba.[8] It is said that the pestle, when it came out, was pulverised and thrown into the sea. Some of the iron powder of the pestle which remained on the *erakā* grass was eaten by a fish whom a hunter happened to catch. The hunter, then, studded the tip of his arrow with the iron powder found in the stomach of that fish.[9] Thus the whole stage of the drama of Yādava destruction (including Kṛṣṇa's) was prepared by the curse—the medium preferred by the director.

The director selected Prabhāsakṣetra as the venue to stage the drama. The Yādavas were made assemble at Prabhāsa where the actors first drank the spirituous liquor called *maireyaka* and then began to quarrel mutually like villains and desperados forgetting all affinity.[10] Having exhausted their arms (*śastra*) and weapons (*astra*), the Yādavas used the reeds of the *erakā* grass for the purpose and the reeds worked like iron bars in their hands. They inflicted injury with the *erakās* on each other including Rāma and Kṛṣṇa whom they took as their opponents. The two also returned counter-blows with the *erakās* as well as with the fists.[1] Anger, causing rivalry and hostility, annihilated all the Yādavas assembled at Prabhāsa.[2] Now Kṛṣṇa, the director, was satisfied to see that the drama unfolded by him has come to its successful conclusion ; and that the main purpose of his incarnation was fully realized.[3] Balarāma left the *manuṣya-loka* (the human form or the world of mortals) with concentration on Parama-Puruṣa (the Supreme Soul).[4] Now comes the hunter to draw the curtain on the stage as the director liked to depart. Jarā, the hunter, who had tipped his arrow with the iron powder of the cursed pestle, happened to pierce the same arrow into the feet of Kṛṣṇa whom he considered as a deer ; for, the four-handed form of Kṛṣṇa resembled the beautiful animal.[5] The chariot of Kṛṣṇa and divine weapons flew in the air.[6] "Subsequently Kṛṣṇa suffered death by the injury caused at the hand of the hunter. His death, of course, was not like that of an ordinary mortal. It might be called death in so far as his physical form was dismembered from his being ; but, in fact, it was disappearance with his spiritual form."[7]

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[1] 11.1.2.

[2] 10. 75. 34-39.

[3] 10.75. 39 ef.

[4] 10.90. 40-44 ; 11.1.8.

[5] 11.1.3.

[6] 11.1.14 b.

[7] 11.1. 5, 24.

[8] 11.1. 16.

[9] 11.1. 21-23.

[10] 11.30. 13-19.

The Gītā is the first repository of the teachings of Kṛṣṇa-Bhagavān ; and as such it is the first authentic pronouncement on the bhāgavata-dharma. Arjuna was the first man to be benefited by the knowledge of the soul, it provided. But his knowledge was shrouded by the post-war activities and attachment to worldly life. So, as at Kurukṣetra, he was again re-enlightened at Prabhāsakṣetra by Kṛṣṇa on the eve of his departure. Similarly the knowledge of the soul and the unique religion propounded in the Gītā was expounded by the same Personality to Uddhava on the eve of his final journey from Dvārakā to Prabhāskṣetra ; and these teachings are embodied in the eleventh skandha of the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata.[8]

"Brahman as the source of creation is charged with the potency viz, Ātma-māyā, the principle of multiplicity. This concept of multiplicity is represented in having a large family,[9] all eventually tracing their origin to Kṛṣṇa, as Brahman is the ultimate source of the physical universe. As

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[1] 11. 30. 20-23.

[2] 11.30. 24.

[3] 11.30. 25.

[4] 11.30. 26.

[5] 11.30. 33.

[6] 10.30. 44-45 ab.

[7] 11.31.6 ; vide PSB p. 78.

[8] 3. 4. 30-31—Uddhava's reference; and 1. 15. 30—Arjuna's reference.

[9] 10.61. 7-19 ; 10.90. 31-34.

Brahman, Kṛṣṇa created huge family and ultimately destroyed them all, as Brahman destroys the entire creation. And as Brahman exists even after the dissolution of the whole of material creation, similarly Kṛṣṇa existed and enjoyed his divine isolation even after his entire lineage was annihilated."[1]

Vajra :

The only survivor, who continued to exist after the Yādavas disappeared from the land and as such from the political arena, was Vajra, the great grandson of Kṛṣṇa who, with the remaining Yādavas such as women, children and old ones, was taken to Indraprastha by Arjuna because Dvārakā was overflooded by the sea.[2] This also happened according to the will of the director expressed to the charioteer, Dāruka, just before the departure.[3] Vajra was, then, exalted on the throne of Mathurā as the king of Śurasena by Yudhiṣṭira in a duly organised coronation ceremony.[4]

Balarāma :

If Kṛṣṇa was a historical fact, Balarāma, his elder brother, was evidently so. Since we have enumerated Kṛṣṇa's valour, it is necessary to enumerate Balarāma's valorous deeds also, because the later was intimately connected with the former. By and large, Rāma was always with Kṛṣṇa in his exploits at all the three venues of the later's work. Yet there are certain exploits exclusively concerned with Rāma and we may notice them in the order of their happening :

(i) At Vraja, Balarāma killed Dhenuka demon who came in the form of an ass in the Tāla-vana.[5]

(ii) On the Raivataka hill, where Balarāma was sporting with the gopīs of Vṛndāvana in the latter part of his age, Dvivida made wild attacks on him with Śāla trees, stones and rocks. He was paid in his own coins by Balarāma and the great Vānara, who was the brother of Mainda, minister of Sugrīva and freind of Naraka, fell dead.[6]

(iii) Balarāma had taught club fight to Duryodhana at Mithilā ;[7] and as such the later was former's disciple and naturally claimed soft attitude of the preceptor towards him. Once Sāmba, the son of Kṛṣṇa, eloped Lakṣmaṇā, the daughter of Duryodhana, from the *svayaṁvara* (choice-marriage ceremony). The six elder Kauravas viz, Bhīṣma etc. jointly assaulted on Sāmba and arrested him with the bride. The Vṛṣṇis were furious to know this. But, Balarāma, intending to prevent the impending conflict between the Vṛṣṇis and the Kauravas on this issue, pacified his kinsmen and went to Hastināpura to bring about a peaceful settlement. The prospering and therefore proud Kauravas not only rejected Balarāma's peace proposal but used harsh words against the Yādavas in general and their king Ugrasena in particular. Indignant Rāma, then, had to use force against them. He is said to to have dragged Hastināpura into the Gaṅgā by digging the capital city from its southern side with his favourite weapon, the plough (hala). Consequently the terrified and trembling Kauravas, moving to and fro, came to seek refuge in Rāma ; and prayed to protect them from this flurry. Rāma restrained his anger and granted security to them. The subdued Kauravas, then, offered the newly-wed pair, confined by them, to Rāma who returned to Dvārakā with the pair triumphantly.[1]

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[1] PSB p. 78.

[2] 11.31. 23-25.

[3] 11.30. 47-48.

[4] 1.15. 39 ab ; 11.31. 25d.

[5] 10. 15. 32.

[6] 10. 67. 2, 17, 20-24.

[7] 10. 57. 26 ab.

(iv) Balarāma, with the intention of preventing the imminent war between the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas through his mediation, proceeded towards Hastināpura on the pretext of a pilgrimage and reached Naimiṣa. Here he happened to kill Romaharṣaṇa, the disciple of Vyāsa, who was expounding the Purāṇas etc. during the intervals of the long-lasting *satra* undertaken by the hermits residing there. The hermits of Naimiṣa took Romaharṣaṇa's murder as a brahmanicide and prescribed expiatory rites for its atonement. Before starting on the pilgrimage, ordained by the hermits as a main part of expiating the sin, Rāma wanted to do something for the pleasure of those hermits. And, as desired by the hermits, he killed Balvala demon who used to repeat his misdeeds in the sacrificial shed on the occasions of the periodic changes of the moon (*parvan*). The two favourite weapons of Rāma viz, the plough (hala) and the pestle (muṣala)presented themselves when he wanted to kill Balvala.[2]

(v) The expiatory pilgrimage detained Balarāma for one year and in the meantime the Great War ended with all-round destruction which he had thought to prevent. Still Rāma reached Kurukṣetra to stop the last combat going on between Duryodhana and Bhīma. He tried to persuade both to withdraw from the fatal fight, but they were heedless being bound by staunch enmity. Rāma had to return with the conviction that destiny (*diṣṭa*) pervades over all. Henceforth he abstained himself from all kinds of vigorous activities.[1]

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[1] 10. 68. 1-52.

[2] 10. 78. 17-39 ; 10. 79. 1-6.

Thus the killing of Dhenuka and Dvivida, subdual of the Kauravas, attempt to prevent the Great War and by the way incidents are Balarāma's exclusive deeds.

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[1] 10. 79. 22-30.

THE POST-FLOOD TRADITIONAL HISTORY (SCHEMATIC)

THE PROCEDURE
A CATALOGUE OF THE CATEGORISED KINGS
THE DYNASTIC LISTS VIS-A-VIS THE TABLE
EXAMINATION OF THE DYNASTIC LISTS
APPELLATIONS AND NAMES
THE SCHEME FOR THE EVALUTION OF TRADITIONAL HISTORY

[VI] THE POST-FLOOD TRADITIONAL HISTORY (SCHEMATIC)

THE PROCEDURE

The genealogical text of the Bhāgavata, condensed and amended in character, is often cited by Pargiter in his book[1] for comparison with the texts of other Purāṇas. But the text of the Bhāgavata is not exhaustive, although it is claimed that the genealogies are complete.[2] The use of the words like *ādyāḥ* (etc.) in the lists is a clear admission of omissions of names of kings, and such omissions are to be filled in from the dynastic lists of other Purāṇas.[3] The comparison of the lists from the different Purāṇas shows that some of them are fuller and some are abbreviated. The comparison also brings into light many irregularities and deficiencies. That is why Pargiter collated them and prepared a Table of Royal Genealogies.[4] It is prepared, as it is claimed, after wiping out all defects found in the Paurāṇic lists and contains all the important dynastic lists arranged separately in the collateral manner. In doing so, gaps occured in most of the lists and it is suggested that they are caused due to the overthrowing of a dynasty or for any such reasons.[5] The span of traditional history is taken to consist in 95 generations by the Table and as such the dynastic lists are stretched, showing the above omissions and gaps in each dynasty. But all the dynasties did not last for the whole span and some were short-lived. This becomes clear by reading the Table in which they are arranged in accordance with approximate positions of kings, fixed by synchronisms. So, the Table becomes valuable inasmuch as it is collated and gives the picture of the emergence and fall of the dynasties at definite phases of history as well as the correct names of the kings noted at their probable positions. Therefore, the Table has been accepted as the guide and the dynastic lists given by the Bhāgavata are brought together for comparison with it. The irregularities and descrepancies that came to notice during the process are pointed out by some indicative marks in the lists to be presented now ;

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[1] AIHT p. 80-81, 127.

[2] 10.1.1. ; 12.2.25.

[3] Śrīdhara comments on 9.24.5 as follows :—
पुराणांतरादेवमादि विशेषो द्रष्टव्य:

[4] AIHT pp. 144-149.

[5] *vide* AIHT p. 155.

and they are explained further. As for the presentation of the Bhāgavata dynastic lists vis-a-vis the Table lists, the following sixteen-point procedure is adopted :—

(1) There are two rows for each dynastic list. The first row, called the main series, is meant for the lists given by the Bhāgavata and the other, called the parallel row, is for the lists given by the Table. The names in the parallel row appear only when their corresponding ones vary or are totally omitted by the Bhāgavata lists. This means that where no name appears in the parallel row, both the Bhāgavata and the Table are in full agreement about it. (2) The Table in its lists generally places two kings, whom the Bhāgavata mentions as father and son, some generations apart. Spacing out has been done at such points where the lists were defective, mainly in the sense that the names appearing between the said father and son had no synchronisms whatsoever.[1] The other reason for this may be that, as a rule, a father is taken to mean an ancestor and a son a descendant.[2] So the twos of father and son given by the Bhāgavata are spaced out in accordance with the Table ; and the blank space between such twos shows that there were some immediate successors of that father before the so-called son succeeded. (3) Sometimes the Table provides the names of these successors or of others which are omitted by the Bhāgavata. These extra names appear in the parallel row and their omissions by the Bhāgavata are shown by the blank space in brackets thus : (......). (4) On the contrary, sometimes the Bhāgavata provides extra names that are omitted by the Table. These extra names appear in the main series and similar blank space in bracket appears in the parallel row to show their omission by the Table. (5) Besides, there are certain extra names given by the Bhāgavata, which are neither found mentioned in the Table nor were there blank marks denoting their omissions. To present the Bhāgavata lists ditto as well as to maintain concurrence with the serial number of the Table, such names are put in the main series but they are not given in successive number. For example, a name in the N.Pañcāla dynasty is numbered as 55a separately but not as 56 successively. Their omission by the Table is shown by the same blank space as applied in the above fourth point. (6) In case such extra name given by the Bhāgavata was defective or wrong, it is bracketted with a question mark superadded thus : (name) ?. The way of numbering and the mark of omission in the parallel row remain the same. (7) A few names in the main series shall be found simply bracketted and the reasons therefor are explained

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[1] *vide* AIHT. p. 143.

[2] *ibid.*, p. 140.

further. (8) A question mark : (?) against any name in the main series shows that some alteration or modification has been made with regard to its relationship, position etc. only to do away with the minor irregularities that appeared on the face of the Bhāgavata lists. (9) When two or more kings of the same name appear in the direct line of a dynasty, they have been distinguished by suffixing the indicative number I, II etc. (10) The lacunae or gaps, as said above, occur and they are shown in the Table lists. Accordingly, they have been accepted and the Bhāgavata lists are stretched likewise. The reasons therefor are explained further in examination. (11) The names of kings whose positions are fixed by synchronisms or otherwise are printed in italics[1] in the Table. If the corresponding names in the Bhāgavata are the same, they are printed in italics in the main series; and if they vary, both the corresponding names appear in their respective rows in italics. (12) The Table indicates the names of the famous kings by an asterisk.[2] This mark is also applied to the names of the main series in the manner followed in point eleven above. (13) Besides the famous, two more categories of kings viz, the notable and the paramount are also visible in the accounts of different dynasties. The enumeration in the previous chapter reveals that many were worthy of note for reasons already stated there while giving their accounts. So, these kings who were less renowned than the famous yet well-established in tradition constitute the category of notable kings ; and their names are pointed out by the double dagger thus : ‡. (14) In the category of the paramount monarchs come those kings who are styled as *cakravartin* or acclaimed in the manner that brings them on the par. These monarchs represent the highest category ; and their names are pointed out by double asterisks thus : **. It is to be noted that these two are new categories, and as such not to be found in the parallel row meant for the Table lists. (A catalogue of all the three categories of kings is also separately prefixed before the dynastic lists are presented). (15) Seventeen lists are serialised according to their order of enumeration in the previous chapter and in the same order they are examined further. The insignificant dynasties or sub-lines are not brought here into the tabular form. As for the Cedi kingdom, it was first in the Yādava fold and afterwards in the Paurava fold. To give a clear picture of the two sub-lines that reigned in Cedi at two different times, their lists are jointly arranged at one place only, i.e., before the Yādavas. (16) The list of the Sātvatas is collated with two other charts[3] than the Table utilized for the purpose throughout. And this especially collated chart of the Sātvatas (no. 18 and 19) appears in the last after the Yādavas whose descendants they were.

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[1] *ibid.*, p. 143.

[2] *ibid.*

[3] *ibid.*, p. 105, 107.

A CATALOGUE OF THE CATEGORISED KINGS

Solar Race

Paramount monarchs :

Ambarīṣa Nābhāgi, the grandson of Manu,[1] whose further descendants are not mentiond and so his dynastic list is not in the Table. In Vaiśālī—Marutta (no-40). In Ayodhyā—Māndhātṛ (no. 21), Sagara (no. 41), Khaṭvāṅga (no. 60) and Rāma (no. 65). There was none in Videha.

Famous Kings :

There was no famous king in any other dynasty of the Solar Race excepting in Ayodhyā. They are as follows :—Ikṣvāku (no. 2), Purukutsa (no. 22), Triśaṅku (no. 32), Hariścandra (no. 33), Bhagīratha (no. 45), Ambarīṣa Nābhāgi (no. 48—omitted by the Bhāgavata list), Kalmāṣapāda (no. 54), Raghu (no. 62) and Daśaratha (no. 64).

Notable Kings :

In Vaiśālī—Karandhama (no. 38), Tṛṇabindu (no. 52), Viśāla (no. 54) and Somadatta (no. 62). In Videha—Janaka (5), Sīradhvaja (no. 64) and Bahulāśva (no. 93). In Ayodhyā—Purañjaya (no. 4), Śābasta (no. 10) and Hiraṇyanābha (no. 83).

Lunar Race

Paramount Monarchs :

In Kāśī—Alarka (no. 43) only. Among the early Ailas—Yayāti (no. 6). Among the Pauravas—Bharata (no. 44), Yudhiṣṭhira (no. 94) and Parīkṣit II (no. 95a). Among the Haihayas—Arjuna (no. 31) only ; and among the Yādavas—Śaśabindu (no. 20) only.

Famous Kings :

In Kānyakubja—Jahnu (no. 23), Gādhi (no. 30) and Viśvāmitra (no.32). In Kāśī—Pratardana (no. 41) only. Among the NW. Ānavas—Uśīnara (no. 26) and his son Śibi (no. 27). Among the E. Ānavas—Bali (no. 41), Romapāda (no. 64) and Karṇa (no. 94). Among the early Aila kings—Purūravas (no. 3), Āyu (no. 4), Nahuṣa (no. 5) and Pūru (no. 7). Among the Pauravas—Duṣyanta (no. 43), Ajamīḍha (no. 53), Kuru (no. 71), Pratīpa (no. 87), Śantanu (no. 90), Dhṛtarāṣṭra (no. 93) and the Pāṇḍavas (no. 94).

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[1] 9-4-15

Rantideva Sāṁkṛti, the famous king of Daśapura, was the cousin brother of Hastin (no. 51), the notable Paurava king.[1] In Magadha—Vasu Caidya *-uparicara* (no. 78) and Jarāsandha (no. 92). In Cedi—Śiśupāla (no. 94) only. In S. Pañcāla—Brahmadatta (no. 87) and Drupada (no. 93). In N. Pañcāla—Vadhṛyaśva (no. 62, omitted by the Bhāgavata), Divodāsa (no. 63), Cyavana (no. 67) and Sudāsa (no. 68). Among the Haihayas—Bhadrasena (no. 25) only. Among the Yādavas—Jyāmagha (no. 38), Madhu (no. 61) and Kaṁsa (no. 93).

Notable Kings :

In Kānyakubja—Vijaya (no. 4) only. In Kāśī—Kṣatravṛddha (no. 6) only. In the Turvasu line—Turvasu (no. 7) and Karandhama (no. 40). In the Druhyu line—Druhyu (no. 7) and Gāndhāra (no. 23). Among the NW. Ānavas—Anu (no. 7) and Kaikeya (no. 29). Among the E. Ānavas—Titikṣu (no. 26), Aṅga (no. 43) and Campa (no. 71, omitted by the Bhāgavata).[2] In the Dvimīḍha line—Dvimīḍha (no. 53), Kṛtī (no. 84) and Ugrāyudha (no. 90). In S.Pañcāla dynasty—Bṛhadiṣu (no. 56) only. In N. Pañcāla dynasty—Nīla (no. 55) and Droṇa (no. 93). Among the Pauravas—Hastin (no. 51) only. Among the Haihayas—Sahasrajit (no. 8), Haihaya (no. 14), Mahiṣmān (no. 23), Tālajaṅgha (no. 34) and Vītihotra (no. 36). In Cedi line—Kuśa or Kaiśika (no. 41) only. Among the Yādavas—Yadu (no. 7), Uśanas (no. 26), Bhīmaratha (no. 50), Andhaka I (no. 67) and Vṛṣṇi I (no. 67).

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[1] 9-21-2cd

[2] For why Campa appears in the main series meant for the Bhāgavata list, see *infra* where his wrong entry is pointed out (p. 155) and the right place is traced p. 158, also its fu. 1.). Above all, Compa's name has to be included in the main series because the category under which he is placed is not found in the parallel row (see point thirteen of the procedure, *ante* p. 139). Lastly, his name is question—marked according to the point eight (p. 139) of the procedure.

THE DYNASTIC LISTS VIS-A-VIS THE TABLE

1. VAIŚĀLĪ

S.No.	Bhāgavata List	Table List	S.No.	Bhāgavata List	Table List
1	Manu	...	33	Rambha	(... ...)
2	Diṣṭa	Nābhānediṣṭha	34	... ...	
3	(Nābhāga) ?	(... ...)	35	Khaninetra	
4	... ...		36	... ...	
5	... ...		37	... ...	
6	Bhalandana		38	*Karandhama*‡	
7	... ...		39	*Avīkṣit*	
8	Vatsaprīti	Vatsaprī	40	*Marutta***	
9	... ...		41	(... ...)	Nariṣyanta
10	... ...		42	Dama	
11	... ...		43	... ...	
12	Prāṁśu		44	Rājyavardhana	Rāṣṭravardhana
13	... ...		45	Sudhṛti	
14	... ...		46	Nara	
15	... ...		47	Kevala	
16	Pramati	Prajāni	48	Bandhumān	
17	... ...		49	Vegavān	
18	... ...		50	Bandhu	Budha
19	... ...		51	... ...	
20	Khanitra		52	*Tṛṇabindu*‡	
21	... ...		53	Viśravas ?	
22	... ...		54	Viśāla‡	
23	... ...		55	Hemacandra	
24	Cākṣuṣa	Kṣupa	56	(... ...)	Sucandra
25	... ...		57	Dhūmrākṣa	Dhūmrāśva
26	... ...		58	Saṁjaya	Sṛñjaya
27	... ...		59	Sahadeva	
28	... ...		60	Kṛśāśva	
29	... ...		61	... ...	
30	... ...		62	Somadatta‡	
31	... ...		63	Janamejaya ?	
32	Viviṁśati	Viviṁśa	64	*Sumati*	*Pramati*

2. VIDEHA

1	Manu		14	Suketu	
2	Ikṣvāku		15	... ...	
3	Nimi-Videha		16	... ...	
4	... ...		17	Devarāta	
5	Janaka‡-Maithila	Mithi Janaka	18	... ...	
6	... ...		19	... ...	
7	... ...		20	Bṛhadratha	Bṛhduktha
8	Udāvasu		21	... ...	
9	... ...		22	... ...	
10	... ...		23	Mahāvīrya	
11	Nandivardhana		24	... ...	
12	... ...		25	... ...	
13	... ...		26	(... ...)	Dhṛtimant

S.No.	Bhāgavata List	Table List	S.No.	Bhāgavata List	Table List
27	... ...		62	... ...	
28	... ...		63	Hrasvaroman	
29	Sudhṛti		64	*Sīradhvaja*‡	
30	... ...		65	Bhānumān ?	
31	... ...		66	Śatadyumna	or Pradyumna
32	Dhṛṣṭaketu		67	Śuci	Muni
33	... ...		68	Ūrdhvaketu ?	Ūrjavāha
34	... ...		69	Sanadvāja	
35	Haryaśva		70	(... ...)	Śakuni
36	... ...		71	Aja	Añjana
37	... ...		72	Purujit	Ṛtujit
38	Maru		73	Ariṣṭanemi	
39	... ...		74	Śrutāyus	
40	... ...		75	Supārśvaka	Supārśva
41	Pradīpaka	Pratīndhaka	76	Citraratha	Sañjaya
42	... ...		77	Kṣemādhi	Kṣemāri
43	... ...		78	(... ...)	Anenas
44	Kṛtiratha	Kīrtiratha	79	Samaratha	Mīnaratha
45	...		80	Satyaratha	
46	...		81	Upaguru	
47	Devamīḍha		82	Upagupta	
48	... ...		83	Vasvananta	Svagata
49	... ...		83a	Yuyudhā	(... ...)
50	Viśruta	Vibudha	84	Subhāṣaṇa	Suvarcas
51	... ...		85	Śruta	
52	... ...		86	(... ...)	Suśruta
53	Mahādhṛti		87	Jaya	
54	... ...		88	Vijaya	
55	... ...		89	Ṛta	
56	Kṛtirāta	Kīrtirāta	90	Śunaka	Sunaya
57	... ...		91	Vītahavya	
58	... ...		92	Dhṛti	
59	Mahāroman		93	Bahulāśva‡	
60	... ...		94	*Kṛti*	*Kṛtakṣana*
61	Svarṇaroman		95	Mahāvaṁśī	(... ...)

3. AYODHYĀ

1	Manu		14	(... ...)	Pramoda
2	Ikṣvāku*		15	Haryaśva I	
3	Vikukṣi-Śaśāda		16	Nikumbha	
4	*Purañjaya-Kakustha*‡		17	(... ...)	Saṁhatāśva
5	Anenas		18	Kṛśāśva	Akṛśāśva
6	Pṛthu		19	*Senajit*	*Prasenajit*
7	Viśvarandhi	Viṣṭarāśva	20	*Yuvanāśva* II	
8	Candra	Ārdra	21	*Māndhātṛ***	
9	Yuvanāśva I		22	*Purukutsa**	
10	Śābasta‡	Śrāvasta	23	*Trasaddasyu*	
11	Bṛhadaśva		24	(... ...)	Sambhūta
12	Kuvalayāśvaka-Dhundhumāra	Kuvalāśva	25	Anaraṇya	
13	Dṛḍhāśva		26	(... ...)	Trasadaśva
			27	Haryaśva II	

S.No.	Bhāgavata List	Table List
28	Aruṇa	Vasumata
29	Nibandhana	Tridhanvan
30	(… …)	*Trayyāruṇa*
31	… …	
32	*Satyavrata-Triśaṅku**	
33	*Hariścandra**	
34	*Rohita*	
35	Harita	Harita, Cañcu
35a	(Campa & Sudeva)	?(… …)
36	Vijaya	
37	Bharuka	Ruruka
38	Vṛka	
39	Bāhuka	Bāhu, Asita
40	… …	
41	*Sagara***	
42	Asamañjasa	
43	*Aṁśumān*	
44	Dilīpa	Dilīpa I
45	Bhagīratha*	
46	Śruta	
47	Nābha	Nābhāga
48	(… …)	Ambarīṣa*
49	Sindhu-dvīpa	
50	Ayutāyus	
51	Ṛtuparṇa	
52	Sarvakāma	
53	Sudāsa	
54	Mitrasaha-Kalmāṣapāda-Saudāsa*	
55	Aśmaka	
56	Mūlaka	
57	Daśaratha I	Śataratha
58	Aiḍaviḍa	Aiḍaviḍa-Vṛddhaśarman
59	Viśvasaha	Viśvasaha I
60	Khaṭvāṅga**	Dilīpa II-Khaṭvāṅga*
61	Dīrghabāhu	

S.No.	Bhāgavata List	Table List
62	Raghu*	
63	Aja	
64	*Daśaratha** (II)	
65	*Rāma***	
66	… …	
67	*Kuśa*	
68	Atithi	
69	Niṣadha	
70	(… …)	Nala
71	Nabhas	
72	Puṇḍarīka	
73	Kṣema-dhanvan	
74	Devānīka	
75	Anīha	Ahināgu
76	Pāriyātra	Pāripātra
77	Balasthala	Dala, Bala
78	Arka	Uktha
79	Vajranābha	
80	Khagaṇa	Śaṅkhana
81	Vidhṛti	Vyuṣitāśva
82	(… …)	Viśvasaha II
83	*Hiraṇyanābha‡*	
84	Puṣya	
85	Dhruvasandhi	
86	Sudarśana	
87	Agnivarṇa	
88	Sīghra	
89	Maru	
90	Prasuśruta	
91	Sandhi	Susandhi
92	Amarṣaṇa and Mahasvān	Amarṣa and Sahasvant
93	Viśvasāvha	Viśrutavant
93a	(Parasenajit and Takṣaka) ?	
94	*Bṛhadbala*	
95	Bṛhadraṇa	Bṛhatkṣaya

4. KĀNYAKUBJA

S.No.	Bhāgavata List	Table List
1	Manu	
2	Ilā	
3	Purūravas*	
4	Vijaya‡	Amāvasu
5	… …	
6	… …	
7	… …	
8	… …	
9	Bhīma	
10	… …	
11	… …	
12	… …	
13	… …	

S.No.	Bhāgavata List	Table List
14	Kañcanahotraka	Kañcanaprabha
15	… …	
16	… …	
17	… …	
18	… …	
19	(… …)	Suhotra
20	… …	
21	… …	
22	… …	
23	*Jahnu**	
24	Pūru	Sunaha
25	Ajaka ?	
26	Balākāśva	

S.No.	Bhāgavata List	Table List	S.No.	Bhāgavata List	Table List
27	... ...		34	Aṣṭaka	
28	Kuśa		35	... ...	
29	*Kuśāṁbu*	Kuśāśva-*Kuśika*	36	Hārīta	Lauhī
30	*Gādhi**		37	Jaya ?	(... ...)
31	... ...		38	Kṛtu	(... ...)
32	*Viśvāmitra**		39	Mada	(... ...)
33	... ...				

5. KĀŚĪ

S.No.	Bhāgavata List	Table List	S.No.	Bhāgavata List	Table List
1	Manu		36	... ...	
2	Ilā		37	... ...	
3	Purūravas*		38	(... ...)	*Haryaśva*
4	Āyu*		39	(... ...)	*Sudeva*
5	Nahuṣa*		40	(... ...)	*Divodāsa* II
6	Kṣatravṛddha‡		41	*Pratardana**	
7	... ...		42	Vatsa ?	
8	... ...		43	*Alarka***	
9	Suhotra	Sunahotra	44	... ...	
10	... ...		45	Santati	Sannati
11	... ...		46	Sunītha	
12	Kāśya	Kāśa	47	... ...	
13	Kāśi	(... ...)	48	(... ...)	Kṣema
14	Rāṣṭra	(... ...)	49	... ...	
14	Dīrghatamas	Dīrghatapas	50	(... ...)	Ketumant II
16	... ...		51	... ...	
17	(... ...)	Dhanva	52	Suketana	Suketu
18	... ...		53	... ...	
19	Dhanvanatri		54	Dharmaketu	
20	... ...		55	... ...	
21	Ketumān	Ketumant I	56	Satyaketu	
22	... ...		57	... ...	
23	Bhīmaratha		58	(... ...)	Vibhu
24	... ...		59	... ...	
25	*Divodīsa*	*Divodāsa I*	60	(... ...)	Suvibhu
26	(... ...)	*Aṣṭāratha*	61	... ...	
27	... ...		62	Sukumāra ?	
28	... ...		63	... ...	
29	... ...		64	Dhṛṣṭaketu	
30	... ...		65	... ...	
31	... ...		66	Vītihotra	Veṇuhotra
32	... ...		67	... ...	
33	... ...		68	Bharga	
34	... ...		69	Bhārgabhūmi	(... ...)
35	... ...				

6. TURVASUS

S.No.	Bhāgavata List	Table List	S.No.	Bhāgavata List	Table List
1	Manu		6	*Yayāti***	
2	Ilā		7	Turvasu‡	
3	Purūravas*		8	... ...	
4	Āyu*		9	... ...	
5	Nahuṣa*		10	... ...	

S.No.	Bhāgavata List	Table List	S.Nn.	Bhāgavata List	Table List
11	... ...		27	... ...	
12	... ...		28	Bhānumān	Gobhānu
13	... ...		29	... ...	
14	Vahni		30	... ...	
15	... ...		31	... ...	
16	... ...		32	... ...	
17	... ...		33	... ...	
18	... ...		34	Tribhānu	Triśāṇu
19	... ...		35	... ...	
20	... ...		36	... ...	
21	Bharga	Garbha	37	... ...	
22	... ...		38	... ...	
23	... ...		39	... ...	
24	... ...		40	*Karandhama*‡	
25	... ...		41	*Maruta*	*Marutta*
26	... ...		42	... ...	
27	... ...		43	(*Duṣyanta*)	

7. DRUHYUS

1	Manu		20	... ...	
2	Ilā		21	*Ārabdha*	*Aṅgāra*
3	Purūravas*		22	... ...	
4	Āyu*		23	Gāndhāra‡	
5	Nahuṣa*		24	... ...	
6	*Yayāti***		25	... ...	
7	Druhyu‡		26	Dharma	
8	... ...		27	... ...	
9	... ...		28	... ...	
10	... ...		29	Dhṛta	
11	... ...		30	... ...	
12	Babhru		31	... ...	
13	... ...		32	Durmanas	Durdama
14	... ...		33	... ...	
15	... ...		34	... ...	
16	... ...		35	Pracetas	
17	Setu		36	... ...	
18	... ...		37	... ...	
19	... ...		38	Prācetas	Sucetas

8. ĀNAVAS, NW.

1	Manu		12	... ...	
2	Ilā		13	Kālanara	Kālanala
3	Purūravas*		14	... ...	
4	Āyu*		15	... ...	
5	Nahuṣa*		16	Sṛñjaya	
6	*Yayāti***		17	... ...	
7	Anu‡		18	... ...	
8	... ...		19	Janamejaya	Purañjaya
9	... ...		20	... ...	
10	Sabhānara		21	... ...	
11	... ...		22	Mahāśīla	Mahāśāla

S.No.	Bhāgavata List	Table List	S.No.	Bhāgavata List	Table List
23	... ...		27	Śibi*	Śivi*
24	Mahāmanas		28	... ...	
25	......⌐——^——¬		29	*Kaikeya*‡	*Kekaya*
26	Uśīnara* Titikṣu‡ (*E. Ānava Line*)				

9. ĀNAVAS, EAST

26	Titikṣu‡		61	... ...	
27	... ...		62	... ...	
28	... ...		63	... ...	
29	... ...		64	*Romapāda**	*Lomapāda**
30	Ruṣadratha		65	... ...	
31	... ...		66	Caturaṅga	
32	... ...		67	... ...	
33	... ...		68	... ...	
34	Hema		69	Pṛthulākṣa	
35	... ...		70	... ...	
36	... ...		71	(Campa‡) ?	
37	... ...		72	... ...	
38	Sutapas		73	(... ...)	Haryaṅga
39	... ...		74	... ...	
40	... ...		75	(... ...)	Bhadraratha
41	*Sutapā-Bali**	*Bali**	76	... ...	
42	... ...		77	... ...	
43	*Aṅga*‡		78	Bṛhatkarman ?	
44	... ...		79	... ...	
45	... ...		80	... ...	
46	... ...		81	Brahadratha ?	
47	Khanapāna	Dadhivāhana	82	... ...	
48	... ...		83	Bṛhadbhānu ?	
49	... ...		84	... ...	
50	... ...		85	Bṛhanmanas	
51	Diviratha		86	... ...	
52	... ...		87	Jayadratha	
53	... ...		88	Vijaya	(... ...)
54	Dharmaratha		89	Dhṛti	(... ...)
55	... ...		90	Dhṛtavrata	Dṛḍharatha
46	... ...		91	Satkarman	(... ...)
57	(... ...)	Citraratha	92	(... ...)	Viśvajit
58	... ...		93	Adhiratha	(... ...)
59	... ...		94	*Karṇa**	
60	(... ...)	Satyaratha	95	*Vṛṣasena*	

10. DVIMĪḌHAS

53	Dvimīḍha‡		61	... ...	
54	... ...		62	(... ...)	Suvarman
55	Yavīnara		63	(... ...)	Sarvabhauma
56	... ...		64	... ...	
57	Kṛtimān	Dhṛtimant	65	(... ...)	Mahant-Paurava
58	... ...		66	... ...	
59	Satyadhṛti		67	... ...	
60	Dṛḍhanemi		68	... ...	

S.No.	Bhāgavata List	Table List	S.No.	Bhāgavata List	Table List
69	... ...		83	... ...	
70	... ...		84	*Kṛtī*‡	*Kṛta*
71	... ...		84a	(Nīpa) ?	(... ...)
72	... ...		85	... ...	
73	... ...		86	... ...	
74	... ...		87	... ...	
75	... ...		88	... ...	
76	(... ...)	Rukmaratha	89	... ...	
77	... ...		90	Ugrāyudha‡	
78	Supārśva		91	Kṣemya	
79	Sumati		92	Suvīra	
80	... ...		93	Ripuñjaya	Nṛpañjaya
81	Sannatimān		94	Bahuratha	
82	(... ...)	Sanati			

11. S. PAÑCĀLA

53	Ajamīḍha*		75	... ...	
54	... ...		76	(... ...)	Samara
55	(... ...)	Bṛhadvasu	77	... ...	
56	Bṛhadiṣu‡		78	(... ...)	Pāra II
57	Bṛhaddhanus		79	... ...	
58	Bṛhatkāya	Bṛhatkarman	80	(... ...)	Pṛthu
59	Jayadratha		81	... ...	
60	Viśada	Viśvajit	82	(... ...)	Sukṛti
61	... ...		83	... ...	
62	Senajit		84	(... ...)	Vibhrāja
63	Rucirāśva		85	... ...	
64	Pṛthuṣeṇa		86	(... ...)	Aṇuha
65	Pāra ?	Pāra I	87	*Brahmadatta**	
66	Nīpa		88	Viṣvaksena	
67	... ...		89	Udaksvana	Udakasena
68	... ...		90	Bhallāda	Bhallāṭa
69	... ...		91	(... ...)	*Janamejaya*
70	... ...			(*End of the Bārhadiṣvas*)	
71	... ...		92	... ...	
72	... ...		93	*Drupada**	
73	... ...		94	*Dhṛṣṭadyumna*	
74	... ...		95	*Dhṛṣṭaketu*	

12. N. PAÑCĀLA

53	Ajamīḍha*		63	Divodāsa*	
54	Nalinī	(... ...)	64	Mitreyu	Mitrayu
55	Nīla‡		65	(... ...)	Maitreya-Soma
55a	Śānti	(... ...)	66	(... ...)	*Sṛñjaya*
56	Suśānti		67	Cyavana*	
57	Puruja	Purujānu	68	Sudāsa*	
58	Arka	Ṛkṣa	69	Sahadeva	
59	Bharmyāśva	Bhṛmyaśva	70	*Somaka*	
60	Mudgala		71	Jantu	
61	(... ...)	(Brahmiṣṭha)	72	... ...	
62	(... ...)	Vadhṛyaśva*	73	... ...	

S.No.	Bhāgavata List	Table List	S.No.	Bhāgavata List	Table List
74	... ...		85	... ...	
75	... ...		86	... ...	
76	... ...		87	... ...	
77	... ...		88	... ...	
78	... ...		89	... ...	
79	... ...		90	... ...	
80	... ...		91	*Pṛṣata* ?	
81	... ...		92	(Drupada)	(... ...)
82	... ...		93	*Droṇa*‡ ?	
83	... ...		94	*Aśvatthāman*	
84	... ...		95	... ...	

13. MAGADHA

78	Vasu-Uparicara*	Vasu Caidya*	88	Jahu	Ūrja
79	Bṛhadratha		89	... ...	
80	Kuśāgra		90	... ...	Sambhava
81	... ...		91	... ...	
82	Ṛṣabha		92	*Jarāsandha** ?	
83	Puṣpavān		93	... ...	
84	... ...		94	*Sahadeva*	
85	Satyahita		95	Somāpi	Somādhi
86	... ...	Sudhanvan		(Mārjāri)	
87	... ...				

14. PAURAVAS

1	Manu		27	... ...	
2	Ilā		28	... ...	
3	Purūravas*		29	... ...	
4	Āyu*		30	... ...	
5	Nahuṣa*		31	... ...	
6	*Yayāti***		32	... ...	
7	Pūru* (*descended the Pauravas*)		33	... ...	
8	Janamejaya	Janamejaya I	34	... ...	
9	Pracinvān		35	... ...	
10	Pravīra		36	... ...	
11	Namasyu	Manasyu	37	... ...	
12	Cārupada	Abhayada	38	... ...	
13	Sudyu	Sudhanvan-Dhundhu	39	... ...	
14	Bahugava		40	... ...	
15	Saṁyāti		41	... ...	
16	Ahaṁyāti		42	... ...	
17	Raudrāśva		42	... ...	
18	Ṛteyu	Ṛceyu	43	*Duṣyanta**	
19	*Rantibhāra*	*Matināra*	44	*Bharata***	
20	Sumati	Taṁsu	45	... ...	
21	Raibhya	(... ...)	46	(Bharadvāja)	
22	... ...		47	Vitatha	
23	... ...		48	Manyu	Bhuvamanyu
24	... ...		49	Bṛhatkṣatra	
25	... ...		50	(... ...)	Suhotra
26	... ...		51	Hastin‡	

S.No.	Bhāgavata List	Table List	S.No.	Bhāgavata List	Table List
52	... ...		74	Jahnu ?	Janamejaya II (Bhīmasena & c.)
53	Ajamīḍha*	Dvimīḍha‡	75	Suratha	
		(*Dvimīḍha Line*)	76	Vidūratha	
54	... ...		77	Sārvabhauma	
55	... ...		78	Jayasena	Jayatsena
55	... ...		79	Rādhika	Arādhin
56	... ...		80	(... ...)	Mahābhauma
58	... ...		81	Ayuta	Ayutāyus
59	... ...		82	Krodhana	Akrodhana
60	... ...		83	Devātithi	
61	... ...		84	Ṛṣya	Ṛkṣa II
62	... ...		85	(... ...)	Bhīmasena
63	Ṛkṣa	Ṛkṣa I	86	Dilīpa	
64	... ...		87	*Pratīpa**	
65	... ...		88	... ...	
66	... ...		89	(Ṛṣṭiṣeṇa)	
67	... ...		90	*Śantanu**	
68	... ...		91	(*Bhīṣma*)	
69	*Saṁvaraṇa*		92	*Vicitravīrya*	
70	... ...		93	*Dhṛtarāṣṭra**	
71	*Kuru**		94	*Yudhiṣṭhira***	*Pāṇḍavas**
72	... ...		95	*Abhimanyu*	
73	Parīkṣit I		95*a*	Parīkṣit II** (Viṣṇurāta)	(... ...)

15. HAIHAYAS

8	Sahasrajit‡		25	*Bhadrasena-ka**	*Bhadraśreṇya**
9	... ...		26	... ...	
10	... ...		27	*Durmada*	*Durdama*
11	Śatajit		28	Dhanaka ?	Kanaka
12	... ...		29	... ...	
13	... ...		30	Kṛtavīrya	
14	Haihaya‡		31	*Arjuna***	
15	... ...		32	... ...	
16	... ...		33	Jayadhvaja	
17	Dharmanetra		34	*Tālajaṅgha*‡	
18	... ...		35	... ...	
19	Kunti		36	*Vitihotra*‡	
20	... ...		37	... ...	
21	Sohañji	Sāhañja	38	(... ...)	Ananta
22	... ...		39	(... ...)	Durjaya
23	Mahiṣmān‡		40	(... ...)	Supratīka
24	... ...				

16. CEDI

(VAIDARBHAS OR KAIŚIKAS)

40	*Vidarbha*		44	... ...	
41	Kuśa‡	Kaiśika	45	... ...	
	(Romapāda)		46	... ...	
42	(... ...)	Cidi	47	... ...	
43	... ...		48	... ...	

S.No.	Bhāgavata List	Table List	S.No.	Bhāgavata List	Table List
49	... ...		56	... ...	
50	*Babhru*	*Vīrabāhu*	57	... ...	
51	... ...	*Subāhu*	58	Cedi	(... ...)
52	Kṛti	(... ...)	59	... ...	
53	... ...		60	... ...	
54	... ...		61	Caidya etc.	(... ...)
55	Uśika	(... ...)	62	... ...	

16a. CEDI
(VĀSAVAS OR CEDIPAS)

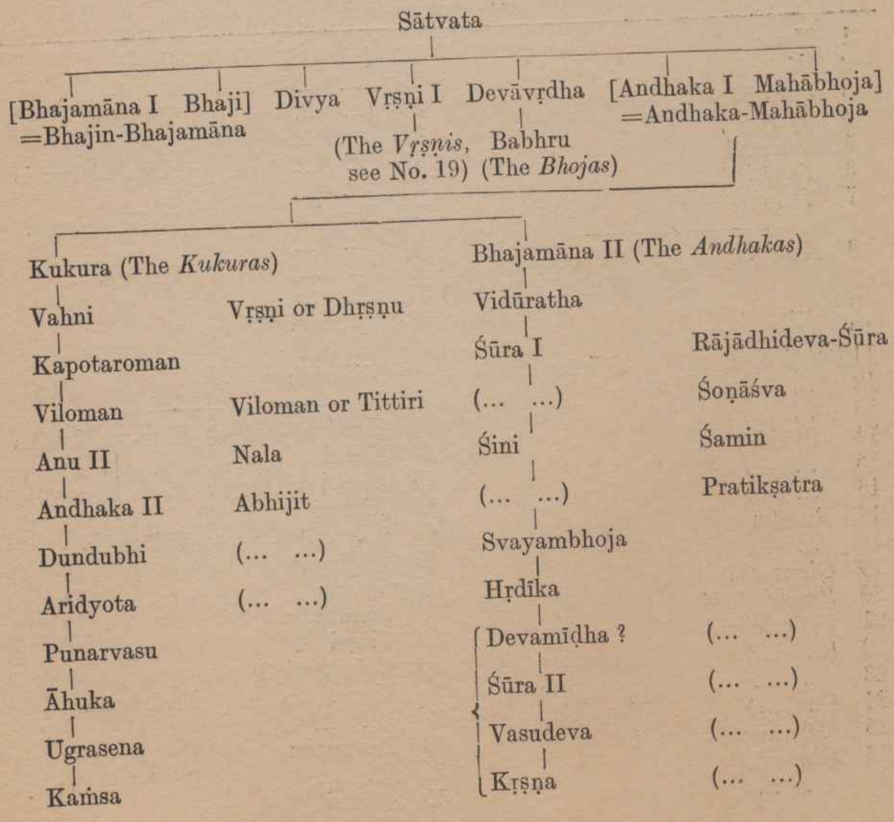
78	Vasu-Uparicara*	Vasu Caidya*	87	... ...	
79	Cedipa or		88	... ...	
	Pratyagra	Pratyagraha ?	89	... ...	
80	... ...		90	... ...	
81	... ...		91	... ...	
82	... ...		92	*Damaghoṣa*	
83	... ...		93	... ...	
84	... ...		94	*Śiśupāla**	
85	... ...		95	*Dhṛṣṭaketu*	
86	... ...				

17. YĀDAVAS

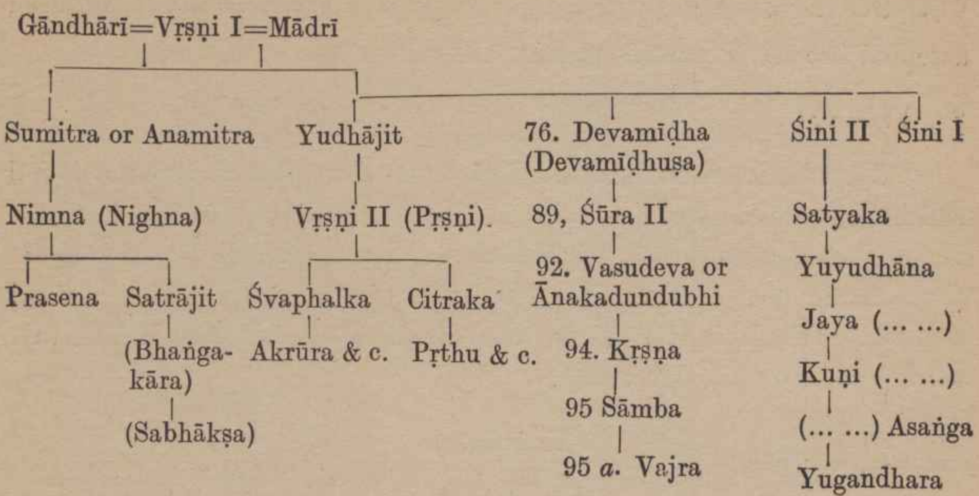
1	Manu		28	(... ...)	śineyu
2	Ilā		29	... ...	
3	Purūravas*		30	(... ...)	Marutta
4	Āyu*		31	... ...	
5	Nahuṣa*		32	(... ...)	Kambalabarhis
6	*Yayāti***		33	... ...	
7	Yadu‡		34	Rucaka	Rukmakavaca
			35	... ...	
8	Kroṣṭā	Sahasrajit‡	36	(... ...)	Parāvṛt
		(*Haihaya Branch*)	37	... ...	
9	... ...		38	Jyāmagha*	
10	... ...		39	... ...	
11	Vṛjinvān	Vṛjinīvant	40	*Vidarbha*	
12	... ...				
13	... ...		41	Kratha (-Bhīma)	Kuśa or Kaiśika
14	Svāhi		42	Kunti	
15	... ...		43	Dhṛṣṭi or Dhṛṣṭa	(*Cedi Dynasty*)
16	... ...		44	Nirvṛti	
17	Ruśeku	Ruśadgu	45	(... ...)	Vidūratha
18	... ...		46	Daśārha	
19	*Citraratha*		47	Vyoman	
20	*Śaśabindu***		48	Jīmūta	
21	Pṛthuśravas		49	Vikṛti	
22	(... ...)	Antara	50	*Bhīmaratha*‡	
23	... ...		51	Navaratha	Rathavara
24	(... ...)	Suyajña	52	... ...	
25	Dharma	(... ...)	53	Daśaratha	
26	Uśanas‡		54	(... ...)	Ekādaśaratha
27	... ...		55	Śakuni	

S.No.	Bhāgavata List	Table List
56	Karambi	Karambha
57	... ...	
58	Devarāta	
59	Devakṣatra	
60	(... ...)	Devana
61	Madhu*	
62	Kuruvaśa	Puruvaśa
63	Puruhotra ?	Purudvant
64	Anu I	Jantu (Aṁśu)
64*a*	Āyu	(... ...)
65	(... ...)	Satvant
66	*Sātvata*	*Bhīma Sātvata*
67	*Andhaka I*‡	Vṛṣṇi I‡ (The *Vṛṣṇis*)
68	... ...	
69	Kukura	... ...
70	... ...	... ...
71	... ...	... ...
72	... ...	... ...
73	Vahni	Vṛṣṇi or Dhṛṣṇu
74	... ...	... ...
75	... ...	... ...
76	... ...	... ...
77	Kapotaroman ?	... ...
78	... ...	... ...
79	... ...	... ...
80	Viloman	... ...
81	... ...	... ...
82	... ...	... ...
83	Anu II	Nala
84	... ...	... ...
85	... ...	... ...
86	Andhaka II	Abhijit
87	Dundubhi	(... ...)
88	Aridyota	(... ...)
89	Punarvasu	... ...
90	... ...	... ...
91	Āhuka	(... ...)
92	*Ugrasena*	... ...
93	*Kaṁsa**	... ...
94	... ...	... ...
95	... ...	... ...

18. SĀTVATAS


Sātvata
[Bhajamāna I Bhaji]
=Bhajin-Bhajamāna
Divya
Vṛṣṇi I
(The *Vṛṣṇis*, see No. 19)
Devāvṛdha
Babhru
(The *Bhojas*)
[Andhaka I Mahābhoja]
=Andhaka-Mahābhoja
Kukura (The *Kukuras*)
Vahni
Vṛṣṇi or Dhṛṣṇu
Kapotaroman
Viloman
Viloman or Tittiri
Anu II
Nala
Andhaka II
Abhijit
Dundubhi
(... ...)
Aridyota
(... ...)
Punarvasu
Āhuka
Ugrasena
Kaṁsa
Bhajamāna II (The *Andhakas*)
Vidūratha
Śūra I
Rājādhideva-Śūra
(... ...)
Śoṇāśva
Śini
Śamin
(... ...)
Pratikṣatra
Svayambhoja
Hṛdīka
Devamīḍha ?
(... ...)
Śūra II
(... ...)
Vasudeva
(... ...)
Kṛṣṇa
(... ...)

19. VṚṢṆIS


Gāndhārī=Vṛṣṇi I=Mādrī
Sumitra or Anamitra
Nimna (Nighna)
Prasena
Satrājit
(Bhaṅga-kāra)
(Sabhākṣa)
Yudhājit
Vṛṣṇi II (Pṛṣṇi).
Śvaphalka
Akrūra & c.
Citraka
Pṛthu & c.
76. Devamīḍha (Devamīḍhuṣa)
89, Śūra II
92. Vasudeva or Ānakadundubhi
94. Kṛṣṇa
95 Sāmba
95 *a*. Vajra
Śini II
Śini I
Satyaka
Yuyudhāna
Jaya (... ...)
Kuṇi (... ...)
(... ...) Asaṅga
Yugandhara

EXAMINATION OF THE DYNASTIC LISTS

1. Vaiśāli :[1]

As the Table shows there is discrepancy regarding the names of the founder (no. 2) of this dynasty and his successor (no. 3). The list of the Vaiśāla kings in the Bhāgavata begins with the words :—*Nābhāgo diṣṭa-putro'nyaḥ*[2]—and this means that Diṣṭa's son was another Nābhāga, i.e., different from Nabhaga's son, Nābhāga[3]. According to the Bhāgavata, Diṣṭa's son Nābhāga became a Vaiśya and his son was Bhalandana[4] (no. 6). According to other Purāṇas,[5] Nābhānediṣṭha (not Diṣṭa) was the founder of this dynasty and Bhalandana (not Nābhāga) had become a Vaiśya. Both these diverging statements can easily be reconciled if the opening words of the Bhāgavata are combined and slightly modified. The reading would be then :—*Nābhānediṣṭha-putro'nyaḥ*......and thus Nābhānediṣṭha would become the founder and Bhalandana would automatically became his son (who had been a Vaiśya) replacing Nābhāga who may be totally omitted in view of his doubtful sonship, name and thus existence between the two. After this, the dynastic list of the Bhāgavata agrees with the Table subject to some usual variations in the names of certain kings and two omissions against nos. 41 and 56. Again, a minor discrepancy arises at the close of the list about relationship. The Bhāgavata says that Janamejaya (no. 63) was the son of Sumati[1] (or Pramati—no. 64). But the Table shows that the relation was *vice versa* and it had been accepted because Pramati's position is fixed by synchronisms.[2]

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[1] For the list of Vaiśālī Dynasty see. 9.2.22d-36.

[2] 9.2.23a.

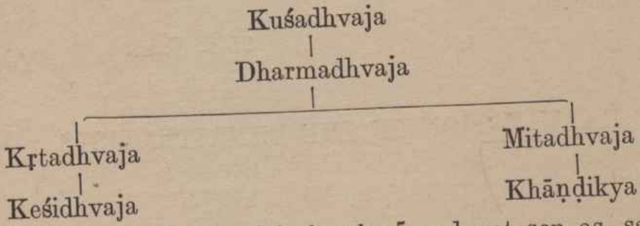
[3] 9.4.1a.

[4] 9.2.23bc.

[5] AIHT. p. 97.

2. *Videha* :[3]

The collation shows that the Bhāgavata list of Videha dynasty is full and in substantial agreement with the Table excepting variations in names and omissions against nos. 26, 70 and 86. The notable discrepancy occurs about the immediate descendants of Sīradhvaja (no. 64), the king of fixed position. The Bhāgavata says that Sīradhvaja's son was Kuśadhvaja whose progeny falls thus :[4]



But Kuśadhvaja was Sīradhvaja's brother[5] and not son as said above. The fact is corroborated when we find Bhānumān's relationship with his father, Keśidhvaja, doubtful.[6] So, Bhānumān (no. 65) is taken as the son of Sīradhvaja as shown by the Table. The sub-line of Kuśadhvaja, mentioned above, is therefore liable to be detracted from the main line ; and we shall see further that this line ruled elsewhere and not in Videha. To mention a case of *vice versa* in relationship, Ūrdhvaketu (no. 68) is taken to be the father of Sanadvāja (no. 69), although the former is mentioned as latter's son.[7] The reason for this is that the Table mentions Ūrjavāha (no. 68) as the father of Sanadvaja and Ūrdhvaketu is an easy variant of Urjavāha. The last name (no. 95) is given by the Bhāgavata only[8] while the Table closes its list with no. 94.

3. *Ayodhyā* :[9]

In comparison to the Table, no other dynastic list is so complete and correct as that of the Ikṣvāku kings of Ayodhyā. There is one omission

---

[1] 9.2.36 ab.

[2] AIHT. p. 97.

[3] For the list of Videha Dynasty-9.13.12cd-26.

[4] 9.13.19-20ab.

[5] AIHT p. 95.

[6] 9.13.21c.

[7] 9.13.22c.

[8] 9.13.26d.

[9] For the list of Ayodhyā Dynasty-9.6.4-55 and six chapters of the Bhāgavata onwards.

(no. 48) on the part of the Bhāgavata list while two (nos. 35a and 93a) on the part of the Table list. According to the procedure (points five and six, p. 138), we have inserted two names at each place, i.e., at no. 35a[1] and at no. 93a[2] because those two persons are said to be father and son by the Bhāgavata ; and it was desirable to unite them in view of their insignificance. As for Campa (35a), he is wrongly inserted in the Bhāgavata list,[3] as will appear. The possibility of Campa's wrong entry is perhaps caused by Cañcu who appears in the Table list as an alternative name of his father (no. 35). Cañcu of other Purāṇas might have been mistaken as Campa, and the redactors of the Bhāgavata included him in the list. The rest of the list is in full agreement with the Table excepting usual variations in names.

A minor synchronism may be exhibited here to prove the correctness of at least the involved lists. The Ayodhyā king Sagara (no. 41) was the younger contemporary of the Yādava king Vidarbha (no. 40) whose daugher he married.[4] Again, the Yādava king Bhīmaratha (no. 50) and the Ayodhyā king Ṛtuparṇa (no. 51) were contemporaries.[5] This agrees entirely with the two different dynastic lists, for the Yādava list makes Bhīmaratha the 10th successor of Vidarbha and the Ayodhyā list makes Ṛtuparṇa the 10th successor of Sagara (if Ambarīṣa,[6] the famous king, omitted at no. 48 by the Bhāgavata is included).

4. *Kānyakubja* :[7]

There is striking discrepancy with regard to the name of the founder of this dynasty. The Bhāgavata says he was Vijaya[8] while the Table says he was Amāvasu[9] (no. 4). But both names should be understood to denote one and the same person who was the founder because all other particulars given about these two different names concur. Further, in the Bhāgavata Balākāśva (no. 26) and Ajaka (no. 25) are said to be father and son.[10] But the relation was *vice versa* according to the Table, and this interchange of position is acceptable because the reading of our text is equivocal at this juncture. Kuśāṁbu (no. 29) may be taken as an easy variant of Kuśāśva or Kuśika (no. 29) given by the Table. The two sons of Viśvāmitra find mention in succession at nos. 34 and 36, and the Table closes its list here. But we have added in our list three more sons of Viśvāmitra in succession (nos. 37, 38 and 39) because they are mentioned in the same line of the verse.[1] Why should they be excluded ?

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[1] 9.8.1*bc*.

[2] 9.12.7*cd*.

[3] AIHT p. 272.

[4] 9.8.15*ab*.—Here the Bhāgavata gives the name of Sagara's wife as Keśinī and it is said in other Purāṇas (vide AIHT. p. 169) that she was the daughter of Vidarbha.

[5] *vide* AIHT p. 169.

[6] Ambarīṣa-Nābhāgi (no. 48) mentioned in other Purāṇas (AIHT. p. 98. fn. 4) may be accepted as a king because his father Nābhāga finds mention in our list as Nābha (no. 47).

[7] For the list of Kānyakubja Dynasty see—9.15.3-4; 9.16.28-37.

[8] 9.15.3*a*.

[9] AIHT. p. 99 fn. 1.

[10] 9.15.3 *ef*.

5. *Kāśī :*[2]

There appears a long gap between Divodāsa (no. 25) and Pratardana (no. 41) who are said to be father and son in the Bhāgavata.[3] The two are spaced out in consonance with the Table. And, this had to be done because four kings of fixed positions are mentioned by the Table between the two. The position of these four kings omitted by the Bhāgavata is fixed by synchromisms ;[4] and this enhances the authenticity of what the Table says that the above two, i.e., Divodāsa and Pratardana were far descendants and not father and son as the Bhāgavata list says. This is further corroborated when we find many appellations heaped upon Pratardana.[5] These appellations may be taken as an indication of forgotten names between the two said father and son. Further, the Table places Vatsa (no. 42) as the son of Pratardana in its list. But he is included in the main series of our list because Vatsa was one of the appellations of Pratardana ; as such it is quite possible that Vatsa might be his son. To show that the inclusion of Vatsa is a modification in the Bhāgavata list, his name is question marked according to the procedure (point eight). It may be noted here that the gap brings another fact into light that Pratardana was the son of Divodāsa II (no. 40). And, when we know this fact it becomes clear why the Bhāgavata list is abbreviated so as to create a gap. There were two Divodāsas and the Bhāgavata dropped the later and made Pratardana the son of the former. Further, Dhṛṣṭaketu (no. 64) and Sukumāra (no. 62) are said to be father and son[6] ; but their relation is interchanged according to the Table. An extra name (no. 69), given by the Bhāgavata[7] and omitted by the Table, appears at the end of the dynasty.

6. *Turvasus :*[8]

The list of the Turvasu line stands greatly abbreviated in all the Purāṇas since the Table has supplied the same number of Turvasu's descendants as the Bhāgavata list mentions. Thus Turvasu had been assigned six descendants in succession but they are spaced out according to the Table. This had to be done in view of Turvasu's as well as his last descendant Maruta's positions being fixed. Turvasu, the son of Yayāti, is required to be placed one step below him (no. 7), while Maruta (no. 41), who was an elder contemporary of the Paurava king Duṣyanta and whose position is fixed at no. 43, is rightly placed to coincide with the fact. So, the positions of the first and the last kings being thus fixed, the remaining five descendants are liable to be stretched at certain intervals indicating their tentative positions. Finally, the name of Duṣyanta who was adopted by Maruta[1] is bracketted because he soon returned to his Paurava family.

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[1] 9.16.36 *cd.*

[2] For the list of Kāśī Dynasty see—9.17.4-10*ab.*

[3] 9.17.5 cd.

[4] *vide* AIHT. p. 155.

[5] 9.17.6 *abcde.*

[6] 9.17.9*ab.*

[7] 9.17.9*cd.*

[8] For the list of Turvasu Line see—9.23.16-17.

7. *Druhyus :*[2]

Like the Turvasu line, the Druhyu line also stands abbreviated and the nine descendants of Druhyu are stretched at certain intervals in consonance with the Table. There is only one king viz, Ārabdha or Aṅgāra whose position is fixed by synchronisms.[3]

8 & 9. *Ānavas :*[4] *(NW. & EAST)*

There is general agreement between the Bhāgavata list and the Table list about the Ānava lineage of the NW. subject to variations in names. As for the Ānavas in the east, discrepancy appears about Romapāda (no. 64). The Bhāgavata says that his personal name was Citraratha.[5] But Citraratha (no. 57) appears in the Table list as his near ancestor. Both cannot be identified because Romapāda's position is fixed as a contemporary of the Ayodhyā king Daśaratha (no. 64) on the support of the Rāmāyaṇa[6]; and the Bhāgavata[7] also says so. Further on in the list, Pṛthulākṣa (no. 69) is said to have three sons[8] who are noted againt nos. 78, 81 and 83 in accordance with the Table list ; and as such they become somewhat far descendants of Pṛthulākṣa rather than sons as the Bhāgavata says. This modification in the Bhāgavata list was necessary because other names appear between Pṛthulākṣa and his said sons in the

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[1] 9.13.17.

[2] For the list of Druhyu Line see—9.23.14-15.

[3] *vide* AIHT. p. 167, fn. 7 & 8.

[4] For the list of Ānava Lineage see, (for the NW.)—9.23.1-3abc ; (for the East)—9.23.3d-13.

[5] 9.23.6d-7a.

[6] *vide* AIHT. p. 42, fn. 4.

[7] 9.23.7ab.

[8] 9.23.10cd.

Table. Of these other names, one is Campa (no. 71) whose name, as we have seen, is wrongly inserted in the list of Ayodbyā kings at no. 35a. Perhaps for that wrong entry he is missing here in the Bhāgavata list which is the right place for Campa.[1] The modifcation in the positions of Pṛthulākṣa's sons is shown by question marks according to the procedure (point eight). As for the rest of the list there are three names (at nos. 88, 91 and 93) omitted by the Table while one (at no. 92), by the Bhāgavata.

10. Dvimīḍhas :[2]

The Bhāgavata list fairly agrees with the Table list subject to variations in names and five omissions (at nos. 62, 63, 65, 76 and 82). The Table stretches Dṛḍhanemi (no. 60) and Supārśva (no. 78) wide apart, although the Bhāgavata says that they were father and son.[3] This spacing out is acceptable because at least four names are inserted between the two from other Purāṇas.[4] Kṛtī or Kṛta (no. 84) is a notable king of fixed position.[5] Being the disciple of the Ayodhyā king Hiraṇyanābha[6] (no. 83), he is rightly placed one step below the preceptor. Like the case of Campa mentioned above, there is again a case of wrong entry just after Kṛtī. The Table does not mention Nīpa (84a) but he is introduced by the Bhāgavata list.[7] As we shall see, he belonged to the S. Pañcāla dynasty; and as such his introduction may be taken as erroneous. He is, therefore, numbered and marked according to the procedure (point six). There is no further discrepancy between our list and the Table list excepting that Ugrāyudha (no. 90) is placed somewhat apart from his said father Nīpa,[8] according to the Table.

11. S. Pañcāla :[9]

According to the Bhāgavata,[10] Brahadiṣu (or Bṛhadiṣu, as found in the commentary section of the text), the son of Ajamīḍha, was the founder of S. Pañcāla dynasty whereas according to the Table list Bṛhadvasu (no. 55) was the founder and father of Bṛhadiṣu (no. 56). It seems that the Bhāgavata list, in the confusion created by similarity of names, has omitted the actual son of Ajamīḍha and made his grandson his son and founder of the dynasty. It may be noted here that the names of Ajamīḍha's son and grandson as well as of two more successors (nos. 57 and 58) are prefixed with 'Bṛhat' and the prefix may be traced back also. Ajamīḍha's father Hastin had another name as 'Bṛhat'[1] ; and his father (or grandfather) was Bṛhatkṣatra (see Pauravas—no. 49). So, these examples may be taken as responsible for the confusion created about the founder's name and relationship. Further on, the Bhāgavata[2] mentions Pāra (no. 65) as the father of Pṛthusena (no. 64) but the relation is interchanged in consonance with the Table ; and also because Nīpa (no. 66) is more specifically said to be the son of Pāra[3] than Pṛthusena who must then be accepted as Pāra's father if he is to be retained in the list. Now we have found Nīpa, the son of Pāra, at his proper place, although his name was wrongly inserted among the Dvimīḍhas (no. 84a). But there is absence of general agreement about the successors of Nīpa who were known as the Nīpas. The six Purāṇas which mention the Nīpas differ with one another.[4] According to the Bhāgavata, Nīpa had one hundred sons and among these one was Brahmadatta.[5] According to the Table, Nīpa (no. 66) and Brahmadatta (no. 87) stand twenty-one generations apart ; and this may be true because the Table inserts certain Nīpas between the two. Moreover, Brahmadatta's position is fixed ; as such he cannot be taken upward near Nīpa. Similarly, Nīpa, being the son of Pāra, cannot be brought down to meet his said son Brahmadatta. Thus a gap appears between the two, and it seems the names of the intervening Nīpas have been forgotten, although the Table has inserted a few. This conjecture is borne out by the statement in the Bhāgavata itself which ascribes one hundred sons to Nīpa.[6] Such a large number of progeny is generally taken to mean near descendants.[7] So, these near descendants of Nīpa existed ; although their names were lost for some reasons.[8] In this way the gap, shown between the said father and son, may be justified.

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[1] Further it will be found that Campa belonged to the Aṅga dynasty, the kernel of E. Ānava line, and founded Campā-purī therein (*vide* AIHT. p. 272). ; see *ante*, fu. 2. p. 141.

[2] For the list of the Dvimīḍha Line see—9.21.27-30a.

[3] 9.21.27d.

[4] *vide* AIHT. p. 115.

[5] *vide* AIHT. p. 173.

[6] 9.21.28cd-29a.

[7] 9.21.29b.

[8] *ibid.*

[9] For the list of S. Pañcāla Dynasty see—9.21.22-26.

[10] 9.21.22a.

The list of the Bārhadiṣvas, who were kings of S. Pañcāla, ends with Bhallāda (no. 90) while the Table adds one more name (no. 91) as the last of the Bārhadiṣvas. After this, three more names (no. 93, 94 and 95) appear who were Pañcālakas of N. Pañcāla. But they came to rule in S. Pañcāla[1] after the end of the Bārhadiṣvas. Hence their names appear in the list naturally with exclusive dealing.

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[1] *vide* AIHT. p. 112.

[2] 9.21.24ab.

[3] 9.21.24c.

[4] *vide* AIHT. p. 117.

[5] 9.21.24d-25ab.

[6] 9.21.24d.

[7] See point six of 'the scheme for enumeration' in chapter five p. 86

[8] See point two (p. 138) and ten (p. 139) of the procedure ; *vide* also AIHT p. 155 for the details of reasons.

12. N. Pañcāla :[2]

Similar to the S. Pañcāla dynasty, there is discrepancy about the founder of the N. Pañcāla dynasty. According to the Bhāgavata,[3] Ajamīḍha's son Nalinī (no. 54) was the founder of this dynasty while according to the Table list, Ajamīḍha's son Nīla (no. 55) was the founder. But Nīla, according to our list,[4] was the son of Nalinī, whom the Table totally omits. Onwards, the Bhāgavata list omits a famous king (no. 62) and also a king of fixed position (no. 66) among others. Then there is a gap of twenty generations in the Table between Jantu (no. 71) and Pṛṣata (no. 91) who are said to be brothers in the Bhāgavata.[5] The same explanation, which had been adduced in the S. Pañcāla line at the point of Nīpa, is applicable where. It is said that Somaka (no. 70) had one hundred sons among whom Jantu and Pṛṣata were the eldest and the youngest.[6] So like the Nīpas, the names of Somaka's near descendants, known as the Somakas, have been lost; and the two names which survived were confused as the names of brothers. Pṛṣata cannot be Jantu's brother because his position is fixed as the contemporary of Bhīṣma (see the Pauravas—no. 91) who helped him to revive the N. Pañcāla dynasty lying in abeyance before him.[7] And, since the dynasty was in abeyance before Pṛṣata, the names of the Somakas were liable to be neglected or forgotten. And, for this reason the gap shown by the Table becomes justified, which is accepted in our list according to the procedure (point ten).

Pṛṣata's son was Drupada. But Drupada, his son Dhṛṣṭaydumna and his son Dhṛṣṭaketu[8]—the last three N. Pañcāla kings mentioned by the Bhāgavata are not included in the Table list. The reason for this is that Drupada was ousted by Droṇa and transferred to S. Pañcāla as its ruler.[9] So, the trinity appears in S. Pañcāla list at the end of the Bārhadiṣvas as noted above. But the ousting of Drupada took place when he had inherited the throne from his father[10]; and for this reason Drupada appears in our list of N. Pañcāla kings as the successor of Pṛṣata, although his name (no. 92) is marked according to the procedure (point seven). Further, Drupada's son and grandson are replaced by Droṇa (no. 93) and his son (no. 94) in our list according to the Table ; and the name of Droṇa is marked according to the procedure (point eight).

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[1] *vide* AIHT. p. 283.

[2] For the list of N. Pañcāla Dynasty see—9.21.30cd-33ab; and 9.22.1-3ab.

[3] 9.21.30c.

[4] 9.21.30d.

[5] 9.22.1d-2ab.

[6] *ibid.*

[7] *vide* AIHT. p. 117.

[8] 9.22.2cd-3ab.

[9] *vide* AIHT. p. 283.

[10] *vide* AIHT. p. 224.

13. *Magadha* :[1]

Bṛhadratha (no. 79), the son of Vasu, founded this dynasty. As for the differing epithets of his father (no. 78), they will be considered when we examine the dynasties of Cedi. On the whole, our list here agrees with the Table list with the exception of striking discrepancy about the position of Jarāsandha (no. 92). He is said to be the son of Bṛhadratha but the Table fixes his position twelve generations apart. This is acceptable in view of the following reasons :—

- (i) Bṛhadratha's son, as the Bhāgavata[2] itself says, was Kuśāgra (no. 80).
- (ii) Jarāsandha is said to be born from a co-wife ; and the story of his birth is amazing.[3]
- (iii) Jarāsandha is enumerated after Jahu (no. 88) and not immediately after Kuśāgra, if he was his brother.
- (iv) As we know, Jarāsandha was an elder contemporary of Kṛṣṇa (see Vṛṣṇis—no. 94). Hence the position (no. 92) allotted to him in the Table is justified.

The last descendant of this dynasty is called by the name Somāpi[4] in one context and by Mārjāri[5] in another. The Table mentions his name as Somādhi (no. 95). So, Somāpi (no. 95) of our list seems to be more popular name than Mārjāri (no. 95) who is therefore bracketted according to the procedure (point seven).

14. *Paurava Family* (*Main Line*)

The dynastic list of the main line of the Paurava family may be distributed in three portions : the Pauravas,[6] the Bhāratas[7] and the Kauravas,[8] for the purpose of its examination in comparison with the Table list of the same.

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[1] For the list of Magadha Dynasty—9.22.6cd-9ab.

[2] 9.22.6c.

[3] 9.22.7cd-8.

[4] 9.22.9ab.

[5] 9.24.45cd.

[6] For the list of Pauravas Immediate see—9.20.2-7, 22ab, 38.

[7] For the list of Bhāratas see—9.21.1ab, 20c, 21a ; 9.22.3cd,-9d.

[8] For the Kauravas—9.22.10-12ab 21ab, 25,27d, 33ab.

Pauravas :

The first portion from Pūru (no. 7) down to Duṣyanta (no. 43), which may be called as that of the Pauravas immediate, is in agreement with the Table down to no. 21, after which appears a gap in the Paurava pedigree down to the end of the portion. This gap of twenty-one generations falls between Raibhya (no. 21) and Duṣyanta (no. 43), who are said to be father and son by the Bhāgavata.[1] It will be seen further how this serious gap happened to be created in the dynasty. At present it will suffice to say that the position of Duṣyanta is unalterable. So, he cannot be Raibhya's son or even near descendant, as said by the Bhāgavata. Duṣyanta and his son Bharata are referred to in the Vedic literature[2] ; and as such their positions are fixed.

In the next portion from Bharata (no. 44) down to Kuru (no. 71), discrepancy begins just after Bharata. According to the Bhāgavata,[3] Bharata adopted Bharadvāja who later on became known as Vitatha. The Table mentions both Bharadvāja (no. 46) and Vitatha (no. 47) separately in succession leaving one step blank after Bharata and bracketting Bharadvāja. This arrangement shall become clear when we deal with the question of adoption by Bharata. Onwards, according to the Bhāgavata,[4] Ajamīḍha (no. 53) had a son viz, Ṛkṣa (no. 63) and his son was Saṁvaraṇa (no. 69) . But this link is feigned according to the Table which stretches them far apart on the basis of Saṁvarṇa's position which is fixed. It is argued that the main Paurava line was insignificant from the political standpoint during this period ; and therefore the names of its kings have been forgotten.[5] And, so it happened because the branches of the Pauravas at N. and S. Pañcāla were at their heights during this period.

In the last portion from Kuru (no. 71) down to Parīkṣit II (no. 95a), again, discrepancy begins just after Kuru. According to the Bhāgavata,[6] Kuru had three sons viz, Parīkṣit I, Sudhanus and Jahnu. Of these, the first son was issueless.[7] But the Vedic, Pauraṇic and Epic sources testify that Janamejaya was the son of Parīkṣit I and that Janamejaya had three sons viz, Bhīmasena, Ugrasena and Śrutasena.[8]

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[1] 9.20.7cd.

[2] *vide* AIHT. p. 129, fn. 3 where the references from the Brāhmaṇa texts are given.

[3] 9.20.38.

[4] 9.22.3cd-4ab.

[5] *vide* AIHT. p. 275.

[6] 9.22.4cd.

[7] 9.22.9c.

[8] *vide* AIHT.p. 114, fns. 2, 3 and 4.

Again, according to the Bhāgavata,[1] these four, i.e., Janamejaya and his three sons were the sons of Parīkṣit II. This seems merely a confusion created by similarity of names and points to the fact that both Parīkṣit I and II had a son namely Janamejaya ; and also that the three so-called brothers of the later Janamejaya, as the Bhāgavata says, were actually the sons of the former Janamejaya, as all the sources say. In the context of Janamejaya, it may be reminded here that Pūru (no. 7) had also a son of this name.[2] Thus in the list of the main Paurava line there were three Janamejayas viz, Janamejaya I (no. 8), the son of Pūru; Janameyaja II (no. 74), the son of Parīkṣit I; and, Janamejaya III, the son of Parīkṣit II (or Viṣṇurāta—no 95a).

Now Parīkṣit I's progeny being established in spite of the taciturnity of our text, we return to the main point that Janamejaya II inherited the throne from his father, and also add here on the basis of the same sources that soon afterwards his sons Bhīmasena (no. 75) etc. passed into oblivion.[3] Therefore the second son of Kuru viz, Sudhanus may come in the picture. But he and his descendant Vasu founded different dynasties in Magadha and Cedi through their descendants.[4] Hence they need not be taken in the main line. It was natural then that Jahnu (no. 74) or his son Suratha (no. 75) held the power in the main line. Here comes the purpose for which we examined the questions of Kuru's progeny and his succession. The Table shifts aside Jahnu and Suratha and places Parīkṣit I (no. 73) and Janamejaya II (no. 74 including his sons Bhīmasena etc.) in the main line. But, as the Bhāgavata has not ascribed any progeny to Parīkṣit I, Jahnu, his brother, is placed a step below (no. 74) as his successor replacing Janamejaya II. Similarly Suratha, the son of Jahnu, appears in the main series (no. 75) replacing his sons Bhīmasena etc. (no. 75). The alteration in Jahnu's position is shown by a question mark according to the procedure (point eight).

Śantānu (no. 90) and his elder brother Devāpi are said to be sons of Pratīpa[5] (no. 87), the famous king of fixed position. But the Table inserts Ṛṣṭiṣeṇa between Pratīpa and Śantanu presumably because Devāpi is called Ārṣṭiṣeṇa, i.e., son of Ṛṣṭiṣeṇa in the Ṛg-Veda.[6] So, Ṛṣṭiṣeṇa may be the father of Devāpi if not of Śantanu. He is included in the main series (no. 89) of our list as the name shall be useful when we deal with the question of Devāpi's abdication of the throne and his life of a recluse. Ṛṣṭiṣeṇa's name appears in bracket in the Table and likewise he appears in our list according to the procedure (point seven). The names of Yudhiṣṭhira (no. 94), for whom the Table mentions the general term Pāṇḍavas, and of Parīkṣit II, whom the Table drops, are specially mentioned in our list because both were favourite kings of the Bhāgavata. As for Parīkṣit II, the Table omits him because he came after the Great War—a time which is the last limit of the Table. But we have inserted his name because the Bhāgavata describes him in the past tense while generally the kings who came after the war are described in future tense. Moreover, he was an emperor of repute ; so he is included and numbered according to the procedure (point five).

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[1] 9.22.35.

[2] 9.20.20a.

[3] *vide* AIHT. p. 114.

[4] See the examination of respective dynasties *ante* (p. 161) and *infra* (p. 165-66).

[5] 9.22.12a.

[6] *vide* notes 9 & 11 on p. 165 of AIHT.

15. *Haihayas* :[1]

Our list of this dynasty fully agrees with the Table list subject to variations in names. A minor discrepancy is that Durmada (no. 27) and Dhanaka (no. 28) are said to be brothers by the Bhāgavata ;[2] but the later is taken as the son of the former for two reasons : (i) The Table mentions similar names as father and son at the same place. (ii) Our text at this point is equivocal and capable of meaning what the Table says. The Bhāgavata list ends on Vītihotra (no. 36) ; while the Table introduces three more names in the last, which appear in the parallel row.

Dynasties of Cedi

The dynastic lists of Cedi are now examined according to the procedure (point fifteen). Cedi belonged to the offshoots of the two families viz, the Yādava and the Paurava successively. The offshoots of the Yādavas who may be called the Vaidarbhas or Kaiśikas reigned in Cedi first ; and the offshoots of the Pauravas who may be called the Vāsavas or Cedipas afterwards. So, the anterior sub-line is examined first and the later sub-line afterwards.

16. *Vaidarbhas or Kaiśikas* :[3]

Vidarbha, the Yādava king of Vidarbha, had three sons viz, Kuśa, Kratha and Romapāda.[4] According to the Bhāgavata,[5] a sub-line that descended from Romapāda and had five descendants reigned in Cedi. But, according to the Table, Kaiśika, the son of Vidarbha, founded the Cedi dynasty,[1] perhaps on the name of his son Cidi (no. 42). The version given by the Table may be accepted for two reasons :—

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[1] For the list of Haihaya Dynasty see—9.23.20-28abc.

[2] 9.23.22cd.

[3] For the list see—9.24.1-2.

[4] 9.24.1.

[5] 9.24.2.

(i) Romapāda or Lomapāda, as he is called, had a sub-line consisting of thirteen descendants. It ruled elsewhere[2] and not in Cedi as the Bhāgavata says.

(ii) Kuśa, the eldest son of Vidarbha, finds no further mention in the Bhāgavata ; and the main Yādava line is continued by his second son Kratha (see Yādavas—no. 41).

So, in view of these two facts, Kuśa, which is an easy variant of Kaiśika, may be taken as the founder of the Cedi dynasty. It is, therefore, that the sub-line which reigned in Cedi first is designated as the Vaidarbhas or Kaiśikas. Now, this required modification in the Bhāgavata version regarding the founder. Accordingly, Kuśa (no. 41) appears as the founder and Romapāda is bracketted below. Among the successors, the Bhāgavata mentions five while the Table only two. Babhru (no. 50) seems to be a variant of Vīrabāhu (no. 50) of the Table; so both are juxtaposed. The rest of the four are stretched in the blank space allotted for this dynasty in the Table. The last descendant of this dynasty, according to the Bhāgavata, was Caidya (no. 61) who is identified with Damaghoṣa by Śrīdhara.[3] But Damaghoṣa and his son Śiśupāla come in the later sub-line which reigned in Cedi afterwards, as we shall see now.

16a. *Vāsavas or Cedipas* :[4]

According to the Bhāgavata, as we have noted in the Kaurava portion of the Paurava family before, Kuru's one son was Sudhanus. His fourth descendant Vasu-Uparicara founded at least two dynasties, one in Cedi and the another in Magadha through his sons Cedipa and Bṛhadratha respectively.[5] But the epithet Uparicara given to Vasu by the Bhāgavata does not carry full meaning unless it is prefixed with Caidya. In view of his conquest of the Cedi kingdom either lying in the Yādava fold or in abeyance, Vasu seems to have won the title *Caidyoparicara*, the overcomer of the Caidyas.[6]

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[1] *vide* AIHT. p. 272.

[2] *vide* AIHT. p. 103 which says so on the basis of the Kūrma-Purāṇa (1.24.6-10).

[3] 9.24.2d and Śrīdhara on it.

[4] For the list see—9.22.5cd-6ab ; 9.24.39cd-40ab.

[5] 9.22.5cd-6ab.

[6] *vide* AIHT. p. 118,fn. 3.

If we combine Vasu-Uparicara with Caidya (no. 61), the last descendant of the anterior sub-line, the title carrying the full meaning is formed; and so Caidya's identification with Damaghoṣa, as suggested by Śrīdhara, is nullified. The identification was perhaps made due to the confusion of the two different sub-lines that ruled in Cedi at two different times. Further, it is not certainly said as to who, among the five sons of Vasu[1], inherited Cedi. Yet Cedipa apparently seems to have succeeded his father in Cedi. The Table list mentions Pratyagraha (no. 79) as the successor although without certainty as the name is question marked. According to the Bhāgavata, Pratyagra was one of Vasu's sons; and the name is nothing but a variant of Pratyagraha. So, as an alternative of Cedipa (no. 79) Pratyagra also finds mention in our list. Excepting these controversial founder and his successor, there is no mention of their descendants in the Bhāgavata. Only there is a passing reference to Damaghoṣa and his son Śiśupāla as the kings of Cedi.[2] These two including Śiśupāla's son are found in the Table list at nos. 92, 94 and 95. So, they are also included in our list as the three far descendants of Cedipa. In doing so, there appears a gap between Cedipa and Damaghoṣa but the trinity of Damaghoṣa cannot be shifted upwards because their positions are fixed (see point eleven of the procedure). We all know they were contemporaries of Kṛṣṇa and flourished on the eve of the Great War; so their positions are quite justified.

17. Yādava Family (Main Line)

The dynastic list of the main line of the Yādava family may be distributed here in two portions: the Yādavas and the Sātvatas for the purpose.

Yādavas (Immediate):[3]

The first portion from Yadu (no. 7) down to Sātvata (no. 66), which comprises the Yādavas immediate, is in general agreement with the Table subject to variations in names and their omissions. Certain minor irregularities appear in our list with regard to the names and positions of the near ancestors of Sātvata. According to the Bhāgavata,[4] Āyu (no. 64a) was the father of Sātvata while the Table list makes Satvant (no. 65) so. Next, Puruhotra (no. 63) and Anu I (no. 64) were son and father according to our text,[5] but their relation is interchanged because the Table gives similar names at the same place as father and son. The alteration in the position of Puruhotra is shown by the question mark according to the procedure (point eight). The second portion comprises in the Sātvatas and their branches.[1] As only one branch could have been brought to face the Table which gives the two, we have chosen to compare the Kukura branch starting from Sātvata's said grandson Kukura (no. 69); and thus to connect it with the Yādava main line because the Kukuras seem more important than others from political standpoint down to Kaṁsa (no. 93). Its comparison with the Table list shows general agreement subject to variations and omissions. As shown by the table, the position of Kapotroman (no. 77) is interchanged with his said father Viloman (no. 80).[2]

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[1] 9.22.6ab.

[2] 9.24.39cd-40ab.

[3] For the list of Yādavas Immediate see—9.23.29cd-38; 9.24.1-6ab.

[4] 9.24.6b.

[5] 9.24.6a.

Difficulties About Sātvata Progeny: The progeny of Sātvata presents much difficulty in its derivation. It is so because from Satvata's sons, whose number and names are themselves controversial, developed numerous branches of the Sātvatas; and in these branches there were many kings of the same name which often set up confusion in deriving the lines. It is said that the genealogical texts of all other Purāṇas are not clear about the Sātvatas; and among the reasons that enhanced the confusion, were misreading of the old manuscripts, misarrangement of the passages or verses etc.[3] Yet the Bhāgavata in particular is free from such defects, as it has recast the whole genealogy. Still there seems only one instance of misplacing the half line of a verse and two moot points which are illustrated here :—

At the end of the Haihaya and before the beginning of the Yādava dynastic list, a verse[4] says that Arjuna Haihaya's one younger son was Madhu and his son was Vṛṣṇi. Immediately the half line of the adjacent verse[5] adds that the Yādavas came to be known as the Mādhavas or the Vṛṣṇis apparently from these two, i.e., son and grandson of Arjuna. How can Madhu and Vṛṣṇi, who belonged to the Haihayas and were insignificant offspring, give their names to the Yādavas especially when they had their own Madhu and Vṛṣṇi ? Madhu (no. 61) was a famous king among the Yādavas immediate;[6] and Vṛṣṇi was a favourite name among the Sātvatas as we shall see. The Yādavas must have naturally derived their patronymics from their own Madhu and Vṛṣṇi and not from the two mentioned above. Hence the half line appearing between the Haihaya and Yādava genealogies seems to be misplaced. The two moot points are when the pedigree of (i) Andhaka I[7] and that of his son (ii) Bhajamāna II[8] are given without the mention of their names.

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[1] 9.24.6cd-55ab.
[2] 9.24.19d-20a.
[3] *vide* AIHT. pp. 103-104.
[4] 9.23.28bcd.
[5] 9.23.29ab.
[6] 9.24.5d.
[7] 9.24.19.
[8] 9.24.26.

The commentator has ascribed the progeny to these two, getting clue from other sources.

Besides, a notable discrepancy occurs about Devamīḍha whom the Bhāgavata list mentions in the Andhaka branch as the descendant of Bhajamāna II[1]; whereas he is found among the Vṛṣṇi branch in the Table list. Devamīḍha or Devamīḍhuṣa, as he is called, deserves to be shifted to the Vṛṣṇi branch for two reasons :—

(i) The Bhāgavata does not explicitly say that he was the son of Hṛdīka who belonged to the Andhaka branch ; and as such he may not be retained in this branch.

(ii) Devamīḍha's great grandson, according to the Bhāgavata, was Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva[2] who was definitely a Vṛṣṇi.[3]

These are two sufficient grounds for withdrawing Devamīḍha's line down to Kṛṣṇa from the said place, i.e., the branch of the Andhakas and insert the line among the Vṛṣṇis, as we have done (see Vṛṣṇis—no. 19).

18 & 19. *The Chart of Sātvatas* : (*Two Sections*)

In anticipation of these difficulties, the Sātvatas are already shown with their branches in a genealogical tree while enumerating them in the previous chapter. Additively, according to the procedure (point sixteen), a specially collated chart of the Sātvatas comprising their Kukura and Andhaka branches in the first section (no. 18) and the Virṣṇi branch in the next (no. 19) is appended to the list of the Yādava main line (no. 17). Its collation with the same types of two charts given by Pargiter[4] shows general aggreement in names and succession with usual variations and omissions. As for the presentation of the first section in comparison to its counterpart, something is added here to explain the setting of this chart (no. 18). Sātvata had seven sons viz, Bhajamāna I, Bhaji, Divya, Vṛṣṇi I, Devāvṛdha, Andhaka I and Mahābhoja, according to the Bhāgavata.[5] The first chart accepted for collation combines the first two names into one as Bhajin-Bhajamāna. Divya is omitted by it. According to the Bhāgavata,[6] the Bhojas descended from Mahābhoja ; but Pargiter's chart derives them from Devāvṛdha and combines Mahābhoja with Andhaka so as to appear as a son of Sātvata viz, Andhaka-Mahābhoja. Vṛṣṇi's progeny i.e., the Vṛṣṇi branch given in his next chart fairly agrees with our list given in. Finally, the line of Devamīḍha down to Kṛṣṇa, which appears among the Andhakas in the chart of the Sātvatas (no. 18), also reappears among the Vṛṣṇis[1] section two as shown in Pargiter's chart. And, this is its proper place as already explained above.

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[1] 9.24.27c.

[2] 9.24.30a.

[3] Gītā 1.41—where Kṛṣṇa is addressed as Vārṣṇeya ; vide also Gītā 10-37a.

[4] AIHT. p 105, 107.

[5] 9.24.6cd-7ab.

[6] 9.24.11cd.

APPELLATIONS AND NAMES

Explanation for Appellations :

There are anecdotes and statements in the genealogy of different dynasties that provide explanation for appellations attached to particular kings. The explanations are given with grotesque ingenuity and are etymological in character. The popular etymology of these appellations directly conveys its own meaning. Whether these etymological explanations of the appellations of kings are real or fanciful, i.e., coined from the names (appellations) themselves, will become clear when we shall critically examine the traditional history in the next chapter. Here only explanations are given so that the confusion about peculiar or many names given to a particular king in the dynastic lists may be allayed.

An anecdote[2] says that Nimi (no. 3), the founder of Videha dynasty, died of Vasiṣṭha's curse and lived without body (*vi-deha*) in the eyes of creatures whence they wink. He was, therefore, called Videha. There is another anecdote[3] which says that Videha's son had three appellations. He was called Janaka due to his extraordinary birth (*janma*) from the dead body of Nimi when it was churned by the hermits to produce an heir from the same king. Janaka, thus being the son of Videha, earned the patronymic Vaideha. He was called Maithila also on account of his birth through the process of churning (*manthana*). Sīradhvaja (no. 64) of this dynasty came to be so called because he tilled the land for sacrificial purpose with a plough (*sīra*) and Sītā, his daughter, was so called because she is said to have been found in the furrow (*sītā*) at that occasion.[4]

Ikṣvāku (no. 2), the founder of the Ayodhyā dynasty, was, according to a feigned statement,[5] born from the nose of Manu when he was sneezing (*kṣutaṁ kurvataḥ*). His son Vikukṣi (no. 3) became well-known as Śaśāda because he ate (*ādat*) the flesh of the hare (*śaśa*), meant for *aṣṭakā-śrāddha*, before its performance.[6] Śaśāda's son (no. 4) had three appellations. He was called Purañjaya because he won over Daityapura from the demons on behalf of the gods. He was called Indravāha because Indra assumed the form of a bull to act as his vehicle (*vāhana*) when he fought with the demons. Finally he was called Kakustha because he fought seated (*sthita*) on that bull's hump (*kakud*).[1] Further in the dynasty, Kuvalayāśvaka (no. 12) earned the appeallation Dhundhumāra because he killed Dhundhu demon.[2] A fable[3] says that Māndhātṛ (no. 21) was born from the belly of his father Yuvanāśva II who happened to drink the sacrificial water intended to be given to the queen for the birth of a male child (*puṁsavana-jala*). In the absence of the mother, Indra said 'the child shall nourish me' *māṁ dhātā=pātā*); and the child therfore became known as Māndhātṛ. Māndhātṛ's another appellation was Trasaddasyu (this was his grandson's name also, see Ayodhyā—no. 23) because his enemies (*dasyus*) trembled (*trasyanti*) with fear, being afraid of him.[4] Sagara (no. 41) was so called because he was born with (*saha*) poison (*gara*) which was given to his pregnant mother by the envious step-mothers.[5] A fable[6] describes how Saudāsa (no. 54), i.e., the son of Sudāsa (no. 53), came to have two appellations besides the patronymic. It is said that Saudāsa killed a rākṣasa while hunting. The younger brother of that rākṣasa came in disguise and served human flesh to Saudāsa's priest, Vasiṣṭha who, then, cursed the king to be a rākṣasa. The faultless king was ready to give a counter-curse, but at the intercession of his queen Madayantī threw down the *mantra*-charmed water on his own feet (*pāda*) which then became variegated (*kalmāṣa*); and so he came to be known as Kalmāṣapāda or Kalmāṣa'ṅghri. Saudāsa did so by enduring (*sahanāt*) the words of his wife (*mitra* or *kalatra*); and was therefore called Mitrasaha also. There is a statement that Saudāsa's son (no. 55) was called Aśmaka, because he came out from the womb of his mother when the stomach was striken (*kuṭṭita* or *jaghāna*) with stone (*aśman*).[7] Aśmaka's son (no. 56) had two appellations. He was called Mūlaka because he became the perpetuator (*mūla*) of the Kṣatriyas who were about to be extinct. His another appellation was Nārīkavaca, because he sought protection among the womenfolk (*nārī*) who acted as shield (*kavaca*) to save him from Paraśurama's wrath.[8] A reference to Dīrghabāhu (no. 61) may also be made here. Some Purāṇas take this name as the epithet of Raghu[9] (no. 62), although the Bhāgavata has rightly taken Dīrghabāhu as the father of Raghu.[10]

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[1] The names of the Devamīḍha line (9. 24. 27cd-30ab, 55ab.) are prefixed with numbers indicative of their positions in Yādava family succession, as allotted to them in the Table.

[2] 9.13.11.

[3] 9.13.13abc.

[4] 9.13.18.

[5] 9.6.4ab.

[6] 9.6.7, 11d.

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[1] 9.6.12.

[2] 9.6.22-23a.

[3] 9.6.27-30 esp. 9.6.31.

[4] 9.6.33.

[5] 9.8.4.

[6] 9.9.18-25ab.

[7] 9.9.39.

[8] 9.9.40.

[9] *vide* AIHT. p. 126.

[10] 9.10.1ab.

In the N. Pañcāla dynasty, Bharmyāśva (no. 59) seems to have given the name to the realm and the dynasty through his five sons. A statement[1] says that Bharmyāśva considered his five (*pañca*) sons as capable (*alam*) of administering the areas assigned to them ; and hence they came to be called by the combined name Pañcālakas. The same name was later on applied to the realm where the Pañcālaka kings ruled. Jarāsandha (no. 92), the famous king of Magadha, was, according to an amusing and amazing anecdote,[2] born in two pieces which were joined (*sandhita*) by a demoness viz, Jarā who thus made him alive.

A legendary story[3] introduced in the Paurava genealogy says that excited Bṛhaspati copulatated with his younger brother Utathya's pregnant wife, Mamatā. Their union gave birth to a son whom both refused to keep and nourish. Bṛhaspati, disinclined to keep the son so born from the promiscuous intercourse, wished Mamatā to nourish him on the plea that the offspring was the *kṣetraja* son of her husband, Utathya. But Mamatā refused to do so for fear of abandonment by the husband. Since neither the father nor the mother was willing to bear (*bhara*) the offspring born through the combination of both (*dvāja*), the orphan child was named Bharadvāja (no. 46). To save the son from orphanage and at the same time to perpetuate the line which was becoming extinct , the child was given for adoption to Bharata (no. 44). According to the Bhāgavata,[4] the same Bharadvāja became known by the name Vitatha (no. 47) ; because Bharata's line would have become barren (*vitatha*) in the absence of this perpetuator. Further, Parīkṣit II (no. 95a), the last Paurava king of the tradition, was so called because he was examining (*parīkṣeta*) every man to find out his Saviour whom he had seen while he was in the womb of his mother.[5] His another appellation was Viṣṇurāta; because he was a gift (*rāta*) from Kṛṣṇa (*Viṣṇu*) inasmuch as Kṛṣṇa saved him from the divine missile hurled by Aśvatthāman to kill him in the womb of Uttarā.[6] Among the Vṛṣṇis, Vasudeva (no. 92) was also called Ānakadundubhi; because the gods blew *ānakas* and *dundubhis* (the sorts of drums) when he was born.[7]

Discrimination of Names :

Sameness of names may lead to the confusion of identity of their bearers. So, it is necessary to note the difference of identity between the kings who bore the same names. As there are many cases of duplication of names, some important ones are made out here. There are two Ambarīṣas in the Bhāgavata. One was the son of Nābhāga and the grandson of Manu. He is said to be a paramount monarch who ruled over the realm watered by the Sarasvatī river.[1] The other Ambarīṣa was the second son of Māndhātṛ.[2] The Bhāgavata does not mention the third Ambarīṣa (no. 48) of the Ayodhyā dynasty, although his father's name viz, Nābha[3] (no. 47—which may be a variant of Nābhāga mentioned by the Table list) finds mention ; and as such the omission of this third Ambarīṣa, the famous king, may be accidental. There were two Trasaddasyus. The one was the appellation of Māndhātṛ,[4] as we have seen above; and, the other was the personal name (no. 23) of his grandson or son of Purukutsa.[5] The distinction between Marutta and Maruta is to be noted carefully. Marutta (no. 40) was the paramount monarch of Vaiśālī,[6] while Maruta (no. 41) was the king of the fixed position in the Turvasu line ; and that he had adopted Duṣyanta, to mention a cardinal point of his life.[7] There were two Arjunas. One[8] was the paramount monarch among the Haihayas (no. 31) and the other[9] was the famous Pāṇḍava (no. 94) among the Pauravas. There were two Divodāsas in the Kāśī dynasty. One[10] (no. 25) was the son of Bhīmaratha while the other, Divodāsa II (no. 40) is omitted by the Bhāgavata. The third Divodāsa was the famous king of the N. Pañcāla dynasty[11] (no. 63). There were two Sudāsas. One[12] was the king of Ayodhyā (no. 53) and the father of Saudāsa ; while the other[13] was the famous king of the N. Pañcāla dynasty (no. 68) and the son of Cyavana (no. 67), another famous king. To distinguish between the two Madhus is inevitable, although the first was insignificant. The first Madhu was the the fourth son of Arjuna Kārtavīrya.[14] It is said that his son was Vṛṣṇi,[15] and that the father and the son were responsible for giving the partronymics—Mādhavas and Vṛṣṇis respectively to the Yādavas.[16] While noticing the difficulties about the Sātvatas, this question of patronymics has been set at rest, being incredible. Thus this Madhu, who does not find mention in both the lists of the Haihayas (see Table), was an insignificant descendant of Arjuna. But another Madhu[1] was a famous Yādava king (no. 61), although 'a mass of absurd confusion' is heaped upon this Madhu in other Purāṇas, especially in the Harivaṁśa-Purāṇa.[2]

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[1] 9.21.31cd-33ab.

[2] 9.22.8.

[3] 9.20.35-36.

[4] Śrīdhara on 9.21.1,

[5] 1.12.7-11, 30.

[6] 1.12.16-17 ; 9.22.34.

[7] 9.24.29cd-30ab.

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[1] 9.4.15. ; *vide* also *ante*, p. 140

[2] 9.6.38c ; 9.7.1.

[3] 9.8.16ab.

[4] 9.6.33.

[5] 9.7.4c.

[6] 9.2.25cd-26ab.

[7] 9.23.16d-17a.

[8] 9.23.23a.

[9] 9.22.27d.

[10] 9.17.5d-6a.

[11] 9.21.34ab.

[12] 9.9.18abcd.

[13] 9.22.1abc.

[14] 9.23.26cd.

[15] 9.23.28bcd.

[16] 9.23.29ab.

Besides the celebrated king-*cum*-yogin Bharata of the pre-flood tradition, there are at least two Bharatas in the post-flood tradition, who require to be distinguished. One[3] was the paramount monarch among the Pauravas (no. 44) while the other,[4] who flourished twenty-one generations later, was the celebrated brother of the Ayodhyā king Rāma (no. 65). The difference between the two Śukas should also be noted. There was one person viz, Śuka whose daughter Kṛtvī was married to Nīpa (no. 66, or to Aṇuha[5]—no. 86), a king of S. Pañcāla dynasty ; and their son was Brahmadatta,[6] the famous king of fixed position (no. 87) . The other Śuka, the son of Vyāsa, was the celebrated spritualist and elucidator of the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata.[7]

Thus there were many kings of the same names, which are discriminated above and many others who had the same name viz, Bhīma, Sahadeva, Sṛñjaya, Anenas, Yavīnara, Yuvanāśva, to mention a few. The two Parīkṣits and the three Janamejayas are already distinguished while examining the last portion of the Paurava lineage. To mention the two, again, it may be said that Parīkṣit I (no. 73) was the son of Kuru[8] (no.71) and that, according to the Bhāgavata,[9] he was issueless. The next is our favourite Parīkṣit II (no. 95a), the son of Uttarā and the grandson of Yudhiṣṭhira.[10] Lastly, there were three Rāmas, and to discriminate them they may be called as Rāma-Dāśarathi, Rāma-Jāmdagnya (or Paraśurāma) and Rāma-Vāsudeva (or Balarāma, the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa).[11]

THE SCHEME FOR THE EVALUATION OF TRADITINAL HISTORY

The Great Flood from which Śrāddhadeva Manu survived is already noticed.[12] All the lineages and dynasties that appeared after this Flood are traced to Manu ; and the fuller ones of them extend into 95 generations ending before the time of the Great War. Thus the Great Flood (event) or Manu (personality) is the starting point of traditional history while the Great War (event) or Kṛṣṇa who was the personality behind this event, is the closing point. The fixing of the dates of these epoch-making events and personalities shall at once give the idea of the duration of the whole tradition.

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[1] 9.24.5d. [2] *vide* AIHT. p. 122. [3] 9.20.22. [4] 9.10.34-40ab.

[5] It was not Nīpa as the Bhāgavata seems to say but Aṇuha who married Kṛtvī ; and their son was Brahmadatta (vide AIHT. pp. 164-65). This is possible because Brahmadatta's position is fixed and Aṇuha who appears one step above him in the dynastic—list may be his father.

[6] 9.21.25ab. [7] 9.22.23ab. [8] 9.22.4cd. [9] 9.22.9c. [10] 9.22.33d.

[11] In spelling, the two Kṛtis (no. 94 in Videha & 52 in Cedi) have only diacritic difference with Kṛtī (no. 84, Dvimīḍhas).

[12] see *ante*, pp. 48-49, 68-69.

Date of the Great War :

Was this Great War—the Mahābhārata war or Kurukṣetra war as it is called—a historical reality at all ? This question expressive of doubt is lurking in the mind of some scholars, perhaps because it is not found mentioned in the Brāhmaṇa or Sūtra texts. According to Pargiter,[1] the answer is simple. The exegetical Vedic texts are silent on this war because it was purely a political contest and had nothing to do with such kind of religious literature. To fix the date of this closing point, then, we shall have to come further down to the time of the accession of Mahāpadma Nanda, which is placed in 382 B.C. Pargiter, on the basis of the Pauraṇic tradition about the number of kings that flourished in different post-war dynasties between Adhisīmakṛṣṇa (the 5th or 6th descendant of Parīkṣit II) and Nanda, places the Great War in *cir* 950 B.C. as follows : Between Adhisīmakṛṣṇa and Nanda 26 generations intervened. So, allowing an average of 18 years per reign and taking the accession of Nanda in 382 B.C. ; the date of Adhisīmakṛṣṇa would be (26×18+382=) 850 B.C. And, adding one hundred years for the 5 or 6 generations of kings that preceded Adhisīmakṛṣṇa, Pargiter arrives at (850+100=) 950 B.C. as the tentative date of the Great War.[2] But this date seems to be contradicted by a statement found in the Bhāgavata[3] and other Purāṇas including the Mahābharata.[4] The statement in the Bhāgavata says that between the birth of Parīkṣit II and the coronation of Nanda, there elapsed a period of 1115 (in other Purāṇas 1015, or 1050) years. This brings the date of the war to (1115+382=) about 1500 B.C., Parīkṣit being taken as the contemporary of the war. Jayaswal,[5] Abinas Chandra Das,[6] A.D. Pusalkar[7] and other Indian writers favour similar early dates, all working on the same chronological statement of the Purāṇas with the difference that Pusalkar lowers the date by 100 years i.e., makes it 1400 B.C. in view of the discrepant figures given above in the statement.

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[1] *vide* AIHT. p. 283.

[2] *vide* AIHT. p. 179-183.

[3] 12.2.26.

[4] *vide* AIHT. pp. 179-80.

[5] *vide* AIHT. fn. 3. on p. 182.

[6] *vide* AIHT. fn. 2 on p. 183.

[7] Pusalkar, VA p. 273.

Yet the early date of the war is not acceptable on the following grounds : Firstly, the figures mentioned in the statement of other Purāṇas are discrepant. Secondly, the figure 1115 of the Bhāgavata is contradicted by its own evidences. Śrīdhara[1] points to the uncertainty of this figure by considering the time that elapsed between Parīkṣit II and Nanda. In the records of the future dynasties given by the Bhāgavata, 20 kings of Magadha from Mārjāri, the contemporary of Parīkṣit II, to Ripuñjaya are said to have reigned for 1000 years. The Magadha dynasty was replaced by the 5 Pradyota kings who are said to have ruled for 138 years. Then, before Nanda was coronated, the 10 Śiśunāga kings who supplanted the Pradyotas are said to have ruled for 360 years. Thus the total difference of years between Parīkṣit II and Nanda comes to 1498 years. So, according to Śrīdhara, the figure 1115 is uncertain and secondary. Lastly, the foregoing durations of the Magadha, Pradyota and Śiśunāga dynasties are impossible, because they give an average reign per king of 50, 28 and 36 years respectively. These do not prove real historical averages when tested in the light of ancient Indian as well as foreign dynasties.[2] So, according to Pargiter, the Indian scholars who probed into the question did not check their figures of the unique statement by comparison with reliable data from the ancient dynasties elsewhere ; and therefore, their calculations present results contrary to general experience.[3]

Date of Kṛṣṇa :

First it is desirable to enquire into the historicity of Kṛṣṇa who was the man behind the war. According to S. Bhattacharya,[4] "the question—Was Kṛṣṇa a historical fact at all ?—has raged in the mind of modern scholars. Barth, Hopkins, and Keith who early probed into the question gave their verdict in the negative. But later research has challenged their verdict. Hill, Ray Chowdhury and others have, on the weighty evidences of the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad, Ghaṭa-jātaka ond Uttarādhyayana-sūtra, recognised Kṛṣṇa as a historical reality, who had flourished not later than 900 B.C., perhaps a little earlier. It is now more or less accepted that in the Vṛṣṇi branch of the Sātvata family, Kṛṣṇa, the son of Devakī, was born ; that he had acquired *Brahma-vidyā* (the teachings of the Upaniṣads) from Ghora Āṅgirasa ; and that he had played a vital role in the great Mahābhārata war, to mention a few of the cardinal points of Kṛṣṇa's biography." Thus Kṛṣṇa's historicity and date being fixed as earlier than 900 B.C.,[1] and having known about his role in the war with the date of which we are mainly concerned here, it now seems, *pro tem*, definite that the Great War occured in 950 B.C. as shown by Pargiter and not earlier as envisaged by some Indian scholars like Jayaswal etc.

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[1] Śrīdhara on 12.2.26.

[2] *vide* AIHT. pp. 180, 183.

[3] *vide* ref. no. 5, *ante* p. 174.

[4] PSB pp. 54-55.

Date of Manu and the Great Flood :

Now working backwards from 950 B.C. we can estimate the date of the starting point of traditional history easily, assuming a certain average regnal period per generation up to Manu. The average regnal period accepted above in the case of post-war kings was 18 years. But for eras preceding the war, it would be prudent to take smaller average because the tradition extends to 95 generations; and, is marked with uncertainty and peculiarity. So, Pargiter[2] considers 12 years as the sounder estimte while others[3] stick to the same average of 18 years. Although we would be erring on the side of caution if we assume 18 years as the average regnal period which seems abnormally high, the probable date of Manu, according to this average comes to (95×18+950=) 2660 B.C. According to the sounder estimate, the date of Manu can be placed in (95×12+950=) 2090 B.C.—a reasonable general approximation. And, this date (or the above also) stands for both Manu and the Great Flood from which he survived to become the progenitor of the human race of the post-flood eras.

The Periods of History :

Thus both the starting and the closing points of tradition being fixed, we can divide the whole duration into certain periods of history (yugas). According to the Bhāgavata scheme, the traditional history extends up to first 28 four yugas[4] of the present kalpa which is made up of 1000 such four yugas. The Bhāgavata conception of the yugas etc.[5] belongs to the domain of mythology and does not pertain to history, as we know it. We may, to serve our purpose therefore, accept one unit of the four yugas to constitute the span of tradition. But, again, as one unit of four yugas extends to fabulous number of divine years, their duration shall have to be reduced in the light of our present knowledge about the four yugas.

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[1] It is said (DKA intr. p. x. note 2.) that Kṛṣṇa departed 20 years after the Great War; and thus his date comes to 930 B.C.

[2] vide AIHT. p. 183.

[3] Pusalkar, VA pp. 273-74.

[4] 9.3.33ab.

[5] vide *ante* pp. 45-46, 67.

In the light provided by S. Bhaṭṭācārya, the Paurāṇic conception of the four yugas viz, *Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara* and *Kali* may be taken as the periods of history coinciding with the development of the Vedic literature. Accordingly, the first period of history, called *Kṛta* was, for all practical purposes, the golden age of the Ṛg-Veda. This age of the Ṛg-Veda was gradually replaced by hieratical ritualism, prescribed by a separate set of literature—the Brāhmaṇas. During this second epoch the authenticity of the three Vedas—Yajus and Sāman, besides the Ṛc, was at its zenith. And the period marked by the supremacy of the three Vedas was naturally designased as *Tretā*—the period of the three fires and the three Vedas.[1] But the exclusive character of Vedic ritualism could not survive for long ; and dry materialism came to terms with the demands of man's emotional nature. The non-Aryan wealth of ideas that now voiced the feeling and thinking of the bulk of the Indian people, was too strong and insistent to be discarded. So the Atharva-Veda, which abounded in contents of a different character and which was therefore refused admission to the "holy trinity" (*trayī*) mentioned above, was duly recognised as the fourth Veda. At the same time the large body of new Scriptures (*āgama*) called Tantras also claimed equal authenticity with the traditional Scriptures (*nigama*). So besides the Atharva-Veda, the Tantras (so called, because they regulated the conduct of the common mass) or Āgamas (innovations) as distinguished from Nigamas (already existent Vedas) were also duly recognised as equally authentic and a new era was ushered in, as a consequence, to mark a compromise of both. This period was accordingly designated as *Dvā-para*, paying equal respect and validity to the Vedas (*Nigama*) as well as the Tantras (*Āgama*).[2] Lastly, *Kali* started after the Great War when Kṛṣṇa departed leaving his teachings in the Gītā, the epitome of the Upaniṣads, behind.[3] "As the ideal of unity amidst strifes—personal, social and racial—*Kṛṣṇa* was the universal ground of solace and so the Bhāgavata suggests that hard iron age (*Kali*) began on the day Kṛṣṇa departed from this world."[4]

Division of Tradition into Three Ages :

Now, in the light provided by the thoughts above, we can distribute traditional history beginning from 2090 B.C. and ending upon 950 B.C. into three yugas (ages) viz, kṛta, tretā and dvāpara.[5] Taking the numbers from the dynastic lists, the division is approximately thus : the kṛta-yuga (the golden age) nos. 1-40, the tretā-yuga (the silver age) nos. 41-65, and the dvāpara-yuga (the copper age) nos. 66-95. This division of the span of traditional history accords with what tradition itself says about the transition from one age to another. For example, we may take one most important dynasty each from the solar and the lunar races. In the solar race Ayodhyā was so and in it Sagara (no. 41) and Rāma (no. 65) appeared at the close of the first two ages viz, the golden age and the silver age rspectively. In the lunar race the Yādavas were most prominent and among them Kṛṣṇa (no. 94) appeared at the close of the copper age.[1] Thus our division agrees with what the traditional accounts reveal about the time of the emergance of these personalities. Besides, there are events also which support this division.[2] Before the advent of Sagara, N. India was torn to pieces by the Haihaya conquests and raids of the hordes who came from the NW. frontier. Sagara destroyed the Haihaya power, subdued the hordes and established an empire ushering peace and prosperity. Thus the golden age ended with the destruction of the Haihayas and the rise of the Ayodhyā empire. At the close of the next period of history, Rāma brings S. India into picture and his departure coincides with the decline of Ayodhyā. Lastly, at the close of the copper age occurs that bloody battle which brought about all-round deterioration and Kṛṣṇa departed soon afterwards. In this way the division is fully supported both by personalities and events as described by tradition itself.

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[1] The Bhāgavata confirms this view, see—9.14.48-49.

[2] PSB. vol. I., pp. 57,61,62, 63 ; PSB. vol. II., p. 19.

[3] 1.15.36 ; 1.18.6 ; 12.2.30, 33.

[4] PSB pp. 67-68

[5] Similar divisions of traditional history into three ages are indicated by—VA p. 316 ; AIHT. p. 117.

The Great War, followed by the departure of Kṛṣṇa, is the central landmark in Indian traditional history. The dynasties that came afterwards, i.e., the dynasties of the iron age (kali-yuga) are described separately in the prophetic shape ; and they shall be noticed distinctly in the ninth chapter dealing with post-war historical tradition. But here we are concerned only with the division of the post-flood tradition into the above three ages at the close of which flourished three great personalities. The dates of these personalities, then, should naturally correspond to the lowest limit of the age. So, calculating on the same average regnal period which we accepted to fix the date of Manu, it may be said that Sagara flourished in (2090—40×12=) 1610 B.C. ; and the golden age (kṛta-yuga) may be said to extend from 2090 B.C. down to 1610 B.C., i.e., it lasted for the full time of 480 years. According to the same scale, Rāma, who flourished 25 generations after Sagara, would be then placed in (1610—25×12=) 1310 B.C. And, thus the silver age (tretā-yuga) may be said to extend from 1610 B.C. down to 1310 B.C., i.e., it lasted for the period of 300 years. Lastly, Kṛṣṇa, who appeared 30 generations after Rāma, can be rightly placed in (1310—30×12=) 950 B.C. And, thus the copper age (dvāpara-yuga) shall extend between 1310 B.C. down to 950 B.C., i.e., it lasted for the period of 360 years. In this way the whole span of tradition, which is said to go back to a fabulous number of divine years, may be conceived of 1140 human years. The post-flood traditional history is presented under this chronological prespective in the following chapter.

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[1] That Rāma and Kṛṣṇa flourished at the end of the tretā and dvāpara are well-known facts unanimously declared by Tradition.

[2] As for the references from the Bhāgavata, they will be found in the next Chapter.

[VII] THE POST-FLOOD TRADITIONAL HISTORY (CRITICAL)

INTRODUCTION

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[VII] THE POST-FLOOD TRADITIONAL HISTORY (CRITICAL)

INTRODUCTION

"Cultural history of a nation is comprised of sustained chronicle of its tradition. A particular stage of human history is marked by certain achievements, besides the hopes and aspirations which it had sought to realise. Such hopes and aspirations receding to the past imbue the achievements with a halo. As a result, emerges heritage that guides the present with the promise to build up a better future. The chain of achievements and aspirations constitute tradition. Tradition therefore is woven with fact and fiction ; and, as human history goes back to a many millennium, the freeplay of tradition even in the earliest records of a nation is only what can legitimately be expected."[1]

The sustained chronicles of India's tradition are found nowhere excepting in the Purāṇas, although the Ṛg-Veda,[2] the other Vedas and the Brāhmaṇas as well as the Buddhist and the Jain literature[3] contain references to bygone days. They allude to contemporary persons and occurrences. Besides their central theme, the Epics and the Hari-vaṁśa contain some dynastic lists.[4] But the thirteen Purāṇas deal completely and consistently with the traditional history.[5] The Aryans established themselves and expanded on the Indian soil. As discoverers and conquerors, they founded kingdoms and cities. Tradition grew about their doings and exploits. Intimately connected with the Aryan kings were the recluses and hermits who spread their religious practices and doctrines not only in the area conquered but also in the places beyond the Aryan sway. And, tradition grew about their deeds and doctrines. Actuated by the desire to cherish the memory of their ancestors, the kings were naturally inclined to keep the pedigrees and accounts of their forefathers. The hermits, patronised by the kings for the purpose, composed hymns, ballads and eulogies about them ; and these literary compositions of traditional accounts were sung during the tenure of Vedic sacrifices to the performance of which the kings were given. The gods received offerings in the sacrifices conducted by the hermits, and so first the chronicle of their continuance (*vaṁśa*) had to be recognised. Then, the kings and their unbroken continuity, so necessary for the continuity of sacrifice itself, found recognition as well (*vaṁśā'nucarita*). Thus the genealogy of gods and hermits (*vaṁśa*) and history of dynasties (*vaṁśā'nucarita*) came into esxistence.[1]

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[1] PSB. intr., p. 1.

[2] RV 1. 112, 116 ; 10.39.

[3] vide AIHT p. 14.

[4] vide VA p. 272.

[5] vide AIHT. pp. 77-82.

Genealogies (*vaṁśa* and *vaṁśā'nucarita*) emerged as heritage and were preserved by a special class of people called the Sūtas. It was their duty[2] to preserve the genealogy of gods, kings, hermits and celebrated men in the form of ballads (*gāthā*) and tales (*ākhyāna*). These original bards (Paurāṇic *sūta* and *māgadha*) of remote antiquity were different from their later counterparts, the offspring of the mixed castes (*pratilomaja sūta, māgadha* etc.) noted in the Smṛtis.[3] All along the time these bards preserved, enlarged and handed down the genealogies and accounts to posterity. Thus traditional history grew, accumulated and was handed down by word of mouth till it was incorporated in the Purāṇas after the Great War.

The historical value of genealogy cannot be exaggerated. Its credibility becomes self-evident when we come to know how the Ailas (Aryans) extended and established over the very regions on which the Aryans are so described. The genealogical account of the Ailas given by the Purāṇas is tacit and unintentional. Yet it closely agrees with our present knowledge about the Aryan expansion. As such it is certainly credible. The accounts of N. Pañcala dynasty is corroborated by the Ṛg-Veda,[4] although the Vedic literature need not be taken as a sure guide on historical matters[5] excepting when it takes notice of some contemporary event or person.[6] It is legitimate, then, to take the testimony of the Purāṇas as valid in the historical matters on which the Ṛg-Veda is silent.[7]

SOLAR RACE

Manu's Sons And Their Realms : The Gītā[8] confirms the family succession of Vivasvān, Śrāddhadeva-Manu, Ikṣvāku and their lineal desendants and at the same time points to the long time (the three periods of history) that elapsed between Vivasvān and Kṛṣṇa.[9] As we have seen in the enumeration that among the ten sons of Manu, five had no place in political history. Among the remaining five, again, two are of little importance. Between these two, one was Karūṣa from whom descended the valiant Kārūṣas who are said to be the rulers of Uttarā-patha.[1] It seems that the Kārūṣas protected the northern India from the attacks of the southerners ; and that they occupied the Karūṣa country—a realm round modern Rewa eastward to the river Śoṇa above the Mekala hills.[2] It will appear that the Karūṣa realm was soon annexed by Yayāti in his kingdom ; and was inherited by his son Turvasu. The next son of Manu of little importance was Nabhaga whose grandson Ambarīṣa Nābhāgi is styled as a paramount monarch[3], although his realm is uncertain. Probably the Nabhaga line ruled over the realm watered by the river Sarasvatī[4] where Ambarīṣa is said to have performed many horse-sacrifices. But this line also seems to have disappeared under the conquests of the early Aila kings as there is no further account of it. The episode[5] showing Ambarīṣa's triumph over Durvāsas is meant to teach the doctrine of tranquil devotion to God.

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[1] vide PSB. intr., p. iv.

[2] vide Vāyu-Purāṇa—1.31-32 ; vide also Padma-Purāṇa—5.1.27-28.

[3] MS 10.11-17.

[4] AIHT. p. 120, fn. 1.

[5] ibid., p. 11.

[6] ibid., p. 14.

[7] VA. p. 272.

[8] Gītā—4.1-2.

[9] Gītā—4.4.

Ānarta : Śaryāti, the important son of Manu, founded a separate dynasty in the Ānarta (Gujarat) region with Kuśasthalī, the ancient name of Dvārakā, as his capital.[6] The Śāryātas were thus the earliest Aryans who came in contact with western India. But the Śāryāta dynasty was short-lived as his near descendants were destroyed by the aboriginals (Puṇya-janas or Yakṣas).[7] The remnants of the Śāryātas appear to have fled away inland and perhaps found a group among the Tālajaṅghas for some time ; and then they might have become a hilly tribe when Sagara destroyed the Tālajaṅhas.[8] Kakudmī, the great grandson of Śaryāti and the last known Śāryāta king of Ānarta, is said to have married his daughter to Balarāma, the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa, on the advice of Brahmā.[9] None else than Brahmā can solve the puzzle how a man appearing early in the golden age can marry his daughter to a personality existing at the close of the copper age ! Or, as the Bhāgavata itself puts it, that there was the difference of 27 four yugas between the two.[10]

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[1] 9.2.16.

[2] AIHT. p. 253 ; read with its Map of Ancient India.

[3] 9.4.15.

[4] 9.4.22 ; Pargiter (AIHT. p. 255) thinks that Ambarīṣa ruled over the bank of Yamunā.

[5] 9.4.29-71 ; 9.5.1-22.

[6] 9.3.27-28.

[7] 9.3.29ab, 36ab.

[8] vide AIHT. pp. 98, 265.

[9] 9.3.36cd ; 10.52.15.

[10] 9.3.33ab.

Vaiśālī: Diṣṭa (Nābhānediṣṭha), the important son of Manu,[1] founded the dynasty of the Vaiśāla kings at the realm whose capital was Vaiśālī.[2] His descendant Vastaprīti (or Vatsaprī—no. 8) is credited with a Sūkta in the Ṛg-Veda ;[3] and this means that he might have become a Brāhmaṇa.[4] Three notable kings appear at the close of the golden age in this dynasty. Karandhama (no. 38), the first of them, was beseiged by a confederacy of kings but he defeated them[5] ; and perhaps for this reason earned the title, Mahārāja.[6] His son Avīkṣit and especially the grandson Marutta, who was a paramount monarch,[7] deserve credit for ending the Haihaya aggressions on the borders of the Vaiśālī kingdom and eastward.[8] Tṛṇabindu (no. 52) and his son Viśāla (no. 54) are another notable pair of kings. Viśravas (no. 53), who appears in the dynastic list between the two, was the son-in-law of Tṛṇabindu.[9] The appearance of this hermit son-in-law in the list might mean that Tṛṇabindu died early when Viśāla was a minor ; and so he looked after the political affairs till the heir-apparent attained maturity. Another notable king was Somadatta (no. 62) who performed many horse-sacrifices.[10] The last king of the dynasty was Sumati (or Pramati—no. 64) who was a contemporary of the Ayodhyā king Daśaratha.[11] Thus the dynasty of the Vaiśāla kings passed into oblivion at the close of the silver age. The kingdom of Vaiśālī comprised the territory lying between the rivers Gaṇḍakī, Gaṅgā and Kauśikī below the Videha kingdom ; and capital city Vaiśālī is identified with Basārh in Muzaffarpur district.[12]

Videha: This dynasty was founded by Nimi, the second son of Ikṣvāku, with Mithilā as its capital.[13] There is no account of this dynasty which extends in the full span of traditional history. The dynastic list confirms that the direct descendants of Janaka, the son of Nimi, continued to rule in Videha uninterruptedly throughout the three periods of history down to the Great War. One king (no. 64) of fixed position appears at the close of the silver age ; and another (no. 94), at the close of the copper age. And this leaves no doubt about what the dynastic list seems to say. The only account which is available concerns the daughter and the brother of the first notable king of the fixed position viz, Sīradhvaja. It is said that his daughter Sītā was found in a furrow (*sītā*).[1] But it is merely an etymological explanation of a natural feminine name. Women bore the names of rivers in India from the ancient times[2] down today. The river Sītā is mentioned by the Bhāgavata[3] as one of the tributaries of the mythical river Bhagavat-padī which came down on the top of the mountain, Meru. Thus the doubt about the name of his daughter is cleared, and the same about his relation with Kuśadhvaja is removed while examining the dynastic list. Kuśadhvaja was not his son, as the Bhāgavata says,[4] but brother and he was the king of Sāṅkāśya as the Purāṇas generally say and also the Rāmāyaṇa.[5] This assertion becomes certain when we come to know that Sīradhvaja killed the king of Sāṅkāśya, the petty kingdom on the river Ikṣumatī, and installed Kuśadhvaja there.[6] The sub-line of Kuśadhvaja[7] ruled there down to his two great grandsons, Keśidhvaja and Khāṇḍikya. But there was rivalry between these two cousin brothers and so Khāṇḍikya, afraid of Keśidhvaja, ran away from the kingdom.[8] The successors of Keśidhvaja, then, might have ruled there for some time more, although no account is given further. The last king of fixed position of this dynasty was Kṛti (or Kṛtakṣaṇa—no. 94), the contempory of the Pāṇḍavas.[9] The statement of the Bhāgavata[10] that all the Maithila kings were skilled in the knowledge of the soul finds support in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa[11] also.

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[1] 9.2.23a.

[2] 9.2.33ab.

[3] RV 9.68.

[4] vide AIHT. p. 97, fn. 5,7.

[5] vide AIHT p. 268.

[6] 9.2.25cd.

[7] 9.2.26ab.

[8] cf. AIHT. p. 268.

[9] 9.2. 31-32ab.

[10] 9.2.35.

[11] Rāmāyaṇa—1.47.17, 20 ; vide AIHT. p. 97.

[12] VA p. 276.

[13] 9.13.11-13.

Ayodhyā : Ikṣvāku, the most important son of Manu, founded the dynasty of the Ikṣvāku kings in this realm with capital at Ayodhyā. The lineage, which sprang from his son Vikukṣi-Śaśāda and ruled at Ayodhyā, was the main line of the solar race. It is said that Ikṣvāku's other sons were the rulers of Āryāvarta ;[12] and this means that they and their descendants spread in the territory lying between the Himālayas and the Vindhya mountains.[13]

In the Śaśāda lineage that continued to rule permanently at Ayodhyā, Śābasta (no. 10) is first notable king for his founding the city, Śābastī[14] or Śrāvastī which is identified with modern Sahet or Mahet in Gonda district.[1] The killing of Dhundhu demon by Kuvalayāśva-ka (or Kuvalāśva—no. 12) for the pleasure of the hermit, Utaṅka[2] is a noteworthy event from various standpoints. Firstly, the hermitage of Utaṅka was near the shallow sea called Ujjālaka in the now desert of Rajaputana.[3] The Bhāgavata[4] refers to the existence of the shallow sea in the desert when it says that-Maru (desert-land) and Dhanva (shallow water region) fall between Dvārakā and Indraprastha.[5] Secondly, the existence of the desert and the shallow sea in its southern part explains the fact (as it stands today) why the southern part of the Indus region (i.e., Sind where chalcolithic sites viz, Mohenjo-daro etc. are found[6]) appears to have lain outside all early Aryan settlements. If the sea did extend then over the southern part of the desert, it may have formed the limit of the Aryan advance towards further west.[7] Thirdly, Kuvalayāśva's raid suggests, that Dhundhu, the chief of the aboriginal tribes, was living on the shore of Dhanva, the shallow sand-filled sea, where the king went with his army to subdue them and thus spread the Aryan culture there. Lastly, it is said that large number of Kuvalayāśva's sons (i.e., army) were destroyed by the fire that came out from Dhundhu's mouth.[8] A reference to a natural phenomenon may be inferred from this fire. It is conjectured[9] that there was a small volcanic pit near the western sea-coast causing occasional earthquakes and emitting smoke, ashes and fire. So, it seems that the army of the king was destroyed by the volcanic eruptions on the border of Maru and Dhanva.

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[1] 9.13.18.

[2] MS 3.9.

[3] 5.17.6.

[4] 9.13.19.

[5] vide AIHT. p. 95.

[6] vide AIHT p. 275, fn. 6.

[7] 9.13.19-20ab.

[8] 9.13.20cd-21ab ; cf. AIHT p. 95 ; vide also VP—6.6.7f.

[9] vide AIHT. p. 330.

[10] 9.13.27.

[11] VP 6.6.7, 9.

[12] 9.6.4cd-5.

[13] The territory between these two mountains and the sea-coasts was called Āryāvarta (MS. 2.22).

[14] 9.6.21ab.

Ayodhyā rose to great prominence under its first paramount monarch, Māndhātṛ (no. 21). He extended his empire[10] over the neighbouring Paurava and Kānyakubja kingdoms, conquered the Druhyus and the Ānavas in the north-west and the Haihayas in the Deccan (Dakṣinā-patha). He naturally spared the Yādavas because their king Śaśabindu married his daughter to him.[11] The extension of empire consequent upon his conquests,[12] his performances of many great sacrifices[13] and authorship of a hymn[14]—are all confirmed by the Ṛg-Veda.[1] It is said that enemies like Rāvaṇa etc. were afraid of Māndhātṛ.[2] This Rāvaṇa need not be taken as the Rāvaṇa who, being the rival of Rāma (no. 65), flourished 44 generations later. But the Rāvaṇa referred to here may be taken as a king of aborigines from the Deccan, who had been in conflict with Anaraṇya[3] (no. 25), the nearest descendant of Māndhātṛ. The existence of different persons of the same name at different times is quite understandable ; and for this ample examples have already been cited.[4] Among Māndhātṛ's three sons, Ambarīṣa or his descendants became Brāhmaṇa.[5] The story[6] about his another son Mucukunda, which places him before Kṛṣṇa, presents a case of anachronism. Puruktsa (no. 22), the eldest son, naturally succeeded Māndhātṛ ; and became a famous king by continuing the campaigns started by his father in course of building the Ayodhyā empire. The story[7] about his marriage with Narmadā and killing of the Gandharvas in Rasātala for the sake of the brothers of his wife, suggests that he carried his arms south to the river Narmadā and extended Aryan culture among the primitive tribes living in Dakṣiṇā-patha.[8] This inference is corroborated by the fact that Mukucunda, his brother, had built and fortified a town on the river Narmadā.[9]

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[1] VA p. 320.

[2] 9.6.22-23.

[3] vide AIHT. p. 260.

[4] 1.10.35a.

[5] Śridhara on 1.10.35 defines Maru and Dhanva realms as follows— मरुर्निरुदको देशः धन्वोऽल्पोदकः । Further, it may be noted that Sarasvatī flowed into the desert Maru (cf. 9.4.22).

[6] Map of Ancient India, VA. p.553.

[7] vide AIHT. p. 61.

[8] 9.6.23 bcd.

[9] VA p. 279 where the view of Dr Law is cited.

[10] 9.6.37.

[11] 9.6.38.

[12] ṚV 1.112.13.

[13] ṚV 8.39.8.

[14] ṚV 10.134.

The Ayodhyā empire, built by Māndhātṛ and consolidated by Purukutsa, appears to have declined for a few generations as no famous king comes in view till Satyavrata-Triśaṅku (no. 32). The fiction[10] about Triśaṅku's uplift to heaven by Viśvāmitra means that the latter installed the former on the throne from which he was deprived by the father. It is known from other Purāṇas that Triśaṅku, previously known as Satyavrata, was expelled from the kingdom by his father. While in exile for twelve years, he happened to support the starving family of Viśvāmitra who had relinquished his kingdom of Kānyakubja and had gone for *tapas*. When Viśvāmitra returned, he succoured the prince in exile in view of the support the prince had given to his family. So overcoming the opposition of the then Vasiṣṭha, he installed Triśaṅku on the throne of Ayodhyā.[11] Viśvāmitra thus came to be the priest of Triśaṅku depriving Vasiṣṭha of the office, and continued to be so when his son Hariścandra (no. 33) came on the throne. Vasiṣṭha, for this reason, bore deadly enmity against Viśvāmitra and sought revenge by denying him Brahmanahood.[1] This is alluded to by the Bhāgavata[2] when it says that there was persistent state of private enmity between the two hermits on the issue of the Rāja-sūya performed by Hariścandra and conducted by Viśvāmitra. The performance of the Rāja-sūya sacrifice by Hariścandra shows the sway of Ayodhyā empire over the surrounding kingdoms and confirms that the empire was widespreading. Hariścandra's son Rohita (no. 34) is said to have built Rohitapura which is identified with the modern Rohtas in the Sahabad district.[3] The Bhāgavata is silent on the construction of Rohitapura ; instead it says that Campa, his grandson, built Campāpurī.[4] But it will appear in the Aṅga dynasty of the eastern Ānavas, that Campa belonged to it ; and there he had given his name to the existing capital of the Aṅga kingdom.

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[1] vide AIHT. p.p. 261-62 ; vide alsoVA p. 281.

[2] 9.6.33.

[3] vide AIHT. p. 263.

[4] vide Chapter VI pp.169-173

[5] 9.7.1-2ab.

[6] 10.51.14-23.

[7] 9.7.2cd-3.

[8] The territory between the Rewā (Narmadā) and Payoṣṇī (Tāptī) was called Dakṣiṇā-patha in the Vedic period, Map of Ancient India, VA p. 553.

[9] Harivaṁśa—95. 5218 f. ; vide AIHT. p. 262 ; vide also VA. p. 282.

[10] 9.7.5cd-7ab.

[11] vide AIHT. pp. 151, 205 ; also VA p. 290.

Ayodhyā empire seems to be considerably weakened after Rohita, due to the attacks of the Tālajaṅghas. This becomes evident when we find Bāhuka (or Bāhu or Asita—no. 39) fleeing away in the forest with his queens and taking refuge in the hermitage of Aurva-Bhārgava.[5] Bāhuka died there leaving behind the heir-apparent, Sagara (no. 41). The Haihaya-Tālajaṅghas including the hordes from the north-west had devastated north India by their wild raids and seem to be in possession of Ayodhyā when Sagara was attaining maturity in the hermitage. The celebrated son of Bāhuka restored the lost kingdom by destroying the raiders and plunderers under the guidance of his spiritual father, Aurva.[6] To destroy the Haihaya power flourishing in Dakṣiṇā-patha, Sagara had to pass through central India and it was natural that in his expedition the intervening kingdoms were subdued. He reached Māhiṣmatī ; and not only destroyed the Haihayas in their own territory so that their prosperous reign came to its end but wiped off their memory from the Narmadā region also so that no Haihaya king is heard of after Sagara's time.[7] Sagara, having subjected all contemporary kingdoms, declared his paramountcy on the whole of N. India.[8] The relations between the Ikṣvāku kings and the Yādava kings seem cordial from the beginning. As we have noted above, Māndhātṛ, the first paramount monarch of Ayodhyā, has spared the Yādavas whose king married his daughter to him; similarly, Sagara, the next paramount monarch, spared them because Vidarbha, the then king of the Yādavas in the new kingdom of Vidarbha adjacent to south of Dakṣinā-patha, married his daughter Keśinī to him.[1]

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[1] vide AIHT. 205-6.

[2] 9.7.7cdef.

[3] vide VA p. 290, fn. 25.

[4] 9.8.1abc.

[5] 9.8.2bcd.

[6] 9.8.5cd-7ab.

[7] cf. AIHT. pp. 153,155, 270.

[8] 9.8.4d-5a.

Sagara stands as a pointer of transition in traditional history from the golden age to the silver age. Two myths are noticeable at this turning point. The first myth[2] about the death of Sagara's 60000 sons while in search of the sacrificial animal (including a reference to their digging of the earth for the purpose)[3] has something to say about digging of the canals, especially when the next connected myth is also taken into consideration. The next myth[4] describes that Sagara's grandson, great grandson and the great great grandson successively underwent *tapas* to bring down the Gaṅga on the earth for the emancipation of Sagara's sons. Both the myths may plausibly have some reference to the canals dug from the Gaṅgā. The mission would have been started by Sagara who employed 60000 persons for the purpose. *Tapas* of his descendants may be understood as the carry-on of the mission. Aṁśumān, his grandson, and Dilīpa, his great grandson, both continued the mission; and finally Bhagīratha, his great great grandson, was able to bring it to successful conclusion. The enterprise of digging the canals was thus completed three or four generations after Sagara at the time of Bhagīratha (no. 45) who then became a famous king. He inaugurated the canals which then watered the plains of the Ayodhyā realm. The Gaṅgā, which was originally called the Alakanandā;[5] and which later on came to be called as the Jāhnavī,[6] now came to be known as the Bhāgīrathī, because Bhagīratha ruled over the territory which was watered by the canals dug from it. Thus the name Bhāgīrathī was a device to commemorate the tremendous efforts that culminated in the time of Bhagīratha in the form of canals that must have proved beneficial to agriculture and navigation.

With Sagara, ends the first period of history. In the succeeding era the first famous king was Ambarīṣa Nābhāgi (no. 48) whom the Bhāgavata does not mention. The next famous king Saudāsa (no. 54) is said to have been in conflict with his priest Vasiṣṭha.[1] After him there seems rivalry for power and two lines appear to have reigned in Ayodhyā for some five generations. This disturbed state of Ayodhyā is suggested by the mode in which Mūlaka (no. 56), the grandson of Saudāsa, is said to have been protected. The appellation Nārīkavaca given to Mūlaka discloses that he was protected by women,[2] and also that he was brought up in secret for fear of enemies or the rivals of the throne. In case it was the fear of enemies, they may be the Bhāratas of S. or N. Pañcāla who were powerful at this time.[3] On the other hand, it may be mutual rivalry for the throne among the Ikṣvāku princes. But, in both the cases Mūlaka seems to have fled away in the forest for safety where he lived secretly.[4]

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[1] 9.8.15. Here Keśinī is referred to as the wife of Sagara and it is informed (AIHT. p. 156, fn. 2) that she was Vidarbha's daughter.

[2] 9.8.8cd-12, 30.

[3] 9.8.5b, 9.

[4] 9.8.29cd ; 9.9.1-12.

[5] 5.17.9.

[6] Śrīdhara on 5.17.1 comments :—जाह्नवीभागीरथीत्याद्युपलक्षणान्तररहितं····तस्मिन् समये भगवत्पदी नाम पश्चात् नामान्तराणि जातानि । Gaṅgā received the name Jāhnavī when Jahnu, the king of Kānyakubja, ruled over its bank, as will appear (cf. Gītā 10.31d).

The disturbed state or rivalry ended with the rise of Khaṭvāṅga (or Dilīpa II—no. 60) as the paramount monarch.[5] His killing of demons as an invincible fighter[6] may be taken as the subdual of those enemies who had challenged the supremacy of Ayodhyā a few generations before him. It is in consonance with this supremacy which was reestablished by Khaṭvāṅga that his grandson Raghu (no. 62) and his grandson Daśaratha (no. 64) appear as the famous king of Ayodhyā. It is said that due to Raghu the Ikṣvāku line came to be called as the Raghu or the Rāghava line.[7] And, from the time of Daśaratha the kingdom acquired the new name viz, Kośala because Rāma, his son, is described as the king of Kośala.[8]

Kośala King, Rāma : The account of Rāma (no. 65) is particularly important as it brings S. India definitely into view for the first time. The banishment of Rāma to spend fourteen years in the Daṇḍaka forest gave him a chance to reach south where he came in conflict with the Rākṣasas who had their colony in Janasthāna, the area in the lower Godāvarī valley. The colony had intercourse with their flourishing kingdom in Ceylon whose king was Rāvaṇa. Rāma espoused the cause of the sages (*ṛṣi*) and assetics (*muni*); and avenged on the Rākṣasas of their ill-treatment. Rāvaṇa carried Sītā, his wife, to Laṅkā, the capital of Ceylon. The abduction of Sītā made Rāma to proceed further south in her quest. He came to the lake Pampā at the mountain, Ṛṣyamūka where he made friendship with Sugrīva, the king of Kiṣkindhā, who was expelled by his brother Vālin. Rāma killed Vālin and re-instated Sugrīva on the throne. Then with the aid of the Vānara army, headed by Sugrīva and his chiefs, Rāma invaded Laṅkā, defeated the Rākṣasas, killed Rāvaṇa and recovered Sītā. He placed Vibhīṣaṇa on the throne of Laṅkā and returned to Ayodhyā triumphantly where he was coronated ceremoniously as the king of Kośala.[1] The only civilised communities in S. India at that time, as mentioned above, were in Janasthāna and Kiṣkindhā where the Rākṣasa and Vānara tribes lived respectively. They were a Dravidian race and were perhaps akin to one another. No other kingdoms such as Pāṇḍya, Cola and Kerala are alluded to, although Rāma must have passed through them while invading Laṅkā. Hence it may be said that these kingdoms did not come into existence by then. The account of Rāma, divested of its miraculous elements, clearly indicates that he spread the Aryan wealth of ideas and thoughts far and wide especially in S. India.[2] With the long and adventurous journey of Rāma through the unbeaten tracts, impenetrable forests, hills and rivers, the religion and culture of N. India penetrated in South down to Ceylon. After his mission was completed during the course of his virtually self-imposed exile, he reigned for many years with capital at Ayodhyā. The subjects were so happy during his reign that Rāmarājya (Rāma's rule) became proverbial for the golden age, although he reigned at the close of the silver age.[3] "Rāma, a Līlā'vatāra (Saviour Descent), behaved like an ordinary mortal just to win our confidence and thereby to instill into us the ideals of life. That is why Rāma appears to have been mad with the grief for Sītā only to awaken us to the troubles that worldly attachments mean. Otherwise, a *Līlā'vatāra* cannot be swept away by the trifles of weal and woe."[4]

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[1] 9.9.19-38ab ; For the story of conflict see chapter VI p.170.

[2] 9.9.40 ; For the explanation of appellation see chapter VI p. 170.

[3] vide VA p. 293.

[4] vide AIHT p. 278.

[5] 9.9.41d.

[6] 9.9.42ab.

[7] vide AIHT p. 140.

[8] 9.10.4.

Kuśa Line : Rāma was the last paramount monarch of Ayodhyā. After his departure the kingdom and the capital lost its glory and splendour. Hereafter the Ayodhyā dynasty sank into insignificance so far as its traditional history of the copper age is concerned that starts with the accession of Rama's elder son Kuśa (no. 67) on the throne of Ayodhyā. The dynastic list[5] mentions 27 direct descendants of Kuśa without any political account ; and it seems that they[1] might have ruled without any prominence throughout the final era down to the Great War. Kuśa had succeeded his father Rāma in Ayodhyā while his younger brother Lava got the northern portion of Kośala with Śrāvastī as its capital. But there is no account of Lava's Kośala kingdom.

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[1] ibid.

[2] vide AIHT. pp. 276-78; vide also VA pp. 294-95.

[3] 9.10.50cd-54ab.

[4] 9.11.17-18ab; 5.19.5; For phraseology vide PSB. pp. 185-86.

[5] 9.12.1-8abc.

Rāma's Brothers And Their Kingdoms :[2] The younger brothers of Rāma ruled in different provinces. Bharata's mother was a Kaikeya princess and he obtained the kingdom there. His two sons Takṣa and Puṣkala (Puṣkara) conquered Gāndhāra ; and reigned there, founding the capital in their names viz, Takṣaśilā (near modern Rawalpindi) and Puṣkarāvatī (near modern Peshawar) respectively.[3] Lakṣamaṇa was perhaps assigned a territory near the Himālayas where his two sons viz, Aṅgada and Citraketu (Candraketu) reigned with capitals at Aṅgadīya and Candracakrā respectively.[4] Śatrughna killed Lavaṇa, the son of the famous Yādava king Madhu,[5] in the Madhuvana near the west of the Yamunā ; and built a new capital at the already existing Madhupurī, renaming it as Mathurā.[6] The country, so won over by Śatrughna, thenceforward came to be called as Śurasena ; perhaps after his son Śūrasena who with his brother Subāhu reigned there for some time.[7] But these collateral kingdoms of Rāma's brothers and their sons, however, were short-lived. The two Gāndhāra states of Bharata's sons receive no further notice in the Purāṇas ; and were probably annexed by the neighbouring Druhyus in their territory. Similarly, no account of Lakṣamaṇa's sons. Śatrughna's sons were expelled from Mathurā by the Yādava king Sātvata (or Bhīma-Sātvata—no. 66) ; and his son Andhaka I reigned there contemporaneously with Rama's son Kuśa.[8] Henceforth Mathura became the permanent principality of the Andhakas particularly of the Kukuras down to Kaṁsa ; and of the Vṛṣṇis afterwards, as will appear. Here ends the dynasty of Ayodhyā as well as the genealogy of the solar race.

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[1] Of these, the three kings viz, Kuśa himself, Hiraṇyanābha (no. 83) and Bṛhadbala (no. 94) are of fixed positions, while the second is notable also.

[2] The information regarding kingdoms etc. of Rama's brothers and their sons is not given by the Bhāgavata. Yet it is added here to complete the picture, having gathered it from other sources mentioned below. But the references available in the Bhāgavata about their conquests or names etc. are inserted in the middle of this topic at appropriate points.

[3] The Bhāgavata says that Bharata killed the Gandharvas in the course of his conquest (9.11.13cd) and that his two sons were Takṣa and Puṣkala (9.11.12cd).

[4] According to the Bhāgavata (9.11.12ab), Aṅgada and Citraketu were Lakṣamaṇa's sons.

[5] For Madhu 9.24.5d and the list of Yādavas (no. 61).

[6] The Bhāgavata gives this account of Śatrughna (9.11.14cd-15ab), although it calls Lavaṇa a demon which may mean a hostile king.

[7] Subāhu and Śrutasena are named as Śatrughna's sons (9.11.13ab).

[8] For the collateral kingdoms and capitals of Rama's brothers etc. as mentioned above see—AIHT. pp. 170-71,279; vide also VA p. 295.

LUNAR RACE

Ilā's Progeny and Their Realms : The three myths giving the account of the births of Budha,[1] the son of Soma ; of Ilā,[2] the daughter of Manu ; and, of Purūravas ;[3] the son of Ilā—all show how the lunar race (*Soma-vaṁśa*) originated in the Himālayas and how the first Aila king viz, Purūravas came to inherit Pratiṣṭhāna (Prayāga).[4] Purūravas, who was contemporary of Ikṣvāku, the first king of the solar race, developed his Aila kingdom eastward and north-westward in the Gangetic doab.[5] The expanded realm was divided among his two sons viz, Āyu and Vijaya. Āyu continued the main line of the Ailas at Pratiṣṭhāna ; and Vijaya, to whose share fell the northern territory in the mid-Gangetic doab, founded the dynasty there in the realm which came to be known as Kānyakubja. Perhapas this name was given by its rulers, the Kauśikas. The Ailas at Pratiṣṭhāna soon developed, and Āyu's son Kṣatravṛddha founded another kingdom in the east—the realm which came to be known as Kāśī after its rulers, the Kāśyas or the Kāśis.

Saudyumnas : Thus Kānyakubja and Kāśī were the two earliest Aila kingdoms besides their main line at Pratiṣṭhāna. In addition to these, there were the principalities of the Saudyumnas (i.e., the sons of Sudyumna).[6] According to the Bhāgavata they were the rulers of Dakṣiṇā-patha ; but their names suggest that Utkala had the Utkala country (Orissa), Gaya had the modern city Gayā including eastern area, and Vimala (Vinatā or Vinatāśva) reigned somewhere in the western side. These principalities remain no more noteworthy, as they were either overwhelmed by the Ānavas of the East or by the Kānyakubja kings.[7]

Kānyakubja : Vijaya[8] or Amāvasu (no. 4) founded this dynasty, the capital of which was then or afterwards came to be called as Kānyakubja

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[1] 9.14.2-14.

[2] 9.1.13-32, 36-39ab.

[3] 9.1.33-35 ; 9.14.15ab.

[4] 9.1.42.

[5] vide AIHT. p. 258 ; also VA p. 277.

[6] 9.1.41–Sudyumna is said to be Ila's male form ; as such he was the father of three sons viz, Utkala, Gaya and Vimala.

[7] vide AIHT pp. 255, 264 ; vide also VA p. 276.

[8] 9.15.3a.

(Kanauj).[1] The Kānyakubja kingdom seems to rise to prominence in the middle of the era of its emergence because in the first half there is no account of its kings. It is probable that it was overrun by Māndhātṛ in the course of his conquests of the Druhyus, then ruling on the west of the Yamunā.[2] When the supremacy of Ayodhyā waned after Māndhātṛ (no. 21) or after his equally powerful son Purukutsa (no. 22), Jahnu (no. 23), the first famous king of Kānyakulja, regained his lost suzerainty and brought the kingdom to local prominence. Jahnu, who is fabled to have swallowed the Gaṅgā in one draught,[3] was so famous a king that the river which flowed through his territory was now renamed as the Jāhnavī.[4] The Gaṅgā or Jāhnavī flowed through the southern border of Kānyakubja ; the Gomatī formed the eastern border while the Vārṛāvatī (Sarasvatī ?) flowed through the middle of the kingdom.[5]

Gayā : After Jahnu, the king Kuśa (no. 28) is notable for his two sons viz, Kuśāmbu and Murtaya.[6] Murtaya (Amurtarayas) or his son Gaya-Amurtarayasa (not mentioned by the Bhāgavata) reigned in the Gayā district of Magadha carving out a small kingdom there. Gaya was a king of note, as he is included in the list of the sixteen monarchs (*ṣoḍaśa-rajikā*) given in the Mahābhārata.[7] As we have seen above, Gaya Saudyumna had reigned in Gayā ; it now seems that after 10 generations the scion of the Kānyakubja dynasty of the same name captured the principality founded by the Saudyamnas. The sub-line of the Kānyakubjas then might have continued at Gayā, although nothing is known about it.

Kuśāmbu (or Kuśika—no. 29), from whom the dynasts came to be called as the Kauśikas or Kuśikas,[8] was a king of fixed position, and his son Gādhi (no. 30) was a famous king, and his son Viśvāmitra (no.32) became famous for his spiritual attainments. Viśvāmitra had a large number of sons all called Madhucchandas, and he adopted one more viz, Devarāta.[9] But his successors disputed on the headship of Devarāta and split into various branches when deprived of the throne etc. by the father. Viśvāmitra himself relinquished the kingdom and became a hermit. Thus the dynasty ends here. But it is said that Aṣṭaka (no. 34) etc. were also

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[1] vide AIHT p. 258,

[2] vide AIHT pp. 261 62.

[3] 9 15.3cd

[4] vide AIHT p. 263, fn.1

[5] Maps of Ancient Indian both in AIHT and VA read together.

[6] 9.15.4abc.

[7] vide AIHT p. 39, fn. 4 ; p. 40, fn. 5 ; p. 265

[8] 9.15.6d · .16.36a, 37a.

[9] 9.16.28-30ab.

Viśvamitra's sons[1] and they might have ruled for some time. At last the kingdom fell into the hands of those hordes who overran the countries which intervened on their way from the NW. to Ayodhyā—the kingdom which they devastated with the cooperation of the notable Haihaya king, Tālajaṅgha (no. 34) before the rise of Sagara (no. 41).[2]

Kāśī : Kṣatravṛddha (no. 6) established himself in Kāśī and founded a dynasty there.[3] Kāśya (or Kāśa—no. 12) and Kāśi (no. 13) were his descendants who gave their names to the dynasty as well as to the realm. The Kāśyas rose to power and carried on a long struggle with the Haihayas during the second phase of the golden age—a period when their dynasty was overthrown with the result that the names of the kings of this period could not be preserved.[4] Divodāsa I (no. 25), who flourished at the beginning of this contest, and his son Aṣṭāratha (no. 26) were contemporary with the Haihaya kings Bhadrasena (no. 25) and his son Durmada (or Durdama—no. 27) while Divodāsa II (no. 40) and his son Pratardana (no. 41), the first famous king of Kāśī, flourished when the Haihayas were going to be destroyed by Sagara. So, Pratardana also contributed his share and destroyed their remnants, the Vītihotras ; and thus put an end to the strife. He became famous because he recovered the lost kingdom, although he was not able to recover the old capital Vārāṇasī, which was abandoned by Divodāsa I when Bhadrasena attacked on it and which afterwards fell into the hands of the rude tribes of the forest around Kāśī. His son Vatsa (no. 42) annexed the country around Kauśāmbī which thenceforward came to be known as the Vatsa realm. Vatsa's son Alarka (no. 43), who may be styled as a paramount monarch, followed up Pratardana's success by driving the tribal king Kṣemaka out of Vārāṇasī (Benares) and reestablished it as the capital of the Kāśī kingdom.[5] Thus the trinity of Pratardana, Vatsa and Alarka appear at the close of the golden age to revive the dynasty after long war and dispossession. There is no account of the kings that ruled after Alarka down to Bhargabhūmi (no. 69) in the second era, with the end of which the dynasty ended.

The Early Aila Kings of Pratiṣṭhāna : Having considered the two earliest dynasties founded by the junior lines of the Ailas, we now see the position of the early Aila kings viz, Purūravas, Āyu, Nahuṣa and Yayāti—

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[1] 9.16.36cd.

[2] vide AIHT p. 267.

[3] 9.17.1-2.

[4] See the gap in the dynastic list from no. 26 down to no. 40.

[5] vide AIHT pp. 153-55, 263, 269-70.

all famous kings coming in succession to continue the main line of the Ailas at Pratiṣṭhāna. As said above, Purūravas, the son of Ilā, founded the Aila dynasty at Pratiṣṭhāna.[1] The account that Purūravas had a conflict with the hermits of Naimiṣa; and that the hermits killed him and installed his son Āyu,[2] as given by some Purāṇas, does not find mention in the Bhāgavata. On the contrary, the Bhāgavata starts the genealogy of the lunar race with the commendable remark about the crystal fame of Purūravas.[3] He was succeeded by his eldest son Āyu, who in turn, by his eldest son Nahuṣa.[4] Like his predecessors Nahuṣa was a famous king and conqueror who extended his sway on the surrounding territories. The myth[5] about Nahuṣa, largely narrated in other Puraṇās including the Mahābhārata, says that Agastya etc. deposed him from the heavenly throne for his arrogance towards Indra's wife and ill-treatment of them. His deposition confirms the above statement that he was a great victor, although the myth may be a later invention as the Agastyas did not exist then.[6] Nahuṣa's successor was Yayāti (no. 6), the first paramount monarch among the Ailas. Yayāti extended his sway in the north-west up to the Sarasvatī and Kānyakubja, in the north-east up to Ayodhyā, in the east up to Kāśī and in the south he annexed the Karūṣa realm etc.[7] Thus he built a widespread empire on the Gaṅgā-Yamunā doab round about his ancestral kingdom of Pratiṣṭhāna. After a long reign he divided his empire among his five sons as follows: Pūru, the youngest son who was most dutiful, inherited the ancestral kingdom with capital at Pratiṣṭhāna. Thus he got the middle region of the empire in the southern half of the doab. The elder sons of Yayāti got the outlying territories thus: Yadu, the eldest, got the south-west, i.e., the territory watered by the rivers Carmaṇvatī (Chambal), Vetravatī (Betwa) and Śūktimatī (Ken). Druhyu, another son, got the west direction, i.e., the country west of the Yamunā and between the Parṇāśa and Chambal rivers. Anu, still another son, got the north direction, i.e., the northern portion of the doab. Turvasu, the last son, got the south-east direction, i.e., the Karūṣa realm as the Kārūṣas who reigned there were already subdued.[1] From these five sons of Yayāti descended the five clans which ruled in different parts of N. India and their history, in all probability, is the history of the lunar race.

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[1] Pratiṣṭhāna is identified with Pihan, a village near Prayāga—vide VA p. 320, fn. 12.

[2] vide AIHT p. 313; vide also VA p. 277.

[3] 9.14.1; Śrīdhara also confirms this remark of the Bhāgavata when he introduces the 14th chapter of the 9th skandha as follows:—
चतुर्दशादिभिः सोमवंशमाह समाप्तितः । यस्मिन्नैलादयो भूपाः कीर्त्यन्ते पुण्यकीर्त्तयः ॥

[4] 9.17.1-2a.

[5] 9.18.3abc; vide also 6.13.16.

[6] vide AIHT p. 73; vide also VA p. 277.

[7] vide AIHT p. 258.

Turvasu Line : Turvasu (no. 7), from whom descended the Turvasu line, ruled in the Karūṣa realm which he inherited from his father. It is already noted that this realm was founded by Karūṣa, the son of Manu, but his descendants, the Kārūṣas, could have hardly ruled there for two or three generations as the realm was won over by Yayāti. There is no account of the Turvasu line which continued in the realm up to the end of the golden age. The two kings viz, Karandhama and his son Maruta (or Marutta—no. 41), who flourished at the close of the era, were contemporary of Sagara.[2] Maruta adopted Duṣyanta Paurava; but he did not stay with him and returned to revive his Paurava dynasty.[3] It seems that the Turvasu line merged with the Pauravas after Maruta. Yet it is added on the basis of a Purāṇa like the Padma,[4] that from this line or from Duṣyanta there was a branch which founded the kingdoms of Pāṇḍya, Cola, Kerala etc. in the south.[5] But the Bhāgavata has nothing to say about this line which went so far in the south; it seems improbable that the Turvasu princes carved out kingdoms there. We have noticed in the account of Rama's invasion on Laṅkā that no such kingdoms are mentioned therein. If these kingdoms would have come into existence at this time (i.e., the close of the golden age) they ought to have found mention in Rama's journey to south at the close of the silver age.

Druhyu Line : Druhyu (no. 7), from whom descended the Druhyu line, ruled in the country between the rivers Parṇāśā and Chambal. As a result of the successful campaigns of Śaśabindu, the paramount monarch among the Yādavas (no. 20) ; of Māndhātr, the paramount monarch of

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[1] vide AIHT. p. 269, fn. 7. Here Pargiter suggests the assignment of territories to Yayāti's sons on the basis of the collated version of the Purāṇas ; and we have specified them with the help of the Map given in the same book. As for the Bhāgavata (9.19.22), it is in agreement with the above version excepting that it inter-changes the territories of Turvasu and Druhyu by assigning them the west and the south-east directions respectively.

[2] vide AIHT. p. 157.

[3] 9.23.17.

[4] Padma-Purāṇa (6.250.1-2) mentions—Pāṇḍya, Cola and Kerala—as founded by the Turvasu line.

[5] vide AIHT p. 108, fn.1. where Parigiter thinks that Turvasu princes might have carved out such kingdoms.

Ayodhyā (no. 21); and, of Śibi, the famous king among the NW. Ānavas (no. 27), the Druhyus were not only ousted from their original realm but were continuously pushed back also till they came to be cornered in the north-west portion of the Punjab. Māndhātṛ killed the Druhyu king Ārabdha (or Aṅgāra—no. 21). Ārabdha's son was Gāndhāra who established himself in that corner and gave his name to the Druhyu settlements there so that the corner thence came to be known as the Gāndhāra country. The Druhyus maintained their position in Gāndhāra permanently and began to multiply. After a time, being over-populated, the Druhyus crossed the borders of India; and founded many principalities in the Mleccha territories in the north, i.e., in Persia, the modern Iran. They were a dominant class there and probably spread the Aryan culture and religion in the foreign land.[1]

The outflow of the Druhyus beyond the frontiers of India reveals an important fact in as far as the Aryan immigration and relevant problems are concerned. The pre-Zarathustra Iranian culture was essentially the same as the Vedic.[2] Further, similarity of the Persian language, religion etc. with those of the Vedic Aryans is an established fact, although the problems like the original home of the Aryans including the date and route of their immigration are so intriguing that opinions differ widely. Few scholars today believe India to be the natural home of the Aryans.[3] The outflow of the Druhyus throws light on both the Indo-Iranian relations and the connected problems. Firstly, it presupposes the existence of the Aryans in India (since their origin in the Himālayas, as will appear). Secondly, it shows that the descendants of the Druhyus called Prācetases (no. 38) who appeared before the close of the golden age (i.e., *cir.* 1700 B.C.), immigrated from the Indian soil towards Iran and carried the Aryan culture with them. These two points repudiate the current theory that Aryans entered India from that direction when they separated from Iranians and other branches of the Indo-European family and account for intimate relationship between the Aryans on the one hand and the Iranians on the other. So the current theory remains hardly tenable when we find quite possible explanation reversely in the outspread of the Druhyus. Hence it may be said that the Prācetasas were the first Aryan emigrants to Iran.[1]

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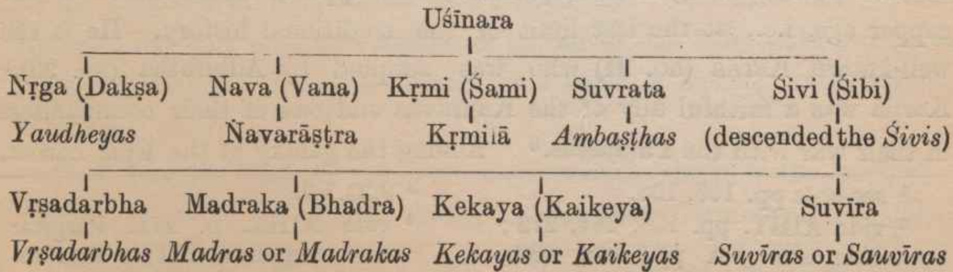
[1] vide AIHT pp. 167, fn. 7 and 8., pp. 261-62, 264; vide also VA p. 283. The Bhāgavata (9.23.15) confirms the above statements when it says that 100 sons of Pracetas became kings in the Mleccha countries. The mention of a 'hundred sons' means here 'near descendants' as it does elsewhere.

[2] vide VA. pp. 222-229.

[3] ibid., p. 26.

Ānavas, NW. : Anu (no. 7), from whom descended the Ānavas, ruled in the northern portion of the doab. The Ānavas rose to power in the middle of the golden age under the two able kings viz, Mahāśīla (or Mahāśāla—no. 22) and Mahāmanas (no. 24) who encroached on the eastern side of the Punjab. After Mahāmanas, the Ānavas divided into two branches, i.e., NW. Ānavas and Eastern Ānavas. The latter branch moved to east India and is named accordingly, while the former which remained in the Punjab came to be called as the NW. Ānavas. This branch of the NW. Ānavas was headed by Uśīnara (no. 26). He established separate kingdoms through his four sons on the eastern border of the Punjab, namely, those of the Yaudheyas, Ambaṣṭhas, kings of Navarāṣṭra and chieftains of the city, Kṛmilā. Similarly, his fifth son viz, Śibi (or Śivi—no. 27) was a famous king who extended his conquest westwards; and founded through his four sons the kingdoms of the Vṛṣadarbhas, Madras, Kekayas and Suvīras. Thus the NW. Ānavas occupied the whole of the Punjab excepting Gāndhāra where the Druhyus had settled permanently.[2] The kingdoms assigned to the four sons of Śibi-Auśīnara may be identified as follows : (i) Vṛṣadarbha and his descendants, the Vṛṣadarbhas, ruled in the home territory of Multan. (ii) Madra and his descendants, the Madras, ruled in Lahore division including Jammu with capital at Sākala, the modern Sialkot. (iii) Kekaya and his descendants, the Kekayas, ruled in the region lying between the rivers Jhelum and Chenab. (iv) Lastly, Suvīra and his descendants, the Suvīras, ruled in Sind.[3] This development of the Auśīnaras and the Śivis, to use the less comprehensive patronymics, in the Punjab may be shown in a tabular form[4] (with varying names given by the Bhāgavata[5] in brackets) as follows :



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[1] cf. AIHT. pp. 300-2 where the problem is fully discussed.

[2] vide AIHT. p. 264.

[3] cf. VA p. 283.

[4] cf. AIHT. p. 109.

[5] The Bhāgavata only names the four sons of each, i.e., of Uśīnara and of his son Śibi (9.23.2ef.-3abc.) ; but it does not give any account of their conquests or kingdoms.

Ānavas, East: Tilikṣu (no. 26), who headed the branch of the Ānavas, which moved to the east in the middle of the second phase of the golden age, crossed the Videha and Vaiśālī kingdoms and settled on the realm where the Saudyumnas and the sub-line of the Kānyakubjas had ruled, i.e., the realm round Gayā.[1] In this realm he founded a kingdom which came to be known as the 'kingdom in the East'. At the close of the era, appears the famous king Sutapā Bali (no. 41) under whom the eastern Ānava kingdom seems to have expanded considerably so that his six sons inherit six different kingdoms viz, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra, Suhma and Andhra. These kingdoms covered the area of modern Bihar, Bengal and Andhra provinces. Individually, Aṅga comprised the modern districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr ; Vaṅga was further east on the delta of the Gaṅgā ; Kaliṅga comprised the sea coast of Orissa bordered on the west by the Mahendra mountain ; Suhma was above it ; Puṇḍra was in the middle of the kingdoms mentioned above ; and, lastly Andhra comprised the territory watered by the lower Godāvarī.[2] But none of these kingdoms finds further mention excepting Aṅga.

Aṅga Line: The nucleus of the above-mentioned kingdoms in the East was Aṅga founded by Aṅga (no. 43). But we do not know any particulars of the Aṅga line till we come to Romapāda (or Lomapāda—no. 64). Thus the history of the Aṅga dynasty is shrouded since its emergence at the beginning of the silver age down to the end of the era. Romapāda, the famous king of fixed position, was contemporary of Daśaratha of Ayodhyā whose daughter he adopted and later on married her to the hermit, Ṛṣyaśṛṅga.[3] Campa (no. 71) is another notable king of the line. It is said that he renamed the previous capital of Aṅga viz, Mālinī as Campāpurī or Campāvatī (near Bhagalpur in east Bihar) in his own name.[4] Again, the dynastic account is not known till we come to another famous king of fixed position, who appears at the close of the copper age, i.e., at the last limit of the traditional history. He is the well-known Karṇa (no. 94) who was adopted by Adhiratha (no. 93).[5] Karṇa was a faithful ally of the Kauravas and one of their commanders in their war with the Pāṇḍavas.[6] Among the galaxy of the Epic heroes,

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[1] see *ante* pp. 195, 196.

[2] vide AIHT. pp. 109, 264, 272 ; vide also VA pp. 283, 288 ; The Bhāgavata (9.23.3d-5) gives the names of the six kingdoms in the East while the books referred to here mention only five, omitting Andhra.

[3] 9.23.7-9.

[4] vide AIHT. p. 272. Pargiter here contends that it was renamed and not founded. vide also VA p. 297.

[5] 9.23.12-13.

[6] Gītā—1.8a.

Karṇa occupies a very high position. But ill luck seems to have pursued Karṇa from his very birth when he was deserted by his mother, Kuntī.[1] Being brought up by a Sūta (person of the hybrid caste) he met with slights and insults at every stage of his life. Through the device of his adoption by Adhiratha, Duryodhana crowned him as the king of Aṅga ; and this made Karṇa the staunch supporter of the Kauravas. As destiny had ordained, Karṇa died being the victim of his own greatness in the Great War along with his son Vṛṣasena (no. 95) with whom ends the Aṅga line.

Paurava Family

The dynasties of the Paurava family, which descended from Pūru (no. 7), the favourite son of Yayāti, shall be considered according to the order of their enumeration in the fifth and presentation and examination in the sixth chapters.

Dvimīḍha Line : Dvimīḍha (no. 53), the son of Hastin (no. 51), founded the Dvimīḍha dynasty in a new realm which was the modern district of Bareilly adjacent to the territory of the main Paurava line at Hastināpura but not comprising N. and S. Pañcāla realms which remained in the fold of the Ājamīḍhas.[2] Dvimīḍha was succeeded by his son Yavīnara[3] (no. 55) who should be distinguished from that Yavīnara who was the son of Bharmyāśva (no. 59) in the N. Pañcāla dynasty.[4] We know nothing about the Dvimīḍhas till we come to Kṛtī (or Kṛta—no. 84), the notable king of fixed position. He was the disciple of Hiraṇyanābha (no. 83), the king of Ayodhyā or Kośala.[5] The another notable king was Ugrāyudha[6] (no. 90) who killed the grandfather of N. Pañcāla king, Pṛṣata (no. 91). He then overthrew S. Pañcāla dynasty and menaced the Kaurava kingdom after Śantanu's death. But Bhīṣma (no. 91) killed him and restored Pṛṣata to his kingdom of N. Pañcāla.[7] Although the Dvimīḍha line started ruling in Bareilly since the middle of the silver age and continued in the next era down to the Great War, the account is lacking excepting that mentioned above.

S. Pañcāla Dynasty : S. Pañcāla was approximately the portion of Pañcāla south of the Gaṅga as far as the river Carmaṇvatī (Chambal);

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[1] For the story of Karṇa's birth and desertion by the mother see-9.24.31cd-36.

[2] vide AIHT. p. 274, fn. 2.

[3] 9.21.27a.

[4] 9.21.32a ; see also the genealogical tree of Bharmyāśva in c. V, p. 108.

[5] 9.21.28cd-29a.

[6] 9.21.29ab.

[7] vide AIHT. pp. 115, 166.

and its capitals were Kāmpilya and Mākaṇḍī.[1] Ajamīḍha's son or great grandson, Bṛhadiṣu (no. 56) founded the dynasty of the Bārhadiṣvas in S. Pañcāla.[2] This dynasty thus came into existence simultaneously with the Dvīmiḍhas and like them the history of the Bārhadiṣvas is not known till we come to Brahmadatta (no. 87), the famous king of fixed position. The account given about him says that his wife was Sarasvatī (or Sannati), his teacher was Jaigīṣavya and his literary composition was the Yoga-tantra.[3] With his great grandson Bhallāda (or Bhallāṭa—no. 90) or great great grandson Janamejaya (no. 91) ends the dynasty of the Bārhadiṣvas because Ugrāyudha of the Dvimīḍha line, as noted above, overthrew south Pañcāla at this point. Ugrāyudha was killed by Bhīṣma; and S. Pañcāla therefore seems to be dominated by the Kauravas for a generation or two and later on by the Pāṇḍvas. Drupada (no. 92), the north Pañcāla king, was ousted and transfered to S. Pañcāla by Droṇa.[4] So Drupada's son Dhṛṣṭadyumna (no. 94) and grandson Dhṛṣṭaketu (no. 95) also came in succession after their father (no. 93) as rulers of S. Pancala. Dhṛṣṭadyumna, the disciple of Droṇa,[5] was the commander-in-chief of the entire forces of the Pāṇḍavas in the Great War while his father[6] and son[7] were commanders (*nāyakas*).

N. Pañcāla Dynasty : N. Pañcāla was the portion north of the Gaṅgā and west of Kānyakubja; and its capital was Ahicchatrā whence it was also called the Ahicchatra country.[8] The N. Pañcāla dynasty was the prominent one among the Pauravas or rather among the Bhāratas. It is the only dynasty which finds connected references in the Ṛg-Veda,[9] although incidentally. The dynasty was founded by Ajamīḍha's son or grandson, Nīla (no. 55); and it came into prominence when Bharmyāśva (or Bhṛmyaśva—no. 59) divided the kingdom among his five sons, each of them receiving a small principality.[10] Mudgala (no. 60), his eldest son, founded an important branch. From Mudgala's time to that of Sudāsa (no. 68), the N. Pañcāla dynasty was at its height. There was a series of famous kings viz, Vadhṛyaśva (no. 62), Divodāsa (no. 63) and Cyavana (no. 67) who extended and augmented the kingdom in their times.[11] Cyavana and his son Sudāsa (the Ṛg-Vedic Sudās) were great warriors and conquerors and the kingdom rose to its climax under them. They conquered both the Dvimīḍha realm and S. Pañcāla; and at the zenith of his conquests Sudāsa captured the throne of Hastināpura.[1] Thus all the collateral Paurava kingdoms fell prostrate before the suzerainty of Sudāsa. Pargiter and other scholars identify Divodāsa and Sudāsa with their namesakes in the Ṛg-Veda and see in the account of the Paurava king Saṁvarana (no. 69) given in the Mahābhārata[2] the reference to the battle of the ten kings (*dāśarājña*) incidentally mentioned by the Ṛg-Veda.[3] The battle resulted in the defeat of Pūru, as the Ṛg-Veda says, and this Pūru is taken to mean the Paurava king Saṁvaraṇa whom Sudāsa defeated and drove out from the throne of Hastināpura. It is said that first Sudāsa defeated Saṁvaraṇa on the river Yamunā. His conquests stirred up a confederacy of the neighbouring kings to resist him ; and the Paurava, Yādava, Ānava, Druhyu, Turvasu kings etc. came to fight with him. Sudāsa defeated all his foes in a great battle near the river Parūṣṇī (Ravi); and Pūru (i.e., Saṁvaraṇa) took refuge in a fortress near the river Sindhu (Indus) for many years.[4] Sudāsa was succeeded by his son Sahadeva and grandson Somaka ; after him, the kingdom declined. According to the Manu-smṛti,[5] Sudāsa perished through ill conduct ; and it may be added here that Saṁvaraṇa, then, recovered his kingdom of Hastināpura with Vasiṣṭha's aid[6] probably from Somaka, and so conquered North Pañcāla.[7] Thus N. Pañcāla dynasty sank into insignificance for a long time[8] till Pṛṣata (no. 91) was installed on the throne by Bhīṣma. As noted above, the Dvimīḍha king Ugrāyudha conquered N. Pancāla after killing Pṛṣata's grandfather, and so Pṛṣata had to take refuge at Kāmpilya in S. Pañcāla. When Ugrāyudha destroyed S. Pañcāla also and menaced on the Kauravas, he was killed by Bhīṣma. Now Pṛṣata was able to revive the N. Pañcāla dynasty.[9] But this revival of the dynasty after some twenty generations was like the last blaze of the wick before it extinguishes. Although Pṛṣata became the king with the help of Bhīṣma, his son Drupada (no. 92) could hardly rule there; for, he was deposed by Droṇa. It is known from the Mahabhārata that

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[1] vide AIHT p. 113.

[2] 9.21.22a.

[3] 9.21.25cd-26ab—This account given by the Bhāgavata closely agrees with those of other Purāṇas (vide AIHT. p. 165).

[4] vide AIHT. p. 117, fn. 8, p. 283.

[5] Gītā—1.3cd ; vide also 1.17c.

[6] Gītā—1.4d ; vide also 1.18a.

[7] Gītā—1.5a.

[8] vide AIHT. p. 113.

[9] ibid., p. 120.

[10] 9. 21. 31cd-33ab.

[11] vide AIHT p. 275; vide also VA p.297.

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[1] vide AIHT. p. 281; ref. to JRAS, 1910, pp. 49-50 : 1918, pp. 246-8 quoted here for Sudāsa's conquests etc.

[2] Mahābhārata 1.89.31-43.

[3] RV-7.18.33f., Vedic Index-2.186.

[4] AIHT. pp. 172, 281 ; also VA pp. 297, 311.

[5] MS 7.41.

[6] vide AIHT. p. 210.

[7] vide AIHT. p. 281.

[8] See the gap in the dynastic list from no. 72 down to no. 90.

[9] vide AIHT. pp. 166, 282.

Pṛṣata's son Drupada and Bharadvāja's son Droṇa were playmates. Drupada, on being the king, despised Droṇa ; and treated him with disdain. So Droṇa, who was a great warrior, conquered Drupada's kingdom with the aid of his young disciples, the princes of Hastināpura. Droṇa in the same strain won over S. Pañcāla also ; and retaining N. Pañcāla for himself, transferred Drupada to S. Pañcāla as its ruler. The Sṛñjayas descending from Sṛñjaya (no. 66) and the Somakas descending from Somaka (no. 70) also accompanied Drupada, in his transfer to S. Pañcāla.[1] With the deposition of Drupada ended the dynasty of the Pañcālakas of N. Pañcāla who (see nos. 59-70) had been most prominent during the period covered by the end of the silver age and the beginning of the copper age. At the close of the copper age, Droṇa (no. 93) stepped in; and his son Aśvatthāman (no. 94) reigned there on the eve of the Great War.

Vāsavas And Their Kingdoms : Vasu (no. 78), a descendant in the junior line of the Kauravas, became a famous king by extending his conquest eastward as far as Magadha . On his way to Magadha, he conquered the Cedi kingdom as well as Kauśāmbī and Karūsa realms lying adjacent to it in the south-east. It is said that he conquered the Matsya realm also lying south-west of Hastināpura. Thus he had five kingdoms viz, Cedi, Magadha, Kauśāmbī, Karūṣa and Matsya in his possession and had five sons[2] also who inherited these kingdoms. (i) Cedipa inherited Cedi; (ii) Kuśāmba, Kauśāmbī; (iii) Pratyagra, Karūṣa ; (iv) Matsya (or Māvella), Matsya realm ; and (v) Bṛhadratha took Magadha. As regards these collateral kingdoms of the Vāsavas, only the kings who reigned before the Great War are known, for example, Damaghoṣa etc. in Cedi, Vṛddhaśarman etc. in Karūṣa and Virāṭa in Matsya.[3] We know nothing about the Kauśāmbī kings. As for the Cedi kingdom, it will be considered afterwards according to the procedure.[4] So, we see Magadha here which was the only Vāsava kingdom that played an important role in the traditional history after the Great War if not before it also.

Magadha : Bṛhadratha (no. 79), the eldest son of Vasu, took Magadha and founded the dynasty of the Bārhadrathas there. But we know nothing about his successors till we come to the famous king Jarāsandha[5] (no. 92) under whom the dynasty rose to the highest power. Jarāsandha extended his supremacy by winning over Cedi, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga and Puṇḍra kingdoms.[1] But Kaliṅga being far away on the eastern sea-coast, it seems that Jarāsandha won Karūṣa which was adjacent to Magadha rather than Kaliṅga. The valiant conqueror then carried his arms as far as Mathurā in the west-where Kaṁsa, the Yādava king (no. 93) who had married two of his daughters,[2] acknowledged him as overlord. Kaṁsa, relying on his favour, tyrannized over his own subjects and so Kṛṣṇa killed him.[3] This roused Jarāsandha's wrath against Kṛṣṇa and the Bhojas of Mathurā. For a time they resisted him ;[4] but feeling their position insecure at Mathurā they migrated in a body to Gujarat and established themselves at Dvārakā.[5] Ultimately, on the eve of Yudhiṣthira's Rāja-sūya, Bhīma killed Jarāsandha.[6] Kṛṣṇa, with whose camouflage Jarāsandha was killed, installed his son Sahadeva on the throne of Magadha ; and, got released those kings who were confined by Jarāsandha during the course of his conquests in the fort of Girivraja, the capital of Magadha.[7] With Sahadeva's son Somāpi (or Somādhi—no. 95), who was contemporary with Parīkṣit II (no. 95a),[8] ends the Bārhadratha dynasty inasmuch as the Great War forms the last limit of the post-flood traditional history.

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[1] vide AIHT. pp. 117, 224, 283.

[2] 9.22.5-6ab.

[3] vide AIHT. pp. 118-119—It will be seen from the allotment of Vasu's conquered realms to his sons that at least two realms viz, Kauśāmbī and Matsya might have got their names from his sons of similar names.

[4] For procedure see *ante* point, 15; p. 139.

[5] 9.22.7cd.

Pauravas : The main line of the Paurava family that descended from Pūru (no. 7) shall be considered into two portions based on the realms. In the first portion come the kings from Pūru down to Vitatha (no. 47) who all reigned at Pratiṣṭhāna ; while in the second portion fall the kings from Hastin (no. 51) to Parīkṣit II (no. 95a) who all reigned at Hastināpura. So the two portions , which may be called as those of the Pauravas at Pratiṣṭhāna and Bhāratas at Hastināpura, are now being considered.

Pauravas at Pratiṣṭhāna :—Pūru inherited the ancestral throne of Pratiṣṭhāna from his father Yayāti and reigned with supreme sovereignty on the territory where his ancestors, the early Aila kings up to Purūravas, had ruled.[9] The kingdom of Pratiṣṭhāna had come into existence since the beginning of the golden age ; and in the series of the famous kings starting from Purūravas, Āyu, Nahuṣa and Yayāti—Pūru was the fifth famous king of Pratiṣṭhāna. But after Pūru the history of the Pauravas is little known so far as the first era is concerned. We only know the names of the kings who fall in the first half of the era; but in second even names are wanting.[1] In the first half only it is known about Rantibhāra (or Matināra—no. 19) that his daughter Gaurī was the mother of Māndhātṛ, the monarch of Ayodhyā.[2] As to the reason for the lack of names in the second half, the dynasty went into eclipse for that period. It so happened because Śaśabindu (no. 20) and his younger contemporary Māndhātṛ (no. 21), the two monarchs among the Yādavas and the Ikṣvākus respectively, conquered the Paurava realm successively. Yet the Pauravas would have recovered from their prostrate position if another misfortune would not have befallen them. The hordes, the multitude of migratory clans from the north-west who plunged and joined the Haihayas in their conquest and plunder of Ayodhyā, could not have reached the point without trampling down and overthrowing the Paurava realm in the doab. So, there were sufficient reasons for the Paurava dynasty to remain in abeyance during the second half of the golden age till the famous king Duṣyanta (no 43) revived it. Duṣyanta was able to do so when Sagara (no. 41) of Ayodhyā destroyed the Haihaya power and crushed the hordes; as well as when Sagara's empire too had weakened.[3] It is for this suspension of the dynasty that Duṣyanta was heir in exile and was adopted by Maruta (no. 41) of the Turvasu line.[4] But being an ambitious heir-apparent of the Paurava realm, he did not like his adoption; and soon restored his own dynasty.[5] He perhaps took back his realm from Sagara's grandson Aṁśumān (no. 43) when Ayodhyā sufferred a setback for a few generations, as we have already noticed in the Ayodhyā dynasty. The restoration of the Paurava realm by Duṣyanta is indirectly corroborated by the declaration of the Bhāgavata[6] that his son Bharata was coronated as the paramount monarch on the throne. Bharata would not have been styled so unless his father had established himself on the ancestral realm. Thus before Bharata appears as the first paramount monarch among the Pauravas, their realm was under the hands of Śaśabindu, Māndhātṛ, the Haihayas, the hordes and Sagara—one by one during the second half of the golden age.

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[1] vide AIHT. p. 282, fn. 4.

[2] 10.50.1.

[3] 10.44.37.

[4] 10.50.42 where the Bhāgvata says that Jarāsandha attacked Mathurā seventeen times always accompanied by a huge army.

[5] 10.50.50.

[6] 10.72.45.

[7] 10.72.48.

[8] Śrīdhara on 12.2.26.

[9] 9.19.23.

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[1] See the gap in the dynastic list from no. 22 down to 42.

[2] vide AIHT p. 150. [3] vide AIHT pp. 156, 261-62. [4] 9.23.17.

[5] In view of this revival of his dynasty Duṣyanta is called *vaṁśa-kāra* in the Mahābhārata (vide AIHT p. 156, fn. 4). The Bhāgavata calls him *rājya-kāmuka* to explain his return to the own family, refusing the adoption by Maruta of Turvasu line (9.23.17). Both the terms point to the eagerness of Duṣyanta to establish his sovereignty over the hereditary estate. [6] 9.20.22.

Bharata (no. 44) was a great conqueror and a glorious monarch of the time.[1] The myth[2] about his performance of the Marut-soma-yāga and obtaining thereby Bharadvāja for adoption is remarkable and deserves careful examination. The facts connected with this myth are as follows :— (i) Marutta (no. 40) was the paramount monarch of Vaiśālī and in his kingdom lived Saṁvarta, the son of Uśija Āṅgirasa.[3] (ii) Saṁvarta had two brothers viz, Bṛhaspati and Utathya of whom the former's son was Bharadvāja and the latter's Dīrghatamas. Both Bharadvāja and Dhīrgatamas lived long.[4] (iii) The Āṅgirasas were hereditary pirests of Marutta and his predecessors. (iv) Dīrghatamas was the permanent priest of Bharata[5] since his consecration with royal unction on the throne.[6] (v) Bharata's own sons were not alive.[7] All these facts combined together form the reliable episode thus : Bharata was in need of his successor. Dīrghatamas naturally advised him to adopt a member of his well-known Āṅgirasa family of the Brāhmaṇas. Bharata readily agreed and sent a message to his contemporary monarch of Vaiśālī viz, Marutta who managed to send a youth of the Āṅgirasa family from there. Bharadvāja was the brother of Dīrghatamas and therefore was definitely older than Bharata. So his son or descendant whose name was Vidathin was adopted by Bharata ;[8] and this Vidathin or Vitatha (no. 47) succeeded him. Vitatha's two or three successors that came before Hastin are not important ; and so the first portion of the Pauravas comes to its end here. But before we take up the next portion, exclusive mention of a famous king is necessary, who appears at this time.

Rantideva : In a junior line of Vitatha, springing from Saṁkṛti, Rantideva Sāṁkṛti was the fourth descendant of Vitatha and the cousin brother of Hastin[1] (no. 51). The Mahābhārata mentions Rantideva Sāṁkṛti in its lists of the sixteen celebrated monarchs,[2] and praises him for his liberality[3] and hospitality[4] in different contexts. The Bhāgavata[5] also highly commends the sense of universal pity which was surging in the heart of this celebrated king. The territory of Rantideva lay on the bank of the river Carmaṇvatī and his capital was at Daśapura.[6] It encroached upon the Yādava territory and therefore succumbed later on to its famous king Madhu (no. 61) who is credited with the consolidation of the Yādava kingdoms.[7] The descendants of Ratideva became Yogins, i.e., Brāhmaṇas and were indifferent towards kingdom etc.[8]

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[1] 9.20.31-32abc. [2] 9.20.34-38. [3] 9.2.26-28.

[4] Ai A 1.2.8. [5] 9.20.24. [6] Ai B 8.21.23. [7] 9.20.32d-33.

[8] vide AIHT pp. 158-163, 219-20; where the issue of Bharadvāja's adoption by Bharata is fully discussed. The adoption of Vidathin is possible because the Bhāgavata (9.21.1) also looks upon Vitatha as another name of Bharadvāja; and the latter name may be a variation of the former. Also see reference no. 8 on p. 105 in chapter V for comments on Vitatha, although the etymological explanation of this name given in Chapter VI, p. 171 may be a later thought.

Bhāratas at Hastināpura : Hastin (no. 51) is a notable king for his founding of the Paurava capital at Hastināpura.[9] It means that the Paurava realm shifted from Pratiṣṭhāna to the northern portion of the doab. It so happened perhaps in the time of Duṣyanta when he restored the dynasty after a long period of suspension. This becomes certain when we come to know that Bharata's territory stretched from the river Sarasvatī to the Gaṅgā.[10] Thus Bharata reigned in the realm which was northward of the ancestral Paurava kingdom ; and when Hastin came, he founded the new capital.[11] Since successors of Bharata continued the main line at Hastināpura, they are henceforth called the Bhāratas to commemorate the great king.

The Bhāgavata[12] makes Ajamīḍha (no. 53), Ṛkṣa (no. 63) and Saṁvaraṇa (no. 69) immediate descendants of Hastin ; but the fact is otherwise. The history of the Bhāratas during this period is shrouded because their branch lines at S. Pañcāla and especially at N. Pañcāla were prominent and predominant. This made the main line at Hastināpura insignificant for the time till we come to Saṁvaraṇa. We have already noticed in N. Pañcāla dynasty that Saṁvaraṇa, who is called Pūru in the Ṛg-Veda, was driven out by Sudāsa (no. 68); and was again defeated by him on the river Parūṣṇī (Ravi) when the former formed a confederacy against him. However, Sudāsa died and his predominant dynasty declined. So Saṁvaraṇa recovered Hastināpura and also conquered N. Pañcāla.[1] Henceforward N. Pañcāla came to be dominated by Hastināpura down to the time of the Great War.

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[1] 9.21.2cd.

[2] vide AIHT. p. 39.

[3] ibid., p. 41, fn. 13.

[4] ibid., p. 249, fn. 2.

[5] 9.21.3-14.

[6] vide AIHT. p. 249, fn. 3 and 4.

[7] vide ibid., pp. 274-76.

[8] 9.21.18.

[9] 9.21.20 cd.

[10] vide AIHT. p. 273.

[11] It may be noted here that Pratiṣṭhāna is no more mentioned after Dusyanta; and its district was included in the Vatsa realm. But some passages of the Mahābhārata make Hastināpura the capital of Duṣyanta and Bharata. If so, Hastin may have enlarged and renamed it in his name. It may also be added that Hastināpura had many synonyms e.g., Gajasāhvaya etc. based on the meaning of the word, *hastin* which means 'elephant' (vide AIHT. p. 273).

[12] 9.22, 3cd-4 ab.

Saṁvarṇa's son was Kuru (no. 71), whose successors came to be known as the Kurus or the Kauravas. Kuru was a famous king who raised the Paurava realm to eminence and extended his sway beyond Prayāga. This means that S. Pancāla which intervened was also subdued.[2] He gave his name to Kurukṣetra[3] (the cultivated and rehabilitated tract) and to Kurujāṅgala[4] (the less cultivated tract in the east of Kurukṣetra in which Hastināpura lay[5]). Kuru's son Parīkṣit I (no. 73) inherited the throne; but his son Janamejaya II (no. 74) lost it due to his bad behaviour towards the son of a hermit viz, Gārgya. He was therefore abandoned by his people. As he could not recover sovereignty, his sons viz, Bhīmasena etc. (no. 75) passed into oblivion.[6] So sovereignty was vested in Kuru's another son, Jahnu[7] (no. 74) or his son Suratha[8] (no. 75); and thus the Jāhnavas, the junior line of the Kauravas, continued to rule at Hastināpura down to the Great War.

The Jāhnavas, who ruled without prominence for some time, became eminent under two famous kings viz, Pratīpa[9] (no. 87) and his successor, Śantanu[10] (no. 90). Bhīṣma , the son of Śantanu through Gaṅgā, killed Ugrāyudha, the king of the Dvimiḍha line, when the latter attacked the capital after Śantanu's death,[11] as we have noted above. Bhīṣma Gāṅgeya is said to have satisfied Paraśurama in an armed conflict.[1] But the statement is anachronistic because Bhīṣma (no. 91) who was the supreme commander of the Kaurava army in the Great War,[2] flourished 60 generations after Paraśurama who was contemporary of the Haihaya king Arjuna (no. 31), as will appear.

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[1] vide AIHT. p. 281.

[2] vide ibid p. 291.

[3] 9.22. 4 ab., where Kuru is called as the king of Kurukṣetra and this region of the Sarasvatī was the same which is called Brahmāvarta in the Manu-smṛti (MS. 2.19, vide also AIHT. pp. 313-14). According to the Bhāgavata (3.21.25), the first Manu ruled in Brahmāvarta; and this means that the region which was previously called Brahmāvarta came to be known as Kurukṣetra after Kuru ; cf. 1.10 34 where Śrīdhara comments:—कुरुक्षेत्रं कुरुदेशान्तरगतमेव। It may be noted that Kurukṣetra was also called Vinaśana (Śrīdhara on 10.71.21).

[4] 1. 10. 34a : vide also—10.86.20.

[5] vide AIHT. pp. 76, 281.

[6] vide AIHT. p. 114.

[7] 9. 22. 4cd.

[8] 9. 22. 9d.

[9] 9. 22. 11d.

[10] 9. 22. 13.

[11] vide AIHT. pp. 166, 282.

Here we may take notice of Bālhīka, the third son of Pratīpa,[3] besides Devāpi and Śantanu. This Bālhīka (or Vāhlīka) Prātipeya is often mentioned in the Mahābhārata.[4] His son was Somadatta and his one son was Bhūriśravas[5] who was the commander (*nāyaka*) of the Kaurava army in the Great War.[6] Balhī, Balhīka or Vahlīka was a small country in the Punjab, lying between the rivers Śatadru and Parūṣṇī[7]; and the descendants of Balhīka seem to have ruled there.

Dhṛtarāṣṭra (no. 93) and Pāṇḍu were grandsons of Śantanu[8] and their sons were respectively known as the Kauravas (or Dhārtarāṣṭras) and the Pāṇḍavas who fought for the ancestral kingdom. The brief struggle of 18 days between the two rival lines carried on the battlefield of Kurukṣetra resulted in overall destruction. The Pāṇḍavas emerged victorious in this well-known Great War which forms the lowest limit of all previous traditions.[9] When the Pāṇḍavas won the battle their eldest brother Yudhiṣṭhira (no. 94) was enthroned as the paramount monarch on the throne of Hastināpura ; and he reigned righteously with the support of Kṛṣṇa.[10] Kṛṣṇa departed from this world some twenty years after the Great War ;[11] and then Yudhiṣṭhira abdicated the throne[12] placing his grandson Parīkṣit II (95a) on it.[13] Parīkṣit II was a monarch of great fame.[14] He conquered the surrounding territories and annexed them in the now exalted kingdom of Hastināpura.[15] According to the Bhāgavata,[16] Parīkṣit attained emancipation after a snake-bite ; and the name of that snake was Takṣaka. Again, according to the Bhāgavata, Takṣaka (no. 93a) was the last king of the Ayodhyā dynasty and his son

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[1] 9. 22. 20 ab.

[2] Gītā—1. 10 ab.

[3] 9. 22. 12 ab.

[4] vide AIHT. p. 166, fn. 2.

[5] 9. 22. 18 cd-19a.

[6] Gītā—1. 8d.

[7] Vide AIHT. p. 254, fn. 4, pp. 256, 293, 299 its fn. 7—read with the Map of Ancient India.

[8] 9. 22. 25.

[9] 9. 22. 34a ; 9. 24. 67 ; 10. 75. 39ef.

[10] 1. 9. 49.

[11] vide DKA intr. p. ix, note 6, p. x, note 2.

[12] 1. 15. 44.

[13] 1. 15. 38 ; 11. 31. 26.

[14] 1. 18. 46.

[15] 1. 16. 4 ab ; 1. 17. 43.

[16] 1. 18. 37 ; 12. 6. 13.

Bṛhadbala (no. 94) was killed by Abhimanyu (no. 95), the father of Parīkṣit, in the Great War.[1] These two statemets, if connected, suggest that Takṣaka, the king of Ayodhyā, might have killed Parīkṣit to avenge his son's death. Another suggestion regarding the mysterious death of Parīkṣit is that the Nāgas, the hostile tribe from the north-east frontier, who had established themselves at Takṣaśilā, assailed on Hastināpura and killed Parīkṣit (whose son Janamejaya III, then defeated the Nāgas).[2] And, here ends the post-flood tradition of the Pauravas.

Yādava Family

The dynasties of the Yādava family which descended from Yadu (no. 7), the eldest son of Yayāti, shall be considered according to the order of their enumeration, presentation and examination in the two preceding chapters.

Haihaya Dynasty: The Haihayas ruled in the Narmadā region. Their dynasty came into existence at the beginning of the golden age and lasted down to the end of the same era only. In the middle of the era, Mahiṣmān (no. 23) is notable for founding the capital Māhiṣmatī on the bank of the river Narmadā. This capital is identified with the modern Māndhātā.[3] After building this stronghold, the Haihayas started their career of conquets. Bhadrasena (or Bhadraśreṇya—no. 25), the son or grandson of Mahiṣmān and the first famous king among the Haihayas, extended his sway eastwards as far as the Kāśī kingdom, took possession of Benares and reigned there. This means that he traversed the prostrate Paurava realm at Pratiṣṭhāna. His immediate successors, then, seem to have held Kāśī and engaged in raiding N. India.[4] Among them was Arjuna Kārtavīrya (no. 31) who led his victorious campaigns up to the Himālayas and thus overran all Madhyadeśa.[5] Arjuna, who raised the Haihaya empire to great eminence, came in conflict with the Bhārgavas towards the end of his long and prosperous rule ; and was killed by Paraśurāma in his own stronghold.[1] Barring his relations with the Bhārgavas, which make him appear inimical to the Brāhmaṇas, he was a monarch of high repute and irrevocable command. The Bhāgavata[2] commends not only his valour and conquests, or sacrifices and charitable deeds, but his learning and penance also. This places him in the superb category of the unrivalled monarchs. So, it is rightly said that Arjuna carried the banner of Aryan culture far and wide, and Māhiṣmatī was an outpost of the Aryan settlements of N. India in his time.[3]

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[1] 9.12.8abc.

[2] vide AIHT. p. 285.

[3] vide AIHT. p. 262 and p. 263, fn. 3 where it is said that the capital was previously a town built by Mucukunda, the son of Māndhātṛ (no. 21), and Mahiṣmān (no. 23) probably captured it from Mucukunda's successor and gave it his own name.

[4] vide AIHT. pp. 153, 263.

[5] vide AIHT. p. 153. Madhyadeśa is defined in the Manu-smṛti (2.21) as the territory lying between the Himālayas and the Vindhya mountains in the north and south directions respectively ; and Kurukṣetra and Prayāga in the west and the east directions respectively.

Tālajaṅghas : After Arjuna's death the Haihayas suffered a setback in the career of their conquests at the hands of Paruśurāma who destroyed his descendants as well as their associates, the other Kṣatriya kings, in numerous wars at different battle-fields.[4] But the Haihayas soon recovered the former position under Tālajaṅgha (no. 34) whose powerful descendants were known as the Tālajaṅghas and comprised five groups of people viz, (i) the Vītihotras (i.e., the descendants of his son Vītihotra—no. 36), (ii) the Śāryātas,[5] (iii) the Bhojas, (iv) the Avantis and (v) the Tuṇḍikeras (or Kuṇḍikeras).[6] So these five groups of the Tālajaṅghas, attended by the hordes from beyond the north-west, attacked Ayodhyā when it was open to assault, i.e., when it has become weak for a few generations (nos. 35-38). In fact, the attacks of the Tālajaṅghas on Ayodhyā brought about the devastation of N. India in which the hardy tribes played a vital role. The attacks and raids of the Tālajaṅghas made N. India a tempting prey to those tribes of the frontier ; and they rushed towards Ayodhyā overthrowing all kingdoms that came in their way. The Tālajaṅghas founded no new kingdom; but Kānyakubja, Ayodhyā and Kāśī, to mention a few, were under their control. Their dominion stretched from the gulf of Cambay to the Gangetic doab and thence to Benares.[7] They could not advance further eastward because their progress was checked by the Vaiśāla kings, Karandhama (no. 38), Avīkṣit (no. 39) and Marutta (no. 40) successively. But the carnage and ruin brought about by them in co-operation with the hardy tribes seems to continue nearly a century and reduced N. India to deplorable condition.[1] It is under these circumstances that the Ayodhyā king Bāhuka (no. 39) was driven away from the capital; and he fled away with his pregnant queen in the forest where Sagara (no. 41) was born.[2] And, we have seen in the Ayodhyā dynasty how Sagara destroyed the Haihaya power and wiped off their memory from the minds of the people of Māhiṣmatī, their stronghold. Thus the powerful dynasty of the Haihayas that rose to climax at the time of Arjuna had begun to decay after Paraśurāma. But Tālajaṅgha turned the tables and retaliated the efforts of Paraśurāma. It was Sagara, then, who should be credited with their final destruction.

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[1] For the full story of the Haihaya-Bhṛgu conflict see—9.15.23-36 ; 9.16.9-18.

[2] 9. 23. 23 ab, 24. [3] vide VA p. 286. [4] 9.15.16 ; 9.16.27.

[5] The Śāryātas being ousted from Ānarta by the Yakṣas (9.3.36ab.), and then perhaps overpowered by the Haihayas might have formed a group among the Tālajaṅghas.

[6] vide AIHT. pp. 102, 267 ; vide also VA p. 287.

[7] vide AIHT. pp. 267-68.

Cedi (*Vaidarbhas or Kaiśikas*) *:* The Cedi kingdom, first brought into existence by the son of Vidarbha (no. 40) at the beginning of the silver age, comprised the part of the territory originally alloted to Yadu[3], i.e., the strip of land lying on the southern bank of the Yamunā between the rivers Chambal and Ken.[4] Vidarbha's son Kuśa (or Kaiśika—no. 41) is the first known ruler of Cedi, a separate kingdom under the hands of the offshoots of the Yādavas. But the dynasty was short-lived and came to its end before the close of the era of its emergence.[5]

Cedi (*Vāsavas or Cedipas*) *:* The history of the Cedi kingdom is rather unknown in the first half of the copper age. But in the next half the Vāsavas or Cedipas ruled in Cedi.[6] In the middle of the copper age, Vasu-

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[1] ibid., pp. 270-71.
[2] 9.8.4.
[3] vide *ante* p. 198.

[4] cf. AIHT. p. 272 and its Map of Ancient India; vide also fn. 23 on p. 321 of VA.

[5] The Bhāgavata (9.24.2) mentions five descendants of Romapāda in his sub-line that ruled in Cedi. But, it is said that Romapāda and his sub-line ruled elsewhere and not in Cedi (vide AIHT p. 272; vide also VA p. 288). It has been noticed, while examining the Cedi dynasty (Chapter VI pp. 164-65), that Vidarbha's son Kuśa and not Romapāda was the founder of this dynasty; and that the sub-line of Kuśa continued there. Yet, in view of the Bhāgavata statement, the sub-line is called as of the *Vaidarbhas* (if Romapāda was the founder), or of the *Kaisikas* (if Romapāda was not so), Kuśa and Kaiśika being taken as identical.

[6] Pargiter thinks that Pratyagra (no.79), another son of Vasu, may have inherited Cedi (vide AIHT. p. 118). But the name of Vasu's still another son, i.e., Cedipa (*cedi-pa*) itself suggests that he was the ruler of Cedi.

Caidya-Uparicara (no. 78) overran (*uparicara*) Cedi which belonged to the Vaidarbhas previously. Thus he brought the Cedi kingdom in the Paurava fold and his son Cedipa (no. 79) founded a dynasty there.[1] We know about three Vāsava kings who flourished before the Great War. The first was Damaghoṣa (no. 92) to whom the youngest sister of Vasudeva was married ; and their son was Śiśupāla[2] (no. 94), the first known famous king of Cedi, excepting Vasu who was the conqueror of Cedi and not its ruler.[3] Śiśupāla (-Sunītha)[4] was killed by Kṛṣṇa during the Raja-sūya ceremony performed by Yudhiṣṭhira.[5] Śiśupāla's son Dhṛṣṭaketu (no. 95), who was reigning in Cedi at the time of the Great War, marks the end of the Vāsavas in Cedi.

Yādavas : The main line of the Yādava family that descended from Yadu's son Kroṣṭā (no. 8) is described in full-fledged form in the Bhāgavata as it extended in all the three periods of history that preceded the Great War. The kings in the lineage from Yadu (no. 7) down to Jyāmagha (no. 38), who may be called the Yādavas immediate, fall in the first period viz, the golden age. The kings from Vidarbha (no. 40) down to Āyu (no. 64a), who may be called the Vaidarbhas, fall in the second period viz, the silver age. And, the kings from Sātvata (no. 66) down to Kaṁsa (no. 93), who may be called the Sātvatas, fall in the third period viz, the copper age. So, it is better to consider the lineage of Yadu, the favourite of the Bhāgavata, periodwise.

Golden Age (*Yādavas Immediate*) *:* The first dynasty to rise to prominence early in the era, besides Pratiṣṭhāna, was that of the immediate Yādavas springing from Kroṣṭā, the son of Yadu. It was founded on the realm which Yadu inherited from his father,[6] i.e., on the western side of the Yamunā. As the Yādavas were at once divided into two branches—the Haihayas and the Yādavas proper—the former occupied the southern prortion of the inherited realm and the later, the northern portion.[7] Yadu, who was the ruler of the undivided realm, and his son Kroṣṭā, who ruled in the northern portion, seem to extend their sway westward as both are said to have destroyed the Yakṣas in Gujarat who were powerful there after their victory over the Śāryātas.[1] Among the Yādavas proper as well as immediate, appears Śaśabindu (no. 20) in the middle of the era as the first paramount monarch.[2] He extended his sway over the neighbouring countries by conquering the Turvasu and Paurava realms in the east and probably pressed upon the Druhyus in the north so that they were forced to retreat towards the Punjab.[3] His enlarged kingdom seems to be divided among his descenants, the Śāśabindavas[4], who ruled in separate and small principalities ; and for this reason, no king of note appears down to the end of the era excepting Uśanas (no. 26). As the Bhāgavata says that Uśanas performed one hundred horse-sacrifices,[5] he may be taken a sovereign monarch whose kingdom extended widely. Subject to this exceptional case of Uśanas, the history of the dynasty is obscure in the second half of the the era till we come to Jyāmagha (no. 38) who was a famous king.[6] The story[7] about the abduction of a girl by him from enemy's camp (who later on became his daughter-in-law) shows that he was a powerful king, although he was renowned as a hen-pecked husband also.[8]

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[1] 9.22.5-6ab. For details of Cedi's conquest and its rulers see *ante*—pp. 110, 165, 166. 215.

[2] 9. 24. 40 ab.

[3] See the Vāsavas and their kingdoms —p. 206 ; and also above.

[4] Siśupāla is so called by Pargiter, see—AIHT. p. 119.

[5] 10. 74. 43.

[6] See pp. 198-199 and reference no. 1 on p. 199 for the assignment of territories by Yayāti.

[7] vide AIHT. p. 260

Silver Age (*Vaidarbhas*) : At the beginning of the second period, a new kingdom of Vidarbha was carved out on the southern bank of the river Payoṣṇī[9] (Tāptī) by the king Vidarbha (no. 40), the son of Jyāmagha.[10] Vidarbha was contemporaneous with Sagara (no. 41) who was then advancing south-westward from Ayodhyā to wipe off the memory of the Haihayas from Māhiṣmatī. The Yādava kingdom lay on the way of his expedition. So, Vidarbha offered his daughter Keśinī[11] to the young monarch and retired to the south of Māhiṣmatī to save his people from the vigorous onslaughts of Sagara. Thus he crossed the rivers Narmadā and Tāptī and came to found the new kingdom which came to be known as Vidarbha in his name. North India then acknowledged the suzerainty of Sagara ; and Vidarbha kingdom developed occupying the adjacent realm of the Haihayas who were completely rooted out by Sagara. Thus the Vaidarbhas prospered in their new kingdom ; but we do not know the account of the immediate successors of Vidarbha till we come to Bhīmaratha (no. 50), a king notable for his fixed position.[1] His daughter was the celebrated Damayantī who was married to Nala, the king of Niṣadha.[2] The first famous king among the Vaidarbhas was Madhu[3] (no. 61). His son Lavaṇa was killed in the forest near Mathurā by Rāma's brother Śatrughna,[4] as noted in the Ayodhyā dynasty. It seems that Lavaṇa was killed at Mathurā when he came from Vidarbha to revive the original Yādava kingdom there. And, this is borne out by the fact that Madhu is credited with the consolidation of the collateral Yādava principalities[5]viz, Avanti, Daśārṇa, Vidiśā, Daśapura etc. It is said that Madhu's enlarged kingdom extended from Madhuvana on the river Yamunā to Surāṣṭra and Ānarta (Gujarat).[6] We do not know any particulars about the four or five kings that came after Madhu at the end of the era under consideration ; and so the account of the Vaidarbhas, as they have been called, is closed.

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[1] vide VA p. 278; where it is said that the Rākṣasas destroyed the Śāryātas. But, according to the Bhāgavata (9.3.36ab), the Puṇyajanas or the Yakṣas, as the commentator defines them, did so.

[2] 9.23.30cd-31ab.

[3] vide AIHT p. 261.

[4] 9. 23. 31cd-32.

[5] 9. 23. 33ab.

[6] 9. 23. 33f.

[7] 9. 23. 34-38.

[8] For this aspect of his life Śrīdhara on 9.23.38 cites Parāśara as follows :
भार्यावश्यस्तु ये केचित् भविष्यन्त्यथवा मृताः ।
तेषां तु ज्यामघ : श्रेष्ठः शैब्यापतिरभून्नृपः ॥

[9] vide Map of Ancient India in AIHT.

[10] 9. 23. 38abc.

[11] 9. 8. 15ab ; vide also *ante* p. 191.

Copper Age (*Sātvatas*) *:* Although the Sātvatas appear on the political arena during the period called the copper age (dvāpara-yuga), in a matter-of-fact sense it was the golden age, the period of highest achievement for them. Sātvata (or Bhīma Sātvata—no.66) ousted Śatrughna's descendants who had established in Mathurā, and brought the territory under his fold. He and his sons then reigned in the Śurasena country[7] prominently. The large kingdom was divided among his four sons[8] viz, Bhajamana I, Devāvṛdha, Andhaka I and Vṛṣṇi I ; and from these sons descended the different branches of the Sātvatas who ruled in different realms.[9] Bhajamana I's (Bhajin-Bhajamāna's) realm is not known, and his descendants[1] attained no distinction. Devāvṛdha and his son Babhru, who are highly praised in the Bhāgavata,[2] perhaps ruled on the bank of the river Parṇāśā (Banas); and their descendants, the Bhojas,[3] ruled in Marttikāvata which was in the Śālva country around mountain, Abu.[4] As Andhaka was the great Bhoja (*mahā-bhoja*), Kaṁsa is also styled as the Bhoja king (*bhoja-rāja*).[5] It may be recalled here that the first paramount monarch among the Yādavas viz, Śaśabindu (no. 20) was also called Mahābhoja.[6] It may also be added here that Rukmin, the inveterate enemy of Kṛṣṇa and the son of the Vidarbha king Bhīṣmaka, later on founded a town which was named as Bhojakata.[7] All this shows that the term "Bhoja" was widespread and belonged to the Yādavas in general, except perhaps the Vṛṣṇis.[8] Andhaka I (Andhaka-Mahābhoja—no. 67) reigned at Mathurā, the chief Yādava capital. He had two sons viz, Kukura and Bhajamāna II[9]. Kukura (no. 69) and his decendants, the Kukuras,[10] formed the main dynasty at Mathurā down to Kaṁsa (no. 93). Bhajamāna II's descendants, who were especially known as the Andhakas,[11] formed a princely line somewhere near Mathurā; and Kṛtavarman was their king in Pāṇḍava's time.[12] Kṛtavarman wanted to marry Satyabhāmā, the daughter of the Vṛṣṇi king Satrājit who married her to Kṛṣṇa. He, then, instigated his cousin brother Śatadhanvan to kill Satrājit. Śatadhanvan did so but lost his life also at the hands of Kṛṣṇa.[13] It is said that Kṛtavarman fought on the side of the Kauravas in the Great War and was one of the three who survived.[14] Besides the above branches of the Sātvatas, there were others ruling in the kingdoms of Vidarbha, Avanti, Daśārṇa, Māhiṣmatī etc.[15]

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[1] For Bhīmaratha's position vide Chapter VI p. 155.

[2] vide VA p. 290. Niṣadha had been a small principality of the Yādavas on the western end of the Ṛkṣa (Satpura) mountain—vide AIHT. p. 273.

[3] 9. 24. 5d.

[4] 9.11.14cd-15ab ; vide also AIHT. p. 170.

[5] vide VA p. 297.

[6] vide AIHT. p. 122.

[7] vide AIHT. pp. 170, 279.

[8] ibid., p. 279.

[9] For the progeny of Sātvata and the branches emerging from the progeny, see the chart of Sātvatas in Chapter V p. 118 and also their collated charts nos. 18 & 19 in Chapter VI pp. 152-53. The variant names appearing onwards in brackets may be read from the collated charts. As the Bhāgavata does not specify the realms of the branch lines of the Sātvatas, they have been shown here on the basis of the information received from elsewhere.

Vṛṣṇi I (no. 67) probably reigned at Dvārakā in Gujarat,[16] and his descendants, the Vṛṣṇis,[17] must have also continued there. Devamīḍha (or Devamīḍhuṣa—no. 76), one of his descendants, married an Ikṣvāku princess viz, Aśmakī.[1] Their son (descendant) was Śūra II (no. 89) who married a Bhoja princess viz, Māriṣā and their eldest son (descendant) was Vasudeva[2] (no. 92). Vasudeva's eighth son through Devakī was Kṛṣṇa.[3] When Jarāsandha attacked Mathurā, Kṛṣṇa shifted all the Yādavas from there and settled them in Dvārakā under the kingship of Ugrasena[4] (no. 92). Biography and historicity of Kṛṣṇa have been already noticed in the preceding chapters.[5] Kṛṣṇa was born to help the Pāṇḍavas and extend the fame of Yudhiṣṭhira as a righteous monarch.[6] So, after their exile, he worked as the emissary of peace to Duryodhana, failing which ensued the great battle—the all-engulfing political contest in Kurukṣetra—that ended in the destruction of all concerned excepting the Pāṇḍavas. A few years after the Great War,[7] the Yādavas of Dvārakā and of outlying realms were ruined by fratricidal strife at Prabhāsakṣetra.[8] Kṛṣṇa was satisfied when the main purpose of his incarnation was realized thus in Kurukṣetra and Prabhāsakṣetra respectively.[9] So, he departed from this world[10] twenty years after the Great War.[11] The remaining Yādavas abandoned Dvārakā and their kingdoms round about and retreated northwards under the leadership of Arjuna who brought them to Indraprastha (Delhi).[12] Yudhiṣṭhira, then, coronated Vajra (no. 95a), the surviving Vṛṣṇi prince, on the throne of Mathurā as the king of the remaining Yādavas who settled in Śurasena.[13] Here ends the glorious era for the Yādavas who formed the largest single unit in the lunar race. Immediately afterwards, Yudhiṣṭhira and his brothers resorted to the Himālayas placing Parīkṣit II on the throne of Hastināpura.[14] Thus ended the next largest unit of the lunar race constituted by the Pauravas. In this way the two great families of the Yādavas and the Pauravas, that were closely connected with each other in the copper age and intimately related in the time that preceded the Great War, went out of picture simultaneously in so far as the scope of the present chapter is concerned.

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[1] 9.24.7cd-8.

[2] 9.24.9-11ab.

[3] The Bhāgavata says that the Bhojas descended from Mahābhoja, the seventh and the last son of Sātvata—9.24.11cd.

[4] vide AIHT. p. 279.

[5] 10. 4. 2.

[6] 9. 23. 30cd.

[7] 10. 54. 52.

[8] vide AIHT. p. 280.

[9] 9.24.19ab.

[10] 9.24.19cd-24.

[11] For Andhaka branch 9.24. 26-29, 42.

[12] vide AIHT. p. 280.

[13] 10. 56. 44 ; 10. 57. 3-5, 21.

[14] VA p. 301.

[15] vide AIHT. p. 280.

[16] ibid.

[17] 9. 24. 12-18.

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[1] VA p. 301.

[2] 9. 24. 27cd-28.

[3] 9. 24. 55ab.

[4] 10. 50. 50.

[5] For Kṛṣṇa's biography—see Chapter V, pp. 121-132 ; For historicity—see Chapter VI, pp. 175-176.

[6] 1. 8. 32.

[7] vide AIHT. p. 284.

[8] For the details of the Yādava-destruction at Prabhāsa, see-11.30. 4-24; and Chapter V, pp. 130-131.

[9] 11. 30. 25 ; vide also 1. 15. 26.

[10] 11. 31. 6.

[11] vide DKA p. x.

[12] 11. 31. 23-25.

[13] 1. 15. 39 ab ; 11. 31. 25d.

[14] 1. 15. 38 ; 11. 31. 26.

CONCLUSION

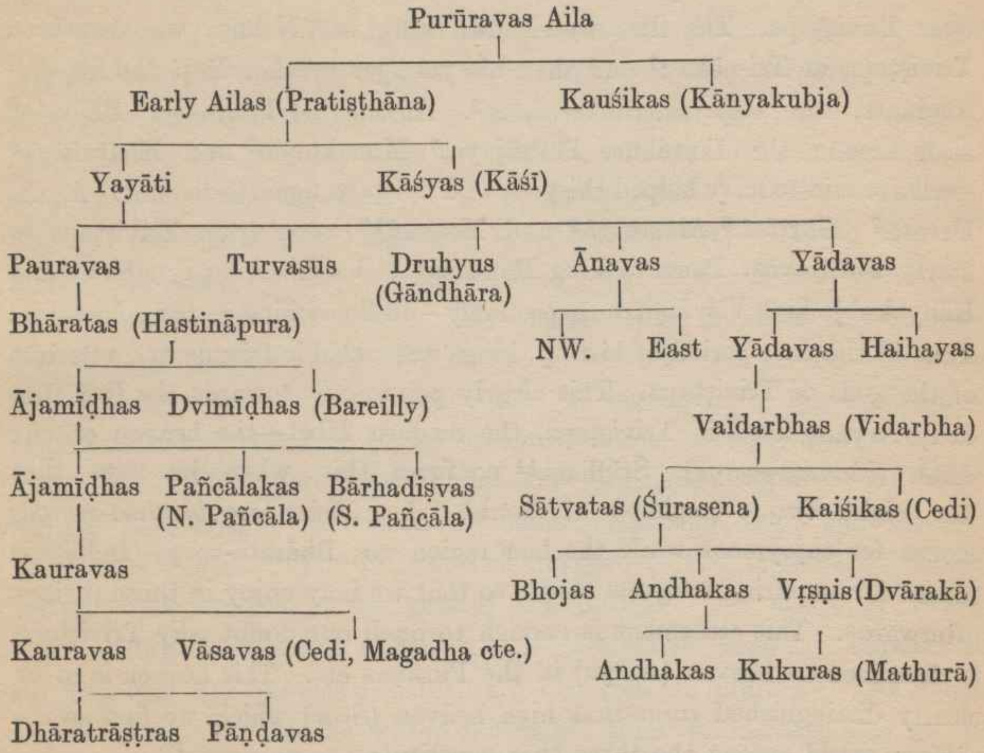
Broad Results : In the solar race, four kingdoms, leaving aside the smaller or short-lived ones, stand in hierarchical importance viz, Ānarta, Vaiśālī, Videha and Ayodhyā in which the Śāryātas, Vaiśālas, Maithilas and Ikṣvākus ruled respectively. In the lunar race, the early Aila kings beginning from Purūravas Aila ruled at Pratiṣṭhāna (Prayāga) and soon developed, overpowering the smaller States of the solar race which then disappeared. The two earliest and separate kingdoms of the junior lines of the Ailas, that came into existence thus, were Kānyakubja and Kāśī ; and if the five territories of the five sons of Yayāti be included, there were seven Aila kingdoms in the mid-north India from the very beginning.

In the first period of history, the Śāryātas disappeared under the pressure of the Yakṣas. The Vaiśālas became prominent at the end of the era when they checked the Haihaya progress eastward. The Maithilas continued without prominence. Ayodhyā rose to power in the middle of the era under Māndhātṛ ; but its supremacy waned soon afterwards. At the same time the Yādavas rose under Śaśabindu and held nearly all the countries of western India. The Haihayas prospered in the Narmadā region, and conquering Kāśī made it their base to attack N. India. The Pauravas lay in abeyance throughout the second half of the era. The NW. Ānavas captured almost the entire Punjab ; and Sauvīra, Kaikeya, Madra, Vāhlīka, Śivi and Ambaṣṭha were their newly founded kingdoms therein. The Druhyus, driven back from their original territory, settled in Gāndhāra (north-west frontier). At the close of the era the Haihayas maltreated the Bhārgavas and so their career of conquests was checked by Paraśurāma. The Tālajaṅghas rose with renewed vigour and devastated N. India by their continuous raids. They overran kingdoms, founding none. The Kṣatriyas perished by thousands in their raids and battles. Finally, Sagara appeared on the political arena and established the Ayodhyā empire over N. India by destroying the Haihayas and crushing the foreign tribes that aided them. The noticeable kingdoms that survived at the end of the era were Videha, Vaiśālī, Turvasu line on the Mekala hills and Yādavas on the bank of the Chambal. Kāśī and Paurava dynasties were in abeyance. The dynasties of Kānyakubja, Druhyus and NW. Ānavas ended abruptly, although the Druhyus crossed the border of India and entered Iran to found their kingdoms in the foreign land.

In the next period of history, Videha and Vaiśāli did not influence the political development. But Ayodhyā maintained its position under Khaṭvāṅga and rose to its zenith at the close of the era under Rāma. At the beginning of the era, Duṣyanta revived the Paurava dynasty ; and the development of the Pauravas afterwards was remarkable. In the middle of the era they had four States viz, Hastināpura where the main line ruled and three others—N. Pañcāla, S. Pañcāla and Bareilly—where the branch lines flourished. All these kingdoms were in the doab ; and among these N. Pāncāla was particularly prominent. The Yādavas, under the pressure of Sagara, retired beyond the Payoṣṇī river and founded a new kingdom of Vidarbha there. Yet their offshoots carved out another small kingdom of Cedi in their original territory, although they reinged there for short time. Like Duṣyanta, Pratardana revived his Kāśī dynasty which had been overthrown by the Haihayas. The Ānavas, who moved to the east, had at least five kingdoms in their possession in the area of modern Bihar, Bengal and Orissa, among which the most important was Aṅga. At the end of the era, Videha and Aṅga survived ; and Ayodhyā lost its glory and power. Kāśī and Vaiśālī disappeared. It was then that the Pauravas and the Yādavas dominated in the coming era ; and therefore they figure prominently in traditional accounts.

In the third and the final period of the traditional history, first comes into picture N. Pañcāla which overthrew its main line at Hastināpura including the sister line at S. Pañcāla in the first half of the era. But Saṁvaraṇa and especially Kuru turned the tables in the next half so that both N. and S. Pañcāla remained under the grip of the main line down to the close of the era when we find Droṇa seated on the throne of N. Pañcāla ousting and transferring Drupada to S. Pañcāla. At the same time, the offshoots of the Pauravas viz, Vāsavas flourished in the kingdoms of Magadha, Cedi etc. in which the former is most important from the standpoint of its role in the fourth era that started after the Great War. The development of the Yādavas was speedy; and they had many kingdoms under the control of their branches spreading from Mathurā to Dvārakā and thence to Kuṇḍinapura, the then capital of Vidarbha. To mention a few, Śurasena, Daśārṇa, Avanti, Vidiśā, Niṣadha, Surāṣṭra and Ānarta were their kingdoms in the western India, besides Vidarbha in the south.

The solar race occupied the greater part of India at the beginning but steadily lost ground before the dynasties of the lunar race. Thus traditional history is by and large the history of the lunar race, especially of the five clans that emerged after Yayāti and particularly of the Pauravas and the Yādavas. So, the development of the lunar race is shown in the table below:


Purūravas Aila
Early Ailas (Pratiṣṭhāna)
Kauśikas (Kānyakubja)
Yayāti
Kāśyas (Kāśī)
Pauravas
Turvasus
Druhyus (Gāndhāra)
Ānavas
Yādavas
Bhāratas (Hastināpura)
NW.
East
Yādavas
Haihayas
Ājamīḍhas
Dvimīḍhas (Bareilly)
Vaidarbhas (Vidarbha)
Ājamīḍhas
Pañcālakas (N. Pañcāla)
Bārhadiṣvas (S. Pañcāla)
Sātvatas (Śurasena)
Kaiśikas (Cedi)
Kauravas
Bhojas
Andhakas
Vṛṣṇis (Dvārakā)
Kauravas
Vāsavas (Cedi, Magadha etc.)
Andhakas
Kukuras (Mathurā)
Dhāratrāṣṭras
Pāṇḍavas

Aryans and Their Home: Tradition naturally begins with myths. The myths[1] about the births of Ilā and her son Purūravas distinctly suggest that the Aila race originated beyond the Himālayas in the foot of the Meru and particularly in Ilāvṛta-varṣa, apparently so named after Ilā.[2] The Aila stock that began at the small realm of Pratiṣṭhāna expanded in the whole of N. India afterwards; and their advance and expansion agree with the Aryan occupation and settlement in India so that what we call the Aryan race is what Indian tradition calls the Aila race; and so Aila=Aryan.[3] Thus the original home of the Aryans in the mid-Himālayas explains why it has been so sacred for the Indians throughout the ages down today. Tradition knows no Aryan entry from the north-west frontier. On the contrary, unostentatiously it declares their immigration to Iran in the form of Druhyus,[4] which explains the close bond of Persia and India in the remote past. So it was that Himālayas being the original home of the Aryans, all ancient beliefs and veneration were directed in its direction and never to the north-west.

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[1] For the myths of Ilā's birth etc. see Chapter V, p. 99 and Chapter. VII, p. 195.

[2] vide AIHT. pp. 297-300. For the situation of Ilāvṛta-varṣa see Chapter. I, pp. 13-14.

[3] vide AIHT. p. 295.

[4] See the outflow of Druhyus Chapter VII, pp. 200.

Further, the early Aila kings and others are often said to have ruled over Triviṣṭapa. The first well-known king was Nahuṣa who captured Triviṣṭapa or Tri-ṇāka ;[1] and then his younger brother Rajī and his descendants, the Rājeyas, ruled there[2]. Among the Pauravas, Bharata[3] and, among the Ikṣvākus, Parañjaya,[4] Mucukunda[5] and Khaṭvāṅga[6] —all are said to have helped the gods of Triviṣṭapa against demons. Again, Urvaśī,[7] Ghṛtācī,[8] Alambuṣā[9] and Menakā[10] came from Triviṣṭapa to marry Purūravas, Paurava king Raudrāśva, Vaiśāla king Tṛṇabindu and Kānyakubja king Viśvāmitra respectively—all flourishing in the golden age. Thus in the first period of history, kings were reliable friends and relatives of the gods of Triviṣṭapa. This clearly points out towards the fact that early Aryans lived in Triviṣṭapa, the modern Tibet—the heaven on the earth (*bhauma-svarga*). Śrīdhara[11] confirms this when he says that the eight *varṣas* (regions) of Jambū-dvīpa (Asia) are *bhauma-svargas* meant for enjoyment while the last region viz, Bhārata-varṣa (India) is meant for acquiring religious merits so that we may enjoy in those regions afterwards. This statement is enough to quell our doubt why Triviṣṭapa is described as heaven (*svarga*) in the Purāṇas etc. This heaven is to be clearly distinguished from that high heaven (*Svar*) which we find as the highest world among the three that constitute the universe.[12]

Another stock of the Saudyumnas which is said to have sprung from Sudyumna,[13] the son or daughter of Manu, may be identified with the Muṇḍā race which was soon subjugated and assimilated.[14] There are abundant indications of aboriginal stocks e.g., Niṣādas, Dāsas, Pulindas etc. Other powerful tribes of hostile character were the Rākṣasas, Dasyus, Nāgas, Asuras, Yakṣas etc. All these tribes and peoples who were apparently non-Aryans and of rude culture were also repressed and brought under the Aryan fold. The process of assimilation went so far that these tribal names ceased to have any ethnological force. They only survived in the form of evil appellations synonymous with the word 'demons' indicative of their hoary past.

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[1] 6. 13. 16 ; 9. 18. 3abc.
[2] 9.17.12cd-16ab.
[3] 9. 20. 30.
[4] 9. 6. 13-19.
[5] 10. 51. 15.
[6] 9. 9. 42ab.
[7] 9. 14. 15 cd-16.
[8] 9. 20. 3d-5.
[9] 9. 2. 31abc.
[10] 9. 20. 12.

[11] Śrīdhara on 5. 17. 11 comments : दिव्य-भौम-बिल-भेदात् त्रिविधः स्वर्गः । तत्र भौम-स्वर्गस्य पदानि स्थानानि व्यपदिशन्ति ।

[12] For the concept of the three worlds see Chapter I, pp. 11-12 and Chapter II, pp. 33-34.

[13] 9. 1. 41 where Sudyumna, the transformation of Ila into a male, is ascribed with three sons. For their names, principalities etc. see *ante* p. 195.

[14] vide AIHT. pp. 255, 288, 295.

Sublime Truth : The Bhāgavata tenderly nourishes a revolutionary attitude towards history. It does not record history for the purpose as an ordinary man might think. For the Bhāgavata. genealogy is just a peg to hang the stories of gods, hermits and kings. It utilizes genealogy to preach the most sublime truth viz, detachment. Before the metaphysical outlook of the Bhāgavata, traditional history recorded by it is merely the words of eloquent speech meant for the realization of worthlessness and transitoriness of worldly objects. The result of this realization is detachment.[1] According to the Bhāgavata,[2] all the functionaries of the State, wealth, kingdom and other belongings including oneself are not eternal but transient (*āgama-apāyin*), unreal (*mithyā*) and causes of sorrow etc. Therefore the Bhāgavata[3] does not approve the self-control of a king if he does so for selfish ends such as to gain victory over other States. The Bhāgavata[4] disapproves this because liberation and not kingdom etc. is the goal of self-control. The excess of thirst binds a king in the snare of hopes. He desires to curb his opponents etc. but like any one else dies before his desires are fulfilled.[5] The kings fought mutually with the wrong notion of 'Mine' on the land and 'I' on the body; and so all of them passed away unsuccessfully.[6] They had to die here and suffer hereafter for their malice to other beings. Their bodies, which they took as 'I', were reduced to ashes (worms or faeces) while their belongings, which they considered as 'Mine', passed to others.[7] They only survived in names narrated in tales. At the most, their fame existed but not their kingdoms and sons for whom they lost sight of their own spiritual welfare.[8] For their spiritual welfare, then, the Bhāgavata considers falling from the throne[9] or banishment from the kingdom[10] not a punishment but the grace of God ; because such fall or exile destroys pride and paves way for spiritual pursuits.

In the light of this goal, we can understand the attitude of those princes and kings who declined throne, resorted to the forest and attained emancipation. Examples are not wanting either in the pre-flood tradition or in the post-flood one ; and, both in the Priyavrata and Uttānapāda dynasties of the former and in the solar and lunar dynasties of the latter tradition. In the pre-flood tradition, then, Vijitāśva,[1] the son of Pṛthu ; Utkala,[2] the son of Dhruva ; and the royal sage Aṅga[3] —all of the Uttānapāda dynasty are notable for relinquishing kingdoms etc. for spiritual attainments. In the Priyavrata dynasty, Kavi, Mahāvīra and Savana, the three sons of Priyavrata, were parama-haṁsas since their childhood.[4] Ṛṣabha was the preacher of the *pārama-haṁsya-dharma*[5] while his son Bharata was a great Yogin.[6] In the post-flood tradition, Pṛṣadhra[7] and Kavi,[8] both sons of Manu, attained Brahman. Asamañjasa,[9] (no. 42), the son of Sagara and heir-apparent to the throne, acted in a way that was opposed to the general practice and resorted to an unknown place. Khaṭvāṅga (or Dilīpa II—no. 60) not only relinquished kingdom but also ignorance at the last moment of his life and concentrating on the Divine realized his identity with Brahman who manifests Himself as Vāsudeva to shower grace on His devotees.[10] In the lunar race, Yati,[11] the eldest son of Nahuṣa (no. 5), his descendant Śāntaraya,[12] and lastly, Devāpi,[13] the brother of Śantanu (no. 90) were the princes who declined to accept the throne for their own spiritual welfare. Like Khaṭvāṅga in the solar race, Bharata (no. 44) in the lunar race attained emancipation at the end of his long reign.[14] These examples testify to the fact that the Bhāgavata stands to propagate its unique religion—the *pārama-haṁsya-dharma*—through the records of traditional history.

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[1] 12. 3. 14.

[2] 6. 15. 21cd-23.

[3] 12. 3. 3.

[4] 12. 3. 5cd.

[5] 12. 3. 4.

[6] 12. 3. 7-8, 13.

[7] 12. 2. 40-43.

[8] 12. 2. 36, 44.

[9] 10. 73. 9ab.

[10] 10. 73. 13.

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[1] 4. 24. 6.
[2] 4. 13. 6-10.
[3] 4. 13. 18.
[4] 5. 1. 26.
[5] 5. 3. 21.
[6] 5. 14. 42-43.
[7] 9. 2. 3-14.
[8] 9. 2. 15.
[9] 9. 8. 16-18.
[10] 9. 9. 42 cd-49.
[11] 9. 8. 2.
[12] 9. 17. 12ab.
[13] 9. 22. 12cd.
[14] 9. 20. 32.

THE POST-FLOOD TRADITIONAL HISTORY (SUPPLEMENTAL)

(ACCOUNT OF HERMITS—CRITICAL)

THE PROCEDURE
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF HERMITS (ṚṢI)
THE BHĀRGAVAS
THE VASIṢṬHAS
THE ĀṄGIRASAS
THE ĀTREYAS AND THE KĀŚYAPAS
THE PAULASTYAS AND THE ĀGASTYAS
THE VIŚVĀMITRAS AND OTHER HERMITS
CONCLUSION

[VIII] THE POST-FLOOD TRADITIONAL HISTORY (SUPPLEMENTAL)

(ACCOUNT OF HERMITS-CRITICAL)

THE PROCEDURE

Traditional history shall remain incomplete without taking into account those hermits (*ṛṣi*) who were intimately connected with kings in various capacities ; and thus moulded political history into cultural history of our nation. The present Chapter is addressed to the task of proposing a chronological account of the hermits mentioned by the Bhāgavata. The following procedure is adopted for the purpose :—

1. The hermits have been classified into Brāhmaṇa families to which they belong. Although the Bhāgavata does not give the genealogies (*vaṁśa*) of Brāhmaṇa families, yet it is known from other Purāṇas that there were at least five old and genuine Brāhmaṇa families. According to their order of origin, they may be named as follows :—(i) Bhārgava, (ii) Vasiṣṭha, (iii) Āṅgirasa, (iv) Ātreya, (v) Kāśyapa and also (vi) Paulastyas and Āgastyas. Besides these, there was the Viśvāmitra family founded by Viśvāmitra, the king of Kānyakubja, who became Brāhmaṇa by his *tapas.*[1] The account of hermits has been treated here under the sub-headings of these families and the hermits have been brought therein as suggested by Pargiter. There, however, remained some hermits whose co-option in the existing Brāhmaṇa families was not possible. Their account, therefore, is treated separately under the sub-heading, 'other hermits'.

2. The difficulties met with the account are as follows :—(i) Habitually the hermits are mentioned by their *gotra*-names or patronymics instead of personal names. So we find 'Bhṛgu' ,'Vasiṣṭha' or 'Āṅgirasa' etc. referring to many kings, generations apart. But it is apparent that a different hermit is meant in each case, to be marked out by his connection with a particular king. (ii) Often the hermits of such names appear in the post-flood tradition, although we are acquainted with them in the pre-flood tradition as well. In such cases a hermit belonging to this tradition is taken as quasi-historical while mentioned in the previous tradition is taken as mythical. (iii) While giving this account, the myths and stories already enumerated in the preceding Chapters, have been very briefly referred to.

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[1] vide AIHT. pp. 184-86. For the origin of these Brāhmaṇa families see chapter XI, last portion.

3. Before we consider the account itself, a chronological Table of the hermits is necessary so that we may reckon their family and position at a glance. This kind of table is already provided by Pargiter[1] in which the hermits are classed into Brāhmaṇa families at their appropriate positions. We have adopted the table with the following modifications :—(i) Pargiter's table mentions the names of the hermits under the first three families, and the rest are all combined in the fourth column. We have retained the first three columns of the three families ; but their order has been changed on the basis of their antiquity and importance. The fourth column has been bifurcated so that the families other than the three come in the fourth while 'other hermits' come in the fifth, the new column. (ii) The names not given by the Bhāgavata are not taken into account, although a few implied in the Bhāgavata are retained in brackets. (iii) On the other hand, many new names given by the Bhāgavata are inserted at their appropriate positions ascertained in the account. (iv) The positions of a few hermits have been altered in our Table in the light of the discussions that follow.

4. The following points are to be noted while reading the Table : (i) A hermit who is mentioned by the *gotra*-name etc. and not by personal name is placed in inverted commas. (ii) Where a hermit's position is problematic, his name is question-marked. (iii) The names—whether family name, *gotra* name, patronymic or personal—not given by the Bhāgavata but mentioned in the account for some reasons are bracketted.

5. To make the positions of kings easily understandable, they are numbered in the runnning account in pursuanace of the number of generation mentioned in the Table of dynastic lists in Chapter six. The case of a hermit in the annexed Table is however determined in the present Chapter.

6. The Bhāgavata has given the list of hermits in five different contexts : Firstly, where Citraketu, an imaginary king, names certain hermits to recognise the two present before him.[2] Secondly, when there was a gathering of hermits around the death bed of Bhīṣma.[3] Thirdly when Yudhiṣṭhira selects priests to conduct his Rāja-sūya sacrifice.[4] Fourthly, when priests were chosen by Vasudeva for a great sacrifice undertaken by him at Syamanta-pañcaka.[5] And fifthly, when there was an assemblage of hermits around Parīkṣit II on the occasion of his fasting unto death on the bank of the Gaṅgā.[6] Of these, the first list is imaginary. So, its references in the present account are termed as vague. As for the central figures of the remaining four lists, Bhīṣma, Yudhiṣṭhira

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[1] AIHT. pp. 191-92.
[2] 6.15.12-15.
[3] 1.9.6-8.
[4] 10.74.7-9
[5] 10.84.3-5.
[6] 1.19.9-10

Vasudeva and Parīkṣit II may be taken as more or less contemporaries. But the hermits enlisted therein appear in violence of chronology. Such anachronistic names, however, show the existence of the hermits at some time or other. Their positions etc. are, therefore, ascertained from other sources before inserting them at appropriate places in the annexed Table of hermits.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF HERMITS (ṚṢI)

	Bhārgavas	*Vasiṣṭhas*	*Āṅgirasas*	*Other Families*	*Other Hermits*
1	'Bhṛgu'	'Vasiṣṭha'	Atharvāṅgiras	—	—
2	Cyavana	—	—	—	Pṛṣadhra, Kavi
3	—	—	—	—	—
4	Uśanas-Śukra	—	—	—	—
5	Śaṇḍa, Marka	—	—	Agastya ?	(Yājñavalkya)
6	(Apnavāna)	—	Aṅgiras ?	—	Yati
7-	—	—	—	—	—
9	—	—	—	—	—
10	—	—	—	—	Śāntaraya
11	—	—	—	—	—
12	—	Agniveśya-'Jātūkarṇya'	—	—	—
13-	—	—	—	—	—
17	—	—	—	—	—
18	—	—	—	(Prabhākara-Ātreya)	—
19-	—	—	—	—	—
21	—	—	—	—	—
22	—	—	—	—	Saubhari
23-	—	—	—	—	—
29	—	—	—	—	—
30	Ūrva	(Devarāja-) Vasiṣṭha	—	—	—
31	Ṛcīka-Aurva	—	—	Datta-Ātreya Durvāsas?	—
32	Jamadagni, Ajīgarta	—	—	Viśvāmitra	—
33	—	—	Ayāsya ?	Madhucchandas etc., 'Kaśyapa'	—
34	Rāma, Śunaḥ-śepha	—	—	Śunaḥ-śepha Devarāta	
35-	—	—	—	—	—
38	—	—	—	—	—
39	—	—	Aṅgiras (or Uśija)	—	—
40	(Agni-) Aurva	(Āpava-Vasiṣṭha)	Utathya, Bṛhaspati, Saṁvarta	—	Kapila
41	Vītihotra (Vītahavya)	—	Dīrghatamas, Bharadvāja	—	—

	Bhārgavas	*Vasiṣṭhas*	*Āṅgirasas*	*Other Families*	*Other Hermits*
42	—	—	—	Viśvāmitra, Kaṇva (-kāśyapa) (Agastya and Lopāmudrā)	Asamañjasa
43	—	—	Kakṣīvān etc.	—	—
44	—	—	—	—	—
45	—	—	—	—	—
46	—	—	Vitatha-Bhāradvāja-(adopted by Bharata)	—	—
47-	—	—	—	—	—
50	—	—	—	—	—
51	—	—	—	(Pulastya)	—
52	—	—	—	—	—
53	—	—	—	Viśravas	—
54	—	(Śreṣṭhabhāj-) Vasiṣṭha	—	—	—
55-	—	—	—	—	—
62	—	—	—	—	—
63	—	—	Gautama	—	—
64	Vālmīki-Prācetasa	'Vasiṣṭha' (with Daśaratha)	—	Ṛṣyaśṛṅga (-Kāśyapa) 'Viśvāmitra' (with Rāma)	—
65-	—	—	—	—	—
68	—	—	—	—	—
69	—	—	(Vāmadeva)	—	—
70	—	—	(Bṛhaduktha)	—	—
71-	—	—	—	—	—
82	—	—	—	—	—
83	—	—	—	—	Hiraṇyanābha
84	—	—	—	—	Kṛta
85	—	—	—	—	—
86	—	—	—	—	Jaigīṣavya
87	—	—	—	—	—
88	—	—	—	—	Ṛṣṭiṣeṇa
89	—	—	—	—	Maru, Devāpi
90	—	Parāśara (-Sāgara)	Śatānanda	—	—
91	—	Viṣvaksena-Jātūkarṇya	'Bharadvāja'	Asita (-Kāśyapa)	—
92	—	Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana-Vyāsa	Śaradvān, Vāmadeva?	Agastya ?	—
93	—	Śuka-Vaiyāsaki	Kṛpa, Droṇa	Devala	—
94	Vaiśampāyana	—	Aśvatthāman, Paila	Dhaumya, Kumbhayoni	'Jaimini'
95	—	—	'Bhāradvāja'	Idhmavāha	Yājñavalkya
95a	—	—	—	—	Āsuri

THE BHĀRGAVAS

Bhṛgu and Vālmīki are said to be the extraordinary sons of Varuṇa, the ninth Āditya.[1] Bhṛgu may be taken as the progenitor of the Bhārgavas. The earliest Bhārgava, we know of, was Cyavana (no. 2) who married Sukanyā, the daughter of Manu's son, Śaryāti.[2] Cyavana was old and decrepit at the time of marriage. So, Āśvins applied their curative power, rejuvenated Cyavana to youth and thus prolonged his life.[3] The two Āśvins, also called Aśvinīkumāra or Nāsatyau, were the sons of Vivasvān born through Saṁjñā ;[4] and as such they were brothers of the 7th Manu, who may be said to have come to help their grand-daughter accidentally married to an old person. Cyavana and Sukanyā had two sons viz, Apnavāna (no. 6) and Dadhīca.[5] Apnavāna's wife was Ruci, perhaps the daughter of the early Aila king Nahuṣa (no. 5), and they had a far descendant viz, Ūrva[6] (no. 30).

Aurvas : Ūrva had a son whose name was Ṛcīka (no. 31). Ṛcīka's son was Jamadagni (no. 32) and his son was Rāma[7] (no. 34). Perhahs Ajīgarta (no. 32) was also Ṛcīka's son;[8] and his son Śunaḥ-śepha-Ājīgarta-Bhārgava (no. 34) was adopted by Viśvāmitra.[9] It is said that Śunaḥ-śepha was the sacrificial animal in the puruṣa-medha performed by the Ayodhyā king Hariścandra (no. 33). But Viśvāmitra got him released and adopted him by the name Devarāta.[10] Rāma Jāmadagnya's descendant was Agni-Aurva (no. 40) in the time of Sagara.[11] All these above-mentioned Aurvas, to use a less comprehensive patronymic for the Bhārgavas, lived probably on the bank of the river, Sarasvatī.[12] As noted above, Cyavana was related to the king of Ānarta. That his later descendants, the Aurvas, came to live in Brahmāvarta is clearly suggested by the events noted here. The Aurvas came in conflict with the Haihayas. The conflict is said to have started when Arjuna Kārtavīrya (no. 31) raided Jamadagni's hermitage and forcibly took away his sacred cow reserved for sacrificial purposes. Then Rāma went to Māhiṣmatī, the capital of the Haihayas, killed Arjuna there and brought back the cow.[1] Later on, Arjuna's sons slew Jamadagni when he was in meditation to take revenge of their father's death.[2] This enraged Rāma to the extreme ; and he declared a vendetta not only against the Haihayas but also against the Kṣatriyas associated with them. To fulfil his dreadful vow of exterminating the Kṣatriyas in general, Rāma is said to have 'rid the earth twenty-one times of the royal personages'.[3] The Bhāgavata says that Rāma destroyed the valiant Kṣatriya kings, who were like the burden of the earth, many times on different battle-fields—the act for which he was born.[4] Although it is said that Rāma single-handed destroyed Arjuna and his descandants (i.e., the Tālajaṅghas) it seems that a confederacy of kings was organised by the Aurvas to wreck vengeance on them. Working in this direction, first they sought marital alliances with the kings of the Gangetic doab. Ṛcīka fulfilled the demand of one thousand peculiar horses, made by the Kānyakubja king Gādhi (no. 30) and thus married his daughter Satyavatī, the sister of Viśvāmitra[5] (no. 32). Then Ṛcīka's son Jamadagni allied himself with the royal house of Ayodhyā by marrying Reṇukā, the daughter of a junior king there.[6] But Jamadagni followed peaceful avocations, being indifferent to political monoeuvres of the Aurvas. He was therefore hospitable to Arjuna when the latter came to his hermitage.[7] The Bhāgavata points to the high stature of this hermit when it calls him as *Brahmavittama*[8] and *tapodhana*,[9] the knower of Brahman and rich in penance. So, rid of vengeance, he was given to the Divine.[10]

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[1] 6.18.4.

[2] 9.3.9ab ; For the full story of marriage, See—9.3.2-9. This Cyavana is called Cyavāna in the Vedic literature—(vide AIHT. p. 194).

[3] 9.3.11-17. The Ṛg-Veda confirms that Āśvins restored Cyavāna to youth (Vedic Index 1.264 ; vide AIHT. p. 194, fn. 12). Cyavana further finds mention in the Bhāgavata lists of hermits—6.15.14; 10.74.7 ; and, 1.19.9.

[4] 6.6.38 ef ; 8.13.9a.

[5] vide AIHT p. 197. The Bhāgavata (6.10.2-13) gives the story of Dadhīca who sacrificed his life for Indra; but does not mention Apnavāna at all.

[6] vide AIHT. pp. 137, 304.

[7] 9.15.11d-13cd.

[8] vide AIHT. p. 198.

[9] 9.16.30 abc.

[10] 9.16.32.

[11] AIHT. p. 191.

[12] 10.89.1—where it is said that Bhṛgu etc. sitting on the bank of the Sarasvatī had a deliberation on the superiority of one god among the three viz, Brahmā, Maheśvara and Viṣṇu. For the full story and verdict of Bhṛgu see—10.88-89.

Paraśurāma : Thus it was left to Rāma to take revenge against the Haihayas for their maltreatment of ancestors, the Bhārgavas, and for the disrespect and murder of his father by Arjuna and his sons respectively. When his maternal grandfather Viśvāmitra was relinquishing hereditary throne of Kānyakubja to be a *maharṣi* (great hermit), Rāma, born in the

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[1] 9.15.23-26.

[2] 9.16.11.

[3] 9.16.17-19ab.

[4] 9.15.10c, 16 ; 9.16.27.

[5] 9.15.5-7.

[6] 9.15.12cd.

[7] 9.15.24.

[8] 9.15.10ab.

[9] 9.15.24d.

[10] 9.16.11ab.

Brāhmaṇa family, was, by contrast, relinquishing tranquil virtues to become the greatest warrior of the time. Equipped with *paraśu* (battle-axe) he came to be known as Paraśurāma. Perhaps this distinguished him from Rāma Dāśarathi (no. 65) also called Rāmacandra.

Paraśurāma entered violent conflict with the Haihayas and vanquished them for the time being. On the strength of the matrimonial alliances of his father and grandfather with the royal families of Kānyakubja and Ayodhyā and also taking the advantage of the growng discontent against the Haihaya-Tālajaṅghas incessantly engaged in attacking and overthrowing the dynasties of N. India, Rāma organised the confederacy of many kingdoms such as Vaiśālī, Videha and Kāśī, besides the two noted above. All these supported Rāma with men and material with which he was able to crush the powerful Tālajaṅghas and their associates, the Kṣatriya kings, twenty-one times,[1] i.e., on different battle-fields. After completing his mission Rāma retired to the Mahendra and engaged himself in *tapas*.[2] Rāma and his father Jamadagni are designated to be the one among the seven hermits of the 7th and 8th manvantaras respectively.[3] This shows that they were hermits of celebrity, distinguished for their militaristic and spiritual accomplishments respectively.

The reason for military action on the part of Rāma against the Tālajaṅghas is simple. The conflict, as we have seen, had started when Arjuna abducted the cow of his father. But the abduction of a cow is too trivial a matter to lead to Haihaya destruction. The fact is that the Aurvas were planning to subdue the Haihayas before Rāma or Jamadagni. It is said[4] that the Bhārgavas held maritime trade on the western coastal strip which Arjuna did not like. He asked them to return the wealth given by him perhaps in gift. The Bhārgavas, unable to face him, retired to Madhyadeśa in the north, and settled on the bank of the Sarasvatī in Brahmāvarta. Their descendants, the Aurvas, made preparations to take revenge ; and Rāma completed the mission of his ancestors. The Aurvas again held sway in their original home, right from Ānarta and Bhṛgukaccha (Broach) down to Cape Comorin.[5]

The Bhāgavata[6] mentions Vītihotra as the last king of the Haihaya dynasty. A Bhārgava hermit is said to have saved him from the attack of the Kāśī king Pratardana (no. 41) by asserting that he is Brāhmaṇa.

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[1] 9.16.19ab.

[2] 9.16.26.

[3] 9.16.24-25.

[4] vide VA pp. 285-87 ; the view of Mr. Karandikara is cited here.

[5] cf. ibid.

[6] 9.23.28a.

Vītihotra (or Vītahavya—no. 41) consequently became a Brāhmaṇa.[1] As Vītihotra's position is fixed in the dynastic list (no. 36), the same name may be accepted here for his fifth descendant who is said to have become a Brāhmaṇa. It cannot be denied that Vītihotra was a hermit as the Bhāgavata[2] mentions one of the same name with Yudhiṣṭhira. The last Aurva (no. 40), mentioned by the Bhāgavata with this patronymic only, was the hermit who gave shelter to the Ayodhyā king Bāhuka (no. 39). He was driven away from his kingdom by the Tālajaṅghas who had again become vigorous after a serious but short setback at the time of Rāma. Bāhuka died in the hermitage of Aurva leaving his heir apparent in the womb of his mother.[3] Aurva trained and educated the boy and helped him in his political,[4] quasi-religious[5] and spiritual[6] attainments. With the help and direction of Aurva, whose personal name was Agni,[7] the boy, Sagara, became the celebrated monarch of Ayodhyā. Different from the 'Vālmīki' mentioned at the beginning as the brother of Bhṛgu, there was another Vālmīki Prācetasa (no. 64), a Bhārgava.[8] This Vālmīki lived in the time of Śrī-Rāma (no. 65), gave protection to his wife Sītā and educated her sons in his hermitage.[9] Vaiśampāyana (no. 94) was the last Bhārgava.[10] As the disciple of Vyāsa, he was entrusted by the preceptor with the task of transmitting the Yajur-Veda.[11]

Śukra : From the very beginning a distinct branch of the Bhārgavas seems to have been headed by Śukra (no. 4). Bhṛgu, Kavi, Kāvya and Uśanas are the names applied to him.[12] We know of one Śukra, the priest of the demons,[13] who helped them in their wars against the gods whose priest was Bṛhaspati. As an opponent of Bṛhaspati, he appears in the story of Tārā also.[14] In this capacity of the mythical hermit of the pre-flood tradition, he is said to have married Ūrjasvatī, the grand-daughter of the first Manu, from whom he had a daughter viz, Devayānī. In the same context of the priest Śukra,[15] the Bhāgavata adds that Devayānī was married to Yayāti, the fifth descendant of the 7th Manu. Later on, in the ninth skandha given to the records of traditional history, the Bhāgavata describes this *pratiloma* marriage of Brāhmaṇa's daughter Devayānī and Kṣatriya prince Yayāti in greater detail.[16] Now two points, confirmed by other Purāṇas,[17] are clear from the above references that Devayānī was the daughter of Śukra and that she was married to Yayāti (no. 6), the first Aila monarch. So we can put aside the husband of Ūrjasvatī as mythical and take the father of Devayānī as quasi-historical. In this way, Uśanas Śukra (no. 4) becomes the elder contemporary of Yayāti. With the historicity and position of Śukra, thus proposed, he may be taken as the priest of tribes hostile to the Aryans,[1] which were therefore metamorphosed into demons. Further, the Bhāgavata[2] says that Śaṇḍa and Marka (no. 5) were the two sons of the mythical Śukra and that they were appointed as teachers of Prahlāda, the son of demon Hiraṇyakaśipu.[3] This statement tends to corroborate the above suggestion that Śukra and also his descendants were the priests of hostile aborigines. Nothing is known further about Śukra's lineage. It seems that his descendants became insignificant because the tribes on which they thrived disappeared as the Aryan sway extended.[4] A holy place, called Kapālamocana,[5] existed on the bank of the Sarasvatī retaining Śukra's memory till the copper age.

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[1] vide AIHT. pp. 200-1.

[2] 10.74.9.

[3] 9.8.3-4.

[4] 9.8.7ab.

[5] 9.8.7cd-8ab.

[6] 9.8.31cd.

[7] vide AIHT. p. 191.

[8] vide AIHT. pp. 192, 202 its fns. 1 and 2.

[9] 9.11.10cd-11.

[10] vide AIHT. p. 192.

[11] 12.6.50.

[12] vide AIHT p. 194.

[13] 7.5.1ab.

[14] 9.14.6.

[15] 5.1.34.

[16] 9.18.4cd-23.

[17] vide AHIT. p. 197, fn. 2.

THE VASIṢṬHAS

The first Vasiṣṭha (no. 1) is mentioned as the family priest of Manu. He conducted a sacrifice for childless Manu and Ilā was born as the result. The priest tried his best to transform Ilā into a male and had partial success.[6] Later on, Manu got ten sons, Ikṣvāku etc.[7] Possibly the same Vasiṣṭha cursed Pṛṣadhra, the son of Manu, into a Śudra because the latter had killed a cow.[8] The same Vasiṣṭha expelled Ikṣvāku's son Vikukṣi (no. 3) from the country because he did not give attention to the purity of an object meant for employment in a religious act.[9] Nimi (no. 3), the second son of Ikṣvāku and founder of the Videha dynasty, seems to have come in conflict with this Vasiṣṭha. The myth about their feud[10] is that when this family priest was not available to conduct a sacrifice, Nimi performed it with the help of a substitute. When the family-priest Vasiṣṭha came back, he could not bear his substitution and cursed Nimi to be bodiless (*vi-deha*). Nimi also gave the same type of counter-curse to Vasiṣṭha who then died. It was perhaps for this reason that Vasiṣṭha is said to have reborn from the combined semen of

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[1] vide AIHT. pp. 194-95.
[2] 7.15.1cd.
[3] cf. ŚB 4.2.1.4-6.

[4] A Mārkaṇḍeya, who may be connected with Marka, is spoken of as a distinguished hermit; and is said to have lived long (12.8.14cd).

[5] vide AIHT. p. 313.

[6] Complete myth of Ilā's birth and transformations—9.1.13-39.

[7] 9.2.2.
[8] 9.2.3-9.
[9] 9.6.6-9.
[10] 9.13.1-5.

Mitra and Varuṇa which fell at the sight of Urvaśī.[1] The myth of their feud seems to have been fabricated to explain the appellation Videha and thereby furnish a reason for Vasiṣṭha's rebirth in a curious manner. But there was a Vasiṣṭha known by his patronymic, Maitrāvaruṇi, who composed the hymns of the seventh maṇḍala of the Ṛg-Veda.[2] It seems that this name provided a ground for the myth of Vasiṣṭha's rebirth from Mitra and Varuṇa.

The next Vasiṣṭha (no. 30) was the priest of the Ayodhyā king Trayyāruṇa (no. 30). The Bhāgavata alludes[3] to the famous story, narrated in the Epics and the Purāṇas[4], that Trayyāruṇa banished his son Triśaṅku (no. 32) and he was sheltered in exile by Vasiṣṭha. At this time Viśvāmitra, who had attained the status of a hermit, championed Triśaṅku's cause and restored him to the throne in opposition to Vasiṣṭha. Naturally Triśaṅku appointed Viśvāmitra as his priest. Deprived of the hereditary priesthood of the Ayodhyā kings, Vasiṣṭha sought revenge against Viśvāmitra by challenging his status.[5] Again, the Bhāgavata very briefly alludes[6] to the consequential feud of the two hermits, also narrated in the Vedic literature, the Epics and the Purāṇas.[7] It is said that once Viśvāmitra took away all belongings of Triśaṅku's son Hariścandra (no. 33) on the pretext of *dakṣiṇā* (fee) charged for conducting the Rāja-sūya sacrifice for him. This gave chance to Vasiṣṭha and he came in open conflict with Viśvāmitra. So, a long-lasting quarrel started between the two. However, Vasiṣṭha won and his opposition led Viśvāmitra to *tapas* again. Thus this Vasiṣṭha, whose personal name was Devarāja, regained his position among the Ayodhyā kings.[8]

The third Vasiṣṭha, not mentioned by the Bhāgavata, was Āpava (no. 40) who is said to have interposed and made Sagara (no. 41) spare the hordes viz, Śakas, Yavanas etc.—the foreign tribes that had plundered his kingdom.[9] According to the Bhāgavata,[10] it was Agni-Aurva, already noted among the Bhārgavas above, for whose intercession Sagara let these hordes off reducing them to great social and religious degradation. But it seems that Āpava-Vasiṣṭha and not Agni-Aurva checked Sagara. The Vasiṣṭhas had maintained their position among the hordes when Sagara's father was driven away by them and the Tālajaṅghas.[1] It is probable that Āpava would have advocated the cause of those hardy outlandish allies of the Tālajaṅghas. The fourth Vasiṣṭha (no. 54) was the priest of the Ayodhyā king, Kalmāṣapāda Saudāsa (no. 54). A story[2] is that the king, beguiled by a Rākṣasa, happened to offer human flesh to his priest as food. The priest then cursed the king to be a Rākṣasa for twelve years. So, Saudāsa led the life of a cannibal and devoured a Brāhmaṇa during the period of the curse. Cannibalism led him to another curse imprecated by the wife of that Brāhmaṇa, and he became unfit to produce child after the expiry of the tenure of the priest's curse. At his desire, then, the priest begot a son Aśmaka in his wife. It seems, the story is meant for justifying the birth of the kṣetraja son through the employment of this Vasiṣṭha whose personal name is said to be Śreṣṭhabhāj.[3] The fifth Vasiṣṭha (no. 64), who does not find mention in the Bhāgavata,[4] was the priest of Daśaratha (no. 64) and his son Rāma (no. 65). This Vasiṣṭha is only known by his gotra name and no personal name is applied to him even in the Rāmāyaṇa.[5]

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[1] 9.13.6cd vide also 6.18.5; cf. —RV 7.13.12, 13.

[2] vide AIHT. pp. 214-16.

[3] 9.7.6-7ab.

[4] For the references see—AIHT. p. 157, fn. 7 and p. 205, fn. 1.

[5] vide AIHT. pp. 151, 205-6.

[6] 9.7.7cdef.

[7] For the references see—AIHT. fn. 1. on p. 206; Śrīdhara (on 9.7.7.) also informs about the details of this feud.

[8] vide AIHT. pp. 151, 206.

[9] vide AIHT. pp. 207, 270; vide also VA pp. 290-91.

[10] 9.8.5cd-7ab.

Vyāsa : Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana-Vyāsa, who belonged to the Vasiṣṭha family, was the son of Parāśara-Sāgara through the fisher maiden Vāsavī or Satyavatī who, after the birth of Vyāsa, became the wife of Śantanu (no. 90). Vyāsa's wife was Araṇī, and their son was Śuka (no. 93) Vaiyāsaki or Āraṇeya to whom the father imparted the knowledge of the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata, leaving aside all his discriples, Paila etc.[6] In the Vedic literature, Vyāsa (no. 92) was the disciple of Viṣvaksena (no. 91) while in the Purāṇas Jātūkarṇya (no. 91) was so ; and the two may be the same[7] bearing the personal name and patronymic respectively. The issue of Vyāsa's teacher may be explained thus : Viṣvaksena was the son of S. Pañcāla king-*cum*-yogin, Brahmadatta[8] (no. 86) ; as such he may be the teacher of Vyāsa by virtue of his position and being a son of the Yogin. Now Jātūkarṇyas were of Vasiṣṭha *gotra*,[9] and there may be several of this patronymic name. So Viṣvaksena, if he belonged to the Vasiṣṭha family, might have accepted it as his *gotra*-name. Furthermore, the Jātūkarṇyas had existed from the beginning of the traditional history. The Bhāgavata says that Agniveśya

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[1] vide AIHT. p. 206.

[2] 9.9.18-39.

[3] vide AIHT. p. 210.

[4] But the Bhāgavata (9.10. 48) refers to Rāma's *guru* who consecreted him on the throne. And this *guru* may well be taken as the '*Vasiṣṭha*'.

[5] vide AIHT. p. 207.

[6] 9.22.21cd-23ab ; 1.4.14 ; vide also AIHT. p. 213.

[7] vide AIHT. p. 217, fn. 7 and 8.

[8] 9.21.25cd.

[9] vide AIHT. p. 217, fn. 6.

(no. 12), the 10th lineal descendant of Manu's son Nariṣyanta, was famed as *Kānīna* and also as Jātūkarṇya. For his greatness as a hermit, the *gotra* of Āgniveśyāyana Brāhmaṇas is traced to him.[1] So, as Jātūkarṇyas are said to belong to the Vasiṣṭha family, Āgniveśyayanas may also be so. Thus Agniveśya also finds a place (no. 12) among the Vasiṣṭhas. Another reference to Jātūkarṇya[2] is vague.

As for the monumental works of Vyāsa, there is no dispute. Epic and Pauraṇic tradition unanimously and repeatedly[3] declares that the Veda was aranged by the great hermit, Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana who consequently came to be known as Veda-Vyāsa. The Bhāgavata confirms this when it says that Vyāsa divided[4] the Veda into four Saṁhitās and entrusted each of them to his four disciples. Thus the Ṛk-Saṁhitā was entrusted to Paila, the Yajus to Vaiśampāyana, the Sāman to Jaimini and the Atharvan to Sumantu. *Itihāsa-purāṇa* (the undivided form of the Epics and the Purāṇas), the fifth Veda, was entrusted to Romaharṣaṇa.[5] All these disciples of Vyāsa further divided their respective Vedas and their disciples did likewise for the sake of transmitting them to posterity. Thus the Vedas, the Epics and the Purāṇas were preserved by the unbroken chain of Vyāsa's disciples, their disciples and so on.[6] This need not be a fiction.[7] Vyāsa might have divided and completed the canon of the Veda before the Great War at about 1000 B.C.[8]

THE ĀṄGIRASAS

The name Aṅgiras[9] or Bṛhaspati[10] or Atharvan[11] or Āṅgirasa[12] is indiscriminately used for the hermits of the Āṅgirasa family. Of these, the names Atharvan and Bṛhaspati seem to be personal names of the hermits belonging to this family perhaps founded by Aṅgiras. Some Purāṇas give this founder another name, Atharvan ; and so he came to be known as Atharvāṅgiras.[13] The first hermit bearing the name Aṅgiras (no. 6) is said to have produced sons in the wife of Rathītara, the 6th descendant of the 7th Manu; and these kṣetraja sons came to be called both as Rathītaras or Āṅgirasas.[1] Although no Āṅgirasa hermit is named at the time of Māndhātṛ (no. 21), the Āṅgirasa family seems to exist then because Māndhātr's sons, grandsons and even descendants are said to have become Brāhmaṇas and joined the Āṅgirasa family.[2] For the first time an Āṅgirasa hermit appears with a personal name in connection with the Ayodhyā king, Hariścandra (no 33). This hermit, named Ayāsya (on. 33), officiated as the priest in the puruṣa-medha performed by the king.[3] Ayāsya was reputed to be the author of the hymns of the Ṛg-Veda, although he might not have lived so early as to be a contemporary of Hariścandra.[4]

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[1] 9.2.21-22ab.

[2] 6.15.13.

[3] For the references see—AIHT. p. 9, fn. 2.

[4] Śrīdhara (on 1.4.20) comments :
वेदाश्चत्वार उद्धृताः पृथक्कृताः ।

[5] 1.4.19-22 ; vide also 12.6.49-53.

[6] 1.4.23-25 ; 12.6.54-80 ; 12.7.1-7.

[7] vide AIHT. pp. 9-10.

[8] Macdonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 47 ; vide also AIHT. pp. 318-21.

[9] 1.19.9. ; 6.15.12.

[10] 10.84.4.

[11] 10.74.9.

[12] 1.9.8 ; 10.84.5 ; Śrīdhara (on 1.9.8.) says:—Āṅgirasa=Bṛhaspati.

[13] vide AIHT. p. 218, fn. 8.

Now we come to the renowned family of the Āṅgirasas that lived in Vaiśālī. It is said in other Purāṇas that Uśija (no. 39) had three sons viz, Ucathya (no. 40), Bṛhaspati (no. 40) and Saṁvarta (no. 40). Uśija was the priest of Vaiśāla king Karandhama (no. 38) and Bṛhaspati was the priest of Karandhama's grandson, Marutta (no. 40). However, Bṛhaspati declined and Saṁvarta held the office to whom Marutta married his daughter.[5] The Bhāgavata confirms this with the difference that it calls Saṁvarta as the son of Aṅgiras instead of Uśija. But it says that Saṁvarta was a great Yogin, and that he conducted a unique sacrifice for the paramount monarch Marutta[6] who, then, might have given his daughter to the pirest in the *daiva*[7] form of marriage. The Bhāgavata further says that Utathya (the name is variant of Ucathya) had a wife, Mamatā and their son was Dīrghatamas (no. 41) born blind because Bṛhaspati copulated with Mamatā when she was pregnant. As a result of this copulation, Mamatā happened to give birth to another son viz, Bharadvāja (no. 41) Bārhaspatya.[8] Dīrghatamas, like his uncle, is said to have indulged in gross immorality and was, therefore, set adrift in the Gaṅgā. He was carried away by the stream downwards to the eastern country where the Ānava king Bali (no. 41) saved and welcomed him. There Dīrghatamas married a Śūdra nurse of the queen and begot many sons through her viz, Kakṣīvān (no. 43) etc.[9] The blind hermit is said to have produced six kṣetraja sons viz, Aṅga etc. in the queen, Sudeṣṇā when he was asked to do so by the king.[1] Dīrghatamas gained his sight here,[2] and the versatile hermit moved to the Paurava kingdom where he conserated Bharata Dauṣyanta (no. 44) on the throne and became his permanent priest. The Bhāgavata[3] says that Dīrghatamas Māmateya conducted all the sacrifices performed by Bharata on the banks of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā. Bharata, in the later part of his life, adopted a descendant[4] of Bharadvāja viz, Vitatha or Vidathin (no. 46) Bhāradvāja.[5] Duly recognised by other Purāṇas,[6] we therefore get the following synchronisms :—

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[1] 9.6.2.

[2] 9.7.1-2ab ; vide also AIHT. p. 246, fns. 2 and 5.

[3] 9.7.22cd-23ab.

[4] vide AIHT. p. 219 ; RV—9. 44-46 and 10. 67-68 are referred to here as composed by Ayāsya.

[5] vide AIHT. pp. 157-8, 220-21.

[6] 9.2.26-28.

[7] MS 3-28 where the *daiva* form is defined as one when a father presents his daughter in marriage to the priest on the occasion of some great sacrifice.

[8] 9.20.35-38 ; See also *ante* p. 171.

[9] vide AIHT. pp. 158, 220 ; The Bhāgavata (1.9.7) mentions one hermit of the name Kakṣīvan with Bhīṣma (no. 91) This proves his existence, although in an anachronistic way.

	Āṅgirasas			*Vaiśālas*	*E. Ānavas*	*Pauravas*
38	...			Karandhama	...	...
39	Aṅgiras (or Uśija)			Avīkṣit	...	...
40	Utathya	Bṛhaspati	Saṁvarta	Marutta	...	...
41-	Dīrghatamas	Bharadvāja	...		Bali	...
43	Kakṣīvān	...	...	...	Aṅga etc.	Duṣyanta
44-	...	...	...	...	...	Bharata
46	...	Vidathin-Bhāradvāja	...	...	...	Vitatha

Vāmadeva : Vāmadeva is said to be the original *gotra* (sub-family) in the Āṅgirasa family.[7] The Bhāgavata mentions a hermit of this name with Vasudeva[8] (no. 92) and Yudhiṣṭhira[9] (no. 94) in its lists of hermits, although this Vāmadeva cannot be assigned to definite position. But we come to know, from another source, about an earlier Vāmadeva of definite position. It is said[10] that a hermit of this name (no. 69) lived at the time of the N. Pañcāla king Somaka (no. 70) and that the son of this hermit was Bṛhaduktha (no. 70).

Gautamas : The same source[11] informs that Kakṣīvān Dairghatamasa, who was born through the Śūdra woman, attained Brāhmaṇahood after long austerities, and that his descendants were known as the Kūṣmāṇḍa-Gautamas. The Bhāgavata informs that Gautama married Ahalyā, the sister of the N. Pañcāla king Divodāsa (no. 63). It further says that Gautama's son was Śatānanda, his son was Satyadhṛti and his son was Śaradvān. Śaradvān had a twin viz, Kṛpa and Kṛpī. Kṛpa was adopted by Śantanu (no. 90) and Kṛpī was married to Droṇa[1] (no. 93). But there is a difference of twenty-seven generations between Divodāsa and Śantanu who adopted Śaradvān's son. So, it is clear that the pedigree of Gautama is abbreviated and that Śaradvān, being the father of Kṛpa, cannot be Gautama's great-grandson. This is borne out by other statements of the Bhāgavata that Kṛpa Śāradvata conducted three horse-sacrifices for Parīkṣit II on the bank of the Gaṅgā;[2] and Śaradvān, his father, was also present when Parīkṣit II was fasting unto death on the bank of the Gaṅgā.[3] Further Śatānanda (no. 90), the grandfather of Śaradvān, was the pirest in a sacrificee performed by Vasudeva[4] (no. 92). All these mean that Śaradavān (no. 92) was a far descendant of Gautama (no. 63) and a younger contemporary of Śantanu (no. 90) and Vasudeva (92) ; and that his son Kṛpa (no. 93) and son-in-law Droṇa (no. 93) were elder contemporaries of Parīkṣit II (no. 95a). Similarly, Śatānanda, being his grandfather, naturally becomes a far descendant of Gautama. But we do not know much about the Gautamas[5] who flourished between Gautama and his said son Śatānanda excepting the Kūṣmāṇḍas noted above.

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[1] 9.23.4cd-5ab.

[2] vide AIHT. p. 220.

[3] 9.20.24.

[4] For the position and name etc. of the adopted son see Chapter. VII, p 209.

[5] 9.20.34.

[6] vide AIHT. pp.157-163.

[7] vide AIHT. p. 225.

[8] 10.84.5.

[9] 10.74.8.

[10] vide AIHT. p. 222.

[11] AIHT. p. 220.

Bhāradvājas : The Bhāradvājas apparently seem to descend from Bharadvāja (no. 41), the son of Bṛhaspati (no. 40) through Mamatā. The story of his birth is already noticed above. His descendants naturally constituted a *gotra* among the Āṅgirasa family.[6] But the name Bharadvāja or Bhāradvāja seems to have been applied to a hermit and to the *gotra*. Thus much later on, we find another Bharadvāja (no. 91) with Bhīṣma[7] (no. 91), Vasudeva[8] (no. 92) and Yudhiṣṭhira[9] (no. 94). These associations fix his position as the father of Droṇa (no. 93). It is said that Bharadvāja, the father of Droṇa, had his hermitage at Gaṅgādvāra[10] (Haridvāra). Perhaps Droṇa's son is named as Bhāradvāja (no. 95) whom we find in association with Parīkṣit II.[11] The history of the N. Pañcāla dynasty reveals[12] that Droṇa conquered N.Pañcāla from the then ruling king Drupada (no. 94), and that Droṇa's son, Aśvatthāman (no. 94), also ruled there. At the end of the Great War, Aśvatthāman, the son of Kṛpī, killed the sons of Draupadī to please his boss Duryodhana, especially when his thighs were broken by Bhīma.[1] As a villain, Aśvatthāman, to extirpate the Pāṇḍavas, went to the extent of destroying Parīksit II when he was in the womb of Uttarā, although Kṛṣṇa foiled the attempt.[2] The Mahābhārata mentions a Paila, belonging to the Āṅgirasa family, with the Pāṇḍavas ;[3] and the Bhāgavata mentions Paila (no. 94) with Yudhiṣṭhira.[4] So both these Pailas may be one and the same as well as identical with Vyāsa's disciple Paila,[5] already noted in the Vasiṣṭha family.

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[1] 9.21.34-36 ; See also *ante* p. 108.

[2] 1.16.3.

[3] 1.19.9.

[4] 10.84.3.

[5] A Gautama is mentioned in all the five lists of hermits given by the Bhāgavata :— (i) 1.9.7 ; (ii) 1.19.10 ; (iii) 6.15.12 ; (iv) 10.74.7 and (v) 10.84.3. This testify that the long pedigree of Gautama existed.

[6] See also *ante* p. 105.

[7] 1.9.6.

[8] 10.84.3.

[9] 10.74.7.

[10] vide AIHT. p. 224.

[11] 1.19.10.

[12] vide Chapter VII, pp. 205-6.

THE ĀTREYAS AND THE KĀŚYAPAS

The Ātreyas : The earliest Ātreya whose position is defined was Prabhākara (no. 18). He married ten daughters of the Paurava king Raudrāśva (no. 17) whose queen was Ghṛtācī.[6] The Bhāgavata neither mentions Prabhākara nor the ten daughters of Raudrāśva ; it only says that Raudrāśva and Ghṛtācī had ten sons.[7] On the other hand, we learn that Prabhākara had ten sons who were called Svasty'ātreyas and that their descendants were Datta and Durvāsas.[8] Datta-Ātreya or Dattātreya, as he is generally called, is the first well-known Ātreya in the traditional history. He was connected with the Haihaya king Arjuna (no. 31), and as such his position is fixed (no. 31). The Bhāgavata[9] says that Arjuna propitiated Datta for receiving power, valour etc., and the hermit fully favoured him with all these virtues as well as furnished him with 1000 arms (*bāhu*), thus making him known as Sahasra-bāhu. It is also said[10] that the Ātreyas were expert ship-builders. They might have furnished Arjuna with a fleet of one thousand ships or a ship with one thousand oars, thus making him thousand-armed. Durvāsas is first mentioned with Ambarīṣa, the great-grandson of Manu.[11] Another reference[12] to this hermit is vague. There is no definite evidence to fix his position, as he appears in tales introduced at all stages of the traditional history.[13]

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[1] 1.7.14.

[2] 1.8.11-13.

[3] vide AIHT. p. 225.

[4] 10.74.8.

[5] vide fn. 1. on p. 225 of AIHT.

[6] vide AIHT. p. 228-29.

[7] 9.20.5.

[8] vide AIHT. p. 229.

[9] 9.15.17-18 ; vide also 9.23.23cd.

[10] vide VA p. 287.

[11] 9.4.13 ; Full story of their conflict—9.4.15-71 and 9.5.1-22; For the details of the episode see chapter V, p 91.

[12] 6.15.13.

[13] vide AIHT. pp. 229-30.

The Kāśyapas : The earliest Kaśyapa is mentioned at the time of Rāma Jāmadagnya (no. 34). This Kaśyapa (no. 33), *inter alia*, conducted a great sacrifice for Rāma who then donated the middle portion of Āryāvarta (i.e., the territory apprently won from the Haihayas) to him.[1] The hermit Kaṇva (no. 42), in whose hermitage Śakuntalā—the daughter of Viśvāmitra (no. 42), wife of Duṣyanta (no. 43) and mother of Bharata (no. 44)—was brought up,[2] is said to belong to the Kāśyapa family.[3] The third Kāśyapa,[4] mentioned by the Bhāgavata, was Ṛṣyaśṛṅga (no. 64), whom the Aṅga king Romapāda (no. 64), in whose kingdom he lived, brought to his capilal to bring rain after a long drought; and gave his daughter Śāntā in marriage. Ṛṣyaśṛṅga was afterwards invited to the court of the Ayodhyā king to conduct a sacrifice for a son to Daśaratha (no. 64), as he had already done for Romapāda.[5] The fourth Kāśyapa, we know, was Asita (no. 91) and his son was Devala (no. 93). Asita was contemporary with Bhīṣma (no. 91), and Devala with the Pāṇḍavas[6] (no. 94). The Bhāgavata mentions Asita with Bhīṣma,[7] Vasudeva[8] and Yudhiṣṭhira[9] —all the three being more or less contemporaries. Another reference[10] to Asita is vague. Devala finds mention with Vasudeva[11] and Parīksit II.[12] Another reference[13] to Devala is vague. Devala's younger brother (or cousin) was Dhaumya who was also a priest of the Pāṇḍavas.[14] He finds mention with Yudhiṣṭhira[15] and also with Bhīṣma.[16] Besides Asita, Devala and Dhaumya, a Kaśyapa is separately mentioned in all the three contexts viz, Bhīṣma,[17] Vasudeva[18] and Yudhiṣṭhira.[19] This confirms the fact that the Kāśyapas were the hereditary priests of Janamejaya,[20] the great-grandson of Yudhiṣṭhira.

THE PAULASTYAS AND THE ĀGASTYAS

Like five other Purāṇas,[21] the Bhāgavata derives the Paulastyas from the royal line of Vaiśālī. The Vaiśāla king Tṛṇabindu (no. 52) married his daughter Iḍaviḍā (Ilavilā) to Viśravas (no. 53) or, as other Purāṇas say, to the latter's father, Pulastya (no. 51). Viśravaś's son was Kubera who got the highest knowledge from the father.[1] It is said that Pulastya's offspring (putting aside Kubera) were Rākṣasas. Again, Pulastya adopted Agastya's son, and so the Paulastyas were the Āgastyas.[2] When and how did the Āgastyas arise ? The fable gives Agastya origin with Vasiṣṭha, both being born in a water jar (*kumbha*) ;[3] and thus Agastya came to be called as Kumbha-yoni.[4] So this may be a real name as it is found in the case of a hermit connected with Parīkṣit II.[5] One Agastya whose position is fixed (no. 42) was the husband of Lopāmudrā by whose favour the Kāśī king Alarka (no. 42) had a long and prosperous rule ; and Idhmavāha was this Agastya's son.[6] Idhmavāha, like Kumbha-yoni, also finds mention with Parīkṣit II.[7] So this latter Idhmavāha (no. 95) may be taken as the son of Kumbha-yoni (no. 94). This Idhmavāha is credited with a Sūkta in the Ṛg-Veda.[8] But there is uncertainty about both the Paulastyas and the Āgastyas. The Paulastyas (except Kubera, who was reckoned a god) were Rākṣasas and belonged to S. India and Ceylon.[9] The Āgastyas also seem to belong to this region.[10] One Agastya appears in the Bhāgavata at the earliest time,[11] and another at the remote end of the traditional history.[12]

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[1] 9.16.21-22abc.

[2] 9.20.12, 15,22.

[3] vide AIHT. p. 232, cf. ŚB 8.5.4.13.

[4] vide AIHT. p. 233.

[5] 9.23.7-9 ; For the references of this episode in the Epics and the Purāṇas see AIHT. p. 233 fns. 1 and 2.

[6] vide AIHT. p. 233.

[7] 1.9.7.

[8] 10.84.3.

[9] 10.74.7.

[10] 6.15.12.

[11] vide reference no. 8 above.

[12] 1.19.10.

[13] vide ref. no. 10 above.

[14] vide AIHT. 233-34, vide also fn. 1. on p. 234.

[15] 10.74.9.

[16] 1.9.6.

[17] 1.9.8.

[18] 10.84.4.

[19] 70.74.9.

[20] Ai B 7.5.27 says so.

[21] For the references see AIHT p. 241, fn. 1.

THE VIŚVĀMITRAS AND OTHER HERMITS

The Viśvāmitras : The family of the Viśvāmitras was founded by the great Viśvāmitra.[13] The story of his feud with Devarāja-Vasiṣṭha who disputed his Brahmaṇahood is already narrated in the Vasiṣṭha family. This Viśvāmitra (no. 32), whose original name was Viśvaratha when he was the king of Kānyakubja, relinquished the kingdom of his father Gādhi and underwent *tapas* to attain Brāhmaṇahood whence he came to be called as Viśvāmitra.[14] After his return from *tapas*, he succoured Triśaṅku (no. 32) ; and restored him on the throne of Ayodhyā.[15] He then naturally became the priest of

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[1] 9.2.31d-32 ; The Bhāgavata mentions a hermit Pulastya with Vasudeva (10.84.4). This Pulastya may be taken as a far later descendant of one who was the father of Viśravas.

[2] vide AIHT. p. 241.

[3] 6.18.5.

[4] Śrīdhara (on 6.3.35) :— Kumbha-sambhava=Agastya.

[5] 1.19.10.

[6] vide AIHT. pp. 168, 239.

[7] 1.19.9.

[8] vide AIHT. p. 239.

[9] vide AIHT. p. 242.

[10] The Bhāgavata (6.3.35) says that Agastya lived on the mountain Malaya in Kerala.

[11] e.g., with Aila king Nahuṣa (no. 5) see—6.13.16 ; 9.18.3.

[12] e.g., as priest with Vasudeva (no. 92) see—10.84.5.

[13] vide AIHT. p. 234.

[14] 9.16.28, vide AIHT. p. 205.

[15] 9.7.6 ; See also *ante* p. 189.

Triśaṅku. This enraged Vasiṣṭha who held the office previously. So there was a long-lasting conflict between the two hermits.[1] However, Vasiṣṭha compelled his opponent to undergo *tapas* for the second time, and Viśvāmitra went to Puṣkara.[2] After his second round of *tapas*, the status of Viśvāmitra as a hermit seems to be duly recognised because we find him again as the priest of Hariścandra (no. 33), the son of Triśaṅku. It may be recalled here that Hariścandra got a son Rohita with the grace of god Varuṇa on the condition of sacrificing the son himself when born. Anyhow, Rohita, so born, escaped; and after some years came back with Śunaḥ-śepha Ājīgarta to be sacrificed in lieu of him. Then the ritual of the puruṣa-medha was performed by Hariścandra with this substituted sacrificial animal.[3] In this ritual the four main offices of the priests (*ṛtvij*) viz, the Hotṛ (the invoker who recites the Ṛg-Vedic verses to invite and praise the gods), (ii) the Adhvaryu (reciter of the Yajur-Veda, arranger of the ancillaries of the ritual and executor who performs all sacrificial acts), (iii) the Brahman (the principal or high priest who maintains overall superintendence), and (iv) the Udgātṛ (the singer who chants the Sāman) were respectively held by (i) Viśvāmitra, (ii) Jamadagni, (iii) Vasiṣṭha and (iv) Ayāsya.[4] During the ritual Viśvāmitra got Śunaḥ-śepha released after pleasing the gods Varuṇa etc., and then adopted the boy renaming him as Devarāta because he was accepted (*rāta*) by the gods (*devas*).[5] Viśvāmitra already had many sons among whom Madhucchandas was the middlemost. He asked his sons to accept the adopted son as the seniormost. The elder sons resented Devarāta's position; but the sons younger than Madhucchandas including himself respected the wish of their father. The elder sons were therefore cursed and ousted; while the yonger sons were blessed by the father and they constituted the distinguished branch of the family which Viśvāmitra founded.[6] As a hermit of great stature, Viśvāmitra afterwards helped Hariścandra to realize his innate nature who then attained emancipation.[7] It has been noticed in the account of the Bhārgava family that his sister was married to Ṛcīka-Aurva (no. 31) and Ṛcīka's son was

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[1] 9.7.7cdef [2] vide AIHT. p. 206. [3] 9.7.20-21 ; See also *ante* p. 95.

[4] 9.7.22-23ab. [5] 9.16.32.

[6] 9.16.28-37—The Bhāgavata (9.16.37) says that the Kauśika *gotra* of Viśvāmitra was divided on the issue of Devarāta's adoption and that its distinguished branch was formed under the headship of Devarāta. If, as noted above, Viśvāmitra was the founder of a Brāhmaṇa family in his name, Devarāta and his royal branch of the Kauśikas must have come under it, including Madhucchandas. See also *ante* p. 100. [7] 9.7.25-27.

Jamadagni.[1] Jamadagni's son was Rāma who killed Arjuna Kārtavīrya (no. 31).[2] The statements and the events noted above suggest the following synchronism :—

	Vasiṣṭhas	*Āṅgirasas*	*Viśvāmitras*	*Ikṣvākus*	*Kauśikas*	*Bhārgavas*	*Haihayas*
30	(Devarāja)	...	...	(Trayyāruṇa)	Gādhi	Ūrva	Kṛtavīrya
31	...	...	...	...	Satyavatī	Ṛcīka	Arjuna
32	...	...	Viśvāmitra	Triśaṅku	(Viśvaratha)	Jamadagni, Ajīgarta	...
33	...	Ayāsya	Madhucchandas	Hariścandra	...	...	Jayadhvaja
34	...	...	Devarāta	Rohita	Aṣṭaka etc.	Rāma, Śunaḥ-śepha	Tālajaṅgha

The synchromisms point out that Viśvāmitra (no. 32) was the central figure in the last quarter of the golden age. In a summing-up we can say that the great Viśvāmitra was the king of Kānyakubja, arduous ascetic, succourer of Triśaṅku, opponent of Vasiṣṭha, priest of Hariścandra, adoptionist of Devarāta and founder of an independent Brāhmaṇa family—all these cardinal points of his biography falling in succession. The next Viśvāmitra (no. 42), who appeared ten generations after the first great one, was the father of Śakuntalā who was born through Menakā. The daughter, as already noticed above, was brought up by Kaṇva-Kāśyapa (no. 42) because the parents deserted her.[3] The third Viśvāmitra (no. 64) is connected with Rāma (no. 65) who killed Mārīca for the former's pleasure.[4] There were many Viśvāmitras later on, as they found mention in the Bhāgavata lists of hermits.[5]

Other Hermits : Now we consider the account of other hermits, i.e., those who cannot be co-opted in the original Brāhmaṇa families :—

(i) *The Yājñavalkyas :* The *gotra* Yājñavalkya is mentioned under both the Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra families, . So it is not definite to which family it belonged.[6] Other Purāṇas say[7] that a Yājñavalkya came out victorious in a concourse of hermits sponsored by Janaka (no. 5), the king of Videha. The Bhāgavata[8] says that Yājñavalkya etc. were the preceptors of the Maithila kings, i.e., Janaka etc. It seems that the

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[1] 9.15.5-7, 11d.

[2] 9.15.13cd, 23-36.

[3] 9.20.12.

[4] 9.10.5.

[5] (*a*) 10.84.3 ; (*b*) 10.74.8 ; (*c*) 1.19.9—References are arranged according as Viśvāmitras appear in chronological sequence.

[6] vide AIHT. p. 237 fn. 12.

[8] 9.13.27 ; See also *ante* p. 93.

[7] vide AIHT. pp. 322-23.

Yājñavalkyas were the hereditary priests connected from the beginning to the end with the Videha dynasty. The only Yājñavalkya (no. 95), whom we find in fixed context at the close of the traditional history, was the disciple of Vaiśampāyana-Bhārgava (no. 94). A story of the feud between the disciple and the preceptor explains how the Taittirīya School of the black Yajur-Veda got its Taittirīya-Saṁhitā[1] through the chain of Vaiśampāyana's disciples other than Yājñavalkya. The next story of Yājñavalkya's worship of the sun-god shows how the Vājasaneyi School of the white Yajur-Veda got its Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā[2] through Yājñavalkya and the chain of his disciples. Probably this Yājñavalkya of fixed position may be the same who was the priest in a sacrifice performed by Vasudeva[3] (no. 92), although another reference[4] to him is vague. Āsuri, the disciple of Yājñavalkya, may be called the first teacher of the Vājasaneyi School.[5] Āsuri (95a) finds mention in the Bhāgavata[6] with Yudhiṣṭhira (no. 94), although another reference[7] to him is vague.

(ii) *Saubhari :* Saubhari (no. 22), the famous ascetic, is said to have married fifty daughters of Māndhātṛ (no. 21). He enjoyed magnificently in their campany as a housholder for a long time. But when he realized his downfall, he tore off all attachments, resorted to the life of asceticism again ; and attained the Supreme Soul (*ādhyātmikī gati*). This strange and instructive story,[8] which finds mention in other Purāṇas,[9] seems to have grown out of the statement in the Ṛg-Veda[10] that Trasadasyu (grandson of Māndhātṛ) gave Saubhari fifty maidens.[11] According to the Bhāgavata, it may be noted, Trasaddasyu was Māndhātṛ's appellation.[12] So, it is definite that Saubhari was either the son-in-law of Māndhātṛ himself or of his grandson bearing the name similar to his appellation.

(iii) *Kapila :* Kapila appears in a myth which describes the bringing down of the Gaṅgā on the earth by the Ayodhyā king Bhagīratha (no. 45). The Bhāgavata makes us understand that the hermit, who met Bhagīratha and advised him to do so for the liberation of Sagara's dead sons,[13] was none else than the son of Kardama and Devahūti born to compose the Sāṁkhya-Saṁhitā as an Aṁśa-Kalā of God.[14] Thus the Bhāgavata identifies the two Kapilas—one of the pre-flood tradition and another of the post-flood tradition—as it did in the case of Śukra.[1] Yet we may take Kapila (no. 40) of Sagara's time as quasi-historical who propounded the Sāṁkhya system of thought.

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[1] 12.6.65.

[2] 12.6.61-74.

[3] 10.84.5.

[4] 6.15.13.

[5] vide AIHT. pp. 324, 328.

[6] 10.74.9.

[7] 6.15.14.

[8] 9.6.39-55.

[9] For references see—AIHT. p. 72, fn. 5.

[10] RV—9.19.36.

[11] vide AIHT. pp. 72-73.

[12] vide *ante* p. 170.

[13] 9.8.9 ab, 14.

[14] 3.21.32 ; 3.24.10,19,36-37 ; See also *ante* p. 96.

(iv) *Hiraṇyanābha and Kṛta:* Hiraṇyanābha (no. 83), the king of Ayodhyā, was the teacher of Kṛtī (or Kṛta—no. 84), the king of the Dvimīḍha line. Kṛtī composed six Saṁhitās of the Eastern Sāma-Veda under the guidance of his teacher.[2] Again, in the list of the Sāma-Veda teachers, beginning from Vyāsa's disciple Jaimini (no. 94), the Bhāgavata[3] mentions Hiraṇyanābha in the fourth step of Jaimini's disciples. It also mentions therein Kṛta as his disciple.[4] But the insertion of these two kings-*cum*-hermits in this list is anachronistic because both of them flourished nine and ten generations before Vyāsa (no. 92) and Jaimini (no. 94) respectively. Perhaps they have been included to take cognizance of the older Eastern Sāman Chanters.[5]

(v) *Jaigīṣavya:* Jaigīṣavya (no. 86) was the teacher of the S. Pañcāla king Brahmadatta (no. 87) in the Yoga philosophy, and so the king became a Yogin and composed the Yoga-tantra.[6] It is said that Jaigīṣavya was the patronymic of the hermit who received wealth from Brahmadatta.[7] No hermit of this name finds mention in the Bhāgavata lists of hermits.

(vi) *Maru and Devāpi:* Maru (no. 89), the prince of Ayodhyā, and Devāpi, the elder brother of Śantanu (no. 90), both became Yogins. It is predicted that Maru, who stays at Kalāpa-grāma, shall revive the solar race in the new kṛta-yuga when it shall be extinct at the end of the present kali-yuga.[8] The same prophecy is uttered with regard to Devāpi (no 89) who shall revive the lunar race.[9]

(vii) *Devāpi-Ārṣṭiṣeṇa:* The account of Devāpi is given in some detail. As already noticed,[10] Devāpi declined the throne in favour of his younger brother Śantanu, and resorted to forest in young age to become a recluse. So Śantanu became the king of Hastināpura after his departure.[11] The story tells as that a twelve-year drought occurred in Śantanu's kingdom when Davāpi resorted to forest. The Brāhmaṇas attributed it to the usurpation of the throne by Śantanu breaking the law of primogeniture. Śantanu, therefore, went to the forest and persuaded Devāpi to return and accept the throne in the interest of the public; but the latter did not agree. Meanwhile Śantanu's minister viz, Aśmarāva sent some Brāhmaṇas to Devāpi to pervert his intellect; and they did so. The result was that Devāpi spoke censorious words against the Vedas like a heretic. Thus the minister made Devāpi look like a heretic through his diplomacy; and Devāpi's heresy meant his unfitness for enthronement. So, when Śantanu came back to the capital, it rained in his kingdom. The allegation of usurpation was no more valid in face of Devāpi being excluded as a heretic.[1] But this amazing story, at least the heresy of Devāpi, is not compatible with the future stored for him, as noted above, and also because he is credited with a Sūkta of the Ṛg-Veda.[2] Further, this Devāpi is called Ārṣṭiṣeṇa in the same Veda,[3] which means that he was the son of Ṛṣṭiṣeṇa. As already discussed,[4] it was not Pratīpa (no. 87) but Ṛṣṭiṣeṇa (no. 88) who was the father of Devāpi if not of Śantanu also. The Bhāgavata[5] names one hermit Ārṣṭiṣeṇa with Parīkṣit II, who may be a descendant of Ṛṣṭiṣeṇa, the said father of Devāpi.

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[1] See '*The Bhārgavas*' *ante*, pp. 236-237.

[2] 9.21.28cd-29a ; See also *ante* p. 107.

[3] 12.6.77a.

[4] 12.6.80 abc.

[5] The statement of the Bhāgavata (9.12.3 cd-4) that Hiraṇyanābha was the disciple of Jaimini and preceptor of Yājñavalkya seems to be an attempt to harmonise his position in the list. Another reference (6.15.15) to Hiraṇyanābha is vague.

[6] 9.21.25-26 ab.

[7] vide AIHT. p. 165 fn. 3.

[8] 9.12.5d-6 ; See also *ante* p. 98.

[9] 9.22.17 cd-18 ab.

[10] vide *ante* p. 111.

[11] 9.22.12-13a.

(viii) *Recluses:* Before we close the account of the hermits, it is necessary to recollect those princes and kings who became recluses, being detached from worldly affairs. There are not less than three recluses each in solar and lunar races. In the solar race, first may be mentioned Pṛṣadhra[6] (no. 2) and Kavi[7] (no. 2), the two sons of Manu, who were parama-haṁsas. The last was Asamañjasa[8] (no. 42), the son of Sagara. In the lunar race, Nahuṣa's son Yati[9] (no. 6), his fifth descendant Śāntaraya[10] (no. 10) and Devāpi, noted above, are the three kings-*cum*-recluses.[11]

CONCLUSION

The foregoing acount of the hermits brings out the following particulars about the original Brāhmaṇa families. The Bhārgavas consisted of the two branches, one derived from Cyavana and another from Śukra. The

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[1] 9.22.14-17 ab.

[2] vide AIHT. pp. 165, 252; where it is said that Devāpi-Ārṣṭiṣeṇa was the author of the hymn 10.99 of the Ṛg-Veda.

[3] vide AIHT. p. 165. fn. 11.

[4] vide Chapter VI, pp.163-164.

[5] 1.19.10.

[6] 9.2.3-4.

[7] 9.2.15.

[8] 9.8.18.

[9] 9.18.2.

[10] 9.17.12 ab.

[11] For the details of the recluses noted here and such others, see *ante* p. 81, 226.

Cyavana branch was originally connected with the Śāryātas of Ānarta. But when their kingdom fell and the Haihayas penetrated there, it seems that Cyavana's descendants associated themselves with the Haihayas and settled on the western sea-coast taking to maritime trade apart from their hereditary priesthood. The sea-trade brought them wealth and prosperity; and perhaps this became an eye-sore to the then Haihaya kings. Consequently, the relation between the Bhārgavas and the Haihayas became strained; and the former were obliged to leave the trade and their home, the coastal strip, also. The Bhārgavas being thus evacuated came to settle in Brahmāvarta on the bank of the river Sarasvatī under the leadership of Ūrva, the far descendant of Cyavana. This evacuated group of the Aurvas played an important part in the traditional history. The second phase of the golden age was dominated either by these Bhārgava-Aurvas or by the Haihaya-Tālajaṅghas. The next branch of the Bhārgavas, claiming its descent from Śukra, was probably connected with the hostile oborigines of N. India; and soon disappeared when their patrons were overpowered by the Aryans.

The Vasiṣṭhas were originally and almost exclusively connected with the Ayodhyā kings, from the earliest times, as their hereditary priests. At the beginning they seem to hold position in the Videha dynasty also. But soon the Yājñavalkyas (which might be a *gotra* among the Vasiṣṭha family) dominated there; and maintained their position in the Videha dynasty, perhaps up to the last. The Vasiṣṭhas continued and flourished in Ayodhyā prominently. But there are certain definite points when they lost their influence in the royal house of Ayodhyā. This happened in the last quarter of the golden age when we find Viśvāmitra as the priest of Triśaṅku as well as of his son, Hariścandra; and Agni-Aurva as that of Sagara.

Although the Āṅgirasas had come into picture from the very beginning, yet their influence becomes felt at the end of the golden age when they developed into a full-fledged family; and appeared as the hereditary priests of the Vaiśāla kings. Their influence stands out after the adoption of Vitatha-Bhāradvāja by the Paurava monarch, Bharata. The versatile hermit Dīrghatamas, who had already enhanced the reputation of the Āṅgirasas in the Eastern kingdoms, finally came to be the permanent priest of this monarch who adopted his descendant on his advice. Perhaps it was the result of this adoption that many branches and sub-lines of the Bhāratas, that preferred to be Brāhmaṇas, joined the Āṅgirasa family.[1]

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[1] For the emergence of these sub-families of the Brāhmaṇas from among the Bhāratas and also their merger in the Āṅgirasa family see Chapter XI, B-ii-a—portion under the sub-heading '*Brāhmaṇa Gortas*'

A notable fact at this stage is that the above three old Brāhmaṇa families were connected as priests with the Śaryātas, Ikṣvākus and Vaiśālas respectively. And, as all these three dynasties belonged to the solar race, there seems no old family of the Brāhmaṇas connected with the dynasties of the lunar race in the first period of history. It may be doubted here that the Haihayas, who belonged to the lunar race, had relations with the Bhārgavas or with the Ātreyas. But it should be noted that none of the hermits of these two families was their priest. Only a few of them happened to come in contact with the Haihayas in some other ways. So, the fact remains that the old and genuine Brāhmaṇa families were not connected as priests with the kings of the lunar race till Bharata's time, who appeared after the first era had ended. Yet matrimonial relations existed between the early Aila kings and the hermits of these families. We know that Nahuṣa's daughter Ruci was married to Apnavāna-Bhārgava and Nahuṣa's son Yayāti married Devayānī, the daughter of Śukra-Bhārgava. Further in the middle of the era, Prabhākara-Ātreya married the ten daughters of the Paurava king, Raudrāśva. These marrige connections tended to bring the old Brāhmaṇas and the early Aila kings together ; and removed whatever antagonism might have been there between them.

As to other families, they do not seem to influence much excepting the great Viśvāmitra who virtually ousted Vasiṣṭha from his stronghold in Ayodhyā, and founded a family of his own. Lastly, all hermits belonging to the above families or others were reputed and respected for their *tapas* and knowledge. They were connected with kings as son-in-law, father-in-law, priest or *guru* and had great say in their doings, conquests etc. We find these hermits adepts in matters supernatural, masters of magico-religious power, wizards and medicine-men also. They directed kings in public welfare and also showed them means to strive for their spiritual end.

THE POST-WAR HISTORICAL TRADITION

ENUMERATIVE
SCHEMATIC
CRITICAL

[IX] THE POST-WAR HISTORICAL TRADITION

ENUMERATIVE

A. *Background of the Account:* The post-flood traditional history distributed in the three ages viz, golden (kṛta) silver (tretā) and copper (dvāpara) ended with the Great War; and soon after it begins the iron age (kali). Tradition of the three ages that preceeded the War was ancient or past for the Purāṇas and the kali age that followed was future era for them. Account of the dynasties of the iron age is, therefore, described in the future tense; and the kings who belonged to them are called the future kings (*bhavyāḥ bhūpālāḥ*).[1] This was done because the time prior to the Great War was considered as past (*atīta*) and that posterior to it was ranked as future (*anāgata*).[2] This demarcation of time is meant to show that the Purāṇas, which preserve these dynasties, were compiled soon after the Great War. This is not improbable. A collection of traditional account must have been made within a century or so after the Bhārata battle; thus closing the 'past' and its traditions, whence all subsequent occurrences belonged to the 'future'.[3] So the Bhāgavata conception of the 'future kings' means those kings who came after the Great War. It will be seen further when we discuss this marked change in detail including the time of the compilation of these accounts, how the dynastic matter came to be inserted in the Purāṇas at later times in the guise of prophecies.

Having set out copious genealogies down to the time of the War in the ninth skandha, the Bhāgavata stops and mentions further the dynastic lists of only three great kingdoms viz, Hastināpura, Ayodhyā and Magadha, thus: The Bhāgavata links the future Paurava kings to the ancient Paurava line of Hastināpura, the future Ikṣvākus or the Bārhadbalas, as they are now called, to the ancient Ikṣvāku line of Ayodhyā and the future Bārhadrathas to their ancient line of Magadha. Thus these three dynasties viz, the Paurava, Ikṣvāku and Bārhadratha seem to be the chief and the earliest post-War dynasties, although other old dynasties continued to exist. Of these, the first two do not find mention further while the subsequent dynasties that reigned in Magadha are described in the first chapter of the twelfth skandha. These dynasties, which came in succession after the Bārhadrathas, were of the Pradyotas, Śiśunāgas, Nandas, Mauryas, Śuṅgas, Kāṇvas and Andhras who ruled one after another in Magadha. Peculiarity of the dynastic lists of these is that the number of kings and their total length of reign are given in each list. Afterwards, 'various local dynasties' are noticed together. These dynasties were of both Indian peoples and foreign tribes; and their duration of reigns is given in aggregate. Then appear such dynasties and kings whose account is cursory. Finally, appear such dynasties and kings whose account is treated curtly. In this way the whole account of the dynasties of the kali age is set up in the Bhāgavata. This account has two limits. The upper limit is represented by the time (950 B.C.) that followed the Great War and the lowest limit by the time (320 A.D.) that preceded the rise of the Imperial Guptas. In between these two time-limits fall all the dynasties mentioned above. Before we enumerate these dynasties of the kali age, two points deserve mention here :—(i) The prophetic form of the original text is changed into past expressions. (ii) The post-flood tradition treated in the preceeding four Chapters is henceforward referred to by the term 'ancient tradition' simply. On this background, the enumeration may be presented as follows :—

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[1] e.g., बार्हद्रथाश्च भूपाला भाव्याः साहस्रवत्सरम् -9.22.48cd. Similarly, Śrīdhara (on 9.22.48) comments :—एते भाव्या भूपालाः ।

[2] The kings of the kali age are, therefore, called *anāgata* as distinguished from *atīta* i.e., of the preceeding ages (9.12.8d).

AIHT. p. 57[3].

B. *Pauravas :* The succinct dynastic list[1] of the Pauravas springing from Janamejaya, the son of Parīkṣit II,[2] names his 27 direct descendants down to Kṣemaka. As for their account, it is available with regard to the first two and one of their near descendants. The account of Janamejaya, whose mother was Irāvatī,[3] is first given in the garb of a myth[4] which says that he instituted a serpent-sacrifice (*sarpa-yāga*) to avenge his father's death which was caused by the bite of the serpent king, Takṣaka. Janamejaya was determined to burn down all the serpents (*nāga*) in the sacrificial fire besides Takṣaka who somehow escaped; and took refuge in Indra. On the express request of Pārīkṣita, the priests with their spell brought down both Takṣaka and Indra to make their oblation on the fire. Seeing this, Bṛhaspati, the priest of Indra, intervened and at his intercession to spare the serpents (*nāga*) and their king, the sacrifice was abandoned and thus the life of Takṣaka, including Indra's, was saved. As for the political career of Janamejaya, it is said that he conquered the whole earth, and performed many horse-sacrifices all conducted by Tura-Kāvaṣeya.[5]

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[1] 9.22.38-43.

[2] 9.22.35 ab.

[3] 1.16.2.

[4] Concise ref. to this myth—9.22.36; the myth in detail —12. 6.16-28.

[5] 9.22.37.

His son was Śatānīka I, and he had three preceptors viz, Yājñavalkya to guide religious practices (*kriyā-jñāna*), Śaunaka to impart the highest knowledge (*ātma-jñāna*) and Kṛpa for military training (*astra-jñāna*).[1]

Śatānīka I's great-grandson was Asīmakṛṣṇa and his son was Nimicakra. The account says that during the reign of Nimicakra the capital city of the Paurava kingdom viz, Hastināpura was washed away when the Gaṅgā was in spate. So the then ruling king and his people, the Pauravas or Kauravas, abandoned the kingdom and moved to Kauśāmbī where they settled permanently.[2] There is no further account of the Paurava kings who came in succession in the new realm excepting that of the last viz, Kṣemaka who is predicted to be the point of extinction of the Paurava family of the Lunar race of the ancient tradition.[3] Thus the ancient and celebrated Paurava family, that came into existence since the beginning of the golden age and which was particularly prominent in the age that preceded the Great War, came to its end in the current iron age, according to the Bhāgavata, when Kṣemaka was reigning.

C. *Ikṣvākus or Bārhadbalas :* The last Ikṣvāku king of the ancient tradition was Bṛhadbala whom Abhimanyu, the father of Parīkṣit II, killed during the Great War.[4] Twenty-nine descendants of this Bṛahadbala, known as the Bārhadbalas, are enlisted[5] without details excepting that the last Bārhadbala viz, Sumitra, like Kṣemaka, is said to be the point of extinction of the Ikṣavāku family of the Solar race of the ancient tradition.[6] Thus the most ancient and celebrated family of the Ikṣavākus that came into existence since the very beginning of the golden age and which ruled uninterupttedly in all the three ages that preceded the Great War came to its end in the current iron age, according to the Bhāgavata, when Sumitra was reigning. The absence of the account shows that the post-War kingdom of Ayodhyā where the Bārhadbalas reigned was less important than that of the Pauravas of Hastināpura or of Kauśāmbī where they later on settled.

D. *Bārhadrathas :* We know[7] that Bṛhadratha, the son of Vasu, founded the famous Bārhadratha dynasty in Magadha ; and that his nine successors, the Bārhadrathas, reigned there down to Jarāsandha who was killed by Bhīma soon before the Great War ; and also that Sahadeva, the son of Jarāsandha, was installed on the throne of Magadha by Kṛṣṇa so that he became the ally of the Pāṇḍavas and fighting on their side died during the Great War.[1] Sahadeva's son was Somāpi[2] or Mārjāri;[3] and this means that he had both names. Like the first future Paurava king Janamejaya, Somāpi or Mārjāri was the first future Bārhadratha king of Magadha.[4] His 20 descendants, called the Bārhadrathas, are enlisted;[5] and they are said to have reigned for 1000 years.[6] The last future Bārhadratha king was Ripuñjaya[7] or Purañjaya.[8] The absence of the dynastic account shows that this dynasty was the least important among the earliest chief three. After the Bārhadrathas the subsequent dynasties that are said to have reigned in Magadha are as follows :—

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[1] 9.22.38.

[2] 9.22.39d-40ab.

[3] 9.22.44.

[4] 9.12.8abc.

[5] 9.12.8d-15ab.

[6] 9.12.15cdef.

[7] vide Chapter V, p. 110.

E. *Pradyotas and Śiśunāgas :* Purañjaya, the last Bārhadratha, was killed by his minister (*amātya*) Śunaka who installed his own son Pradyota on the throne. So, Pradyota and his four descendants, i.e., the five Pradyotas reigned in Magadha for 138 years.[9] The last Pradyota viz, Nandivardhana was succeeded by Śiśunāga who founded the dynasty in his name there. Thus Śiśunāga and his nine descendants, i.e., the ten Śiśunāgas, among whom Vidhisāra and Ajātaśatru were the fifth and the sixth, are stated to have reigned in Magadha for 360 years.[10] Mahānandi, the last Śiśunāga, had a son viz, Nanda born through a Śūdra woman ; and he succeeded the father.[11]

F. *Nandas and Mauryas :* Nanda came to be known as Mahāpadma because he had a particular high number (*mahā-padma*) of army or wealth.[12] Like Paraśurāma, Nanda destroyed the Kṣatriya kings elsewhere and reigned as a paramount monarch over his vast empire.[13] Nanda had eight sons viz, Sumālya etc. ; and including them the fabulous nine Nandas reigned for 100 years.[14] As for the conduct of the kings in general, it is stated in this context that hereafter they became irreligious and immoral like the Śūdras[15] (apparently because a son of the Śūdra woman had become the paramount monarch). The nine Nandas (*nava-nanda*), who may be put in this category first, were uprooted by a Brāhmaṇa well-known as Cāṇakya.[1] Cāṇakya then installed Candragupta Maurya on the throne ; and so the ten Mauryas, i.e., Candragupta and his nine descendants reigned for 137 years.[2]

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[1] vide chapter VII, pp. 206-7 ; See also VA pp. 306, 327.

[2] 9.22.9ab.

[3] 9.22.45cd.

[4] As Śrīdhara (on 12.2.26) says Somāpi was contemporary of Parīkṣit II, the former may be taken as the elder contemporary of the latter's son.

[5] 9.22.45-48 abcde.

[6] 9.22.48f.

[7] 9.22.48d.

[8] 12.1.2ab.

[9] 12.1.2-4ab.

[10] 12.1.4cdef-7ab.

[11] 12.1.7cd.

[12] 12.1.8 where Śrīdhara says:—
नन्दो नाम कश्चित् महापद्म-
संख्यायाः सेनायाः धनस्य वा पति :
अतएव महापद्म इत्यपि तस्य नाम ।

[13] 12.1.8ab, 9.

[14] 12.1.10.

[15] 12.1.8cd.

G. *Śuṅgas, Kāṇvas and Andhras :* The last Maurya king Bṛhadratha was killed by his army commander (*senā-pati*) viz, Puṣpamitra who founded the Śuṅga dynsasty in Magadha.[3] So the ten Śuṅgas, i.e., Puṣpamitra and his nine descendants reigned for 112 years.[4] The account says that the last Śuṅga king Devabhūti was a dissolute person ; and he was killed by his minister (*amātya*) Vasudeva a person of Kāṇva tribe, who founded the Kāṇva dynasty there.[5] So the four Kāṇvas, i.e., Vasudeva and his three descendants reigned in Magadha for 345 (?) years.[6] In continuation of the above statement that the kings were acting like the Śūdras since the time of the Nandas, the Bhāgavata reminds that the Kāṇvas or Kāṇvāyanas,[7] as they are also called, were still less virtuous kings.[8] So it was in fitness of things that the last Kāṇva king Suśarman was killed by his minister of state (*bhṛtya*) viz, Balī who was an outcaste (*vṛṣala*) and belonged to the Andhra tribe. He founded the Andhra dynasty ; and naturally the contemptible kings came in succession.[9] The Bhāgavata says that thirty kings of the Andhra tribe reigned for 456(?) years,[10] although it enlists only twenty-three of them.[11]

H. *Various Local Dynasties :* After thus giving the account of subsequent dynasties in Magadha down to the Andhras, the Bhāgavata takes notice of various local dynasties that reigned elsewhere in different districts of India. The account says that the Āvabhṛtyas (i.e., the kings of Avabhṛti city whose number is not given in the account), seven Ābhīras, ten Gārdabhinas, sixteen Kaṅkas, eight Yavanas, fourteen Puṣkasas and ten Guruṇḍas all reigned for 1099(?) years. And, it is also exclusively added to this account that the eleven Maunas reigned for 300 years.[12]

I. *Dynasties and Kings Noticed Cursorily :* The subsequent account is condensed. It says that after the Maunas five kings viz, Bhūtananda etc. reigned in Kilakilāpuri for 105 years.[1] From Bhūtananda etc. descended thirteen Bālhīkas[2] whose names etc. are not given. The two other kings, named afterwards, are Puṣpamitra and his son Durmitra.[3] Then the account says that seven Andhras, seven Kośalas, the chieftains of Vedūra and Niṣadha—all petty kings reigned simultaneousely (*eka-kālāḥ*) in their respective realms.[4] A Māgadha king viz, Viśvasphūrji, styled as more famous than the last Bārhadratha Purañjaya, is specially noted here. He is perhaps censured for his act of converting the Brāhmaṇa sub-families viz, Pulinda, Yadu, Madraka etc. into Mlecchas. It is said that the three upper castes were in minority among his subjects, which means that the Śūdras were in greater number. Viśvasphūrji overthrew the Kṣatriya kings reigning elsewhere; and so his kingdom is said to have extended from Prayāga to Haridvāra of which the capital was Padmavatī.[5] The account of this king is clear excepting that the sub-families, noted above, may be the new sub-castes brought into existence by Viśvasphūrji himself.[6]

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[1] Śrīdhara points out other synonyms of Cāṇakya as follows :—

कौटिल्य-वात्स्यायनादि-पर्यायश्चाणक्यः ।

[2] 12.1.12-14.

[3] The Bhāgavata does not mention Puṣpamitra at all. It is Śrīdhara who (on 9.1.17) fills up the blank as follows :—

बृहद्रथस्य सेनापतिः पुष्पमित्रो नाम स्वामिनं हत्वा राज्यं करिष्यति। स च शुंगानां प्रथमः ।

[4] 12.1.15-17ab.

[5] 12.1.18.

[6] 12.1.19.

[7] 12.1.19c.

[8] 12.1.17cd.

[9] 12.1.20.

[10] 12.1.26.

[11] 12.1.20-25.

[12] 12.1.27-30ab.

J. *Dynasties and Kings Noticed Curtly :* There is, then, curt allusion to some collateral dynasties that reigned in Surāṣṭra, Avanti, Śurasena, Arbuda and Mālava realms. It is said that the *dvijas* (three upper castes) of these realms had become like the *vrātyas* (i.e., destitute of purificatory rites specially the sacred thread investiture) and the kings like the Śūdras (i.e., devoid of customary morality).[7] Above these realms of central and western India, there were kingdoms in the north-west India also where the kings and the subjects are said to have become like the Vrātyas, Śūdras or Mlecchas. All the people of this reigon were void of ceremonial purity as ordained by the Vedas. The realms on the banks of the rivers Sindhu and Candrabhāgā and the kingdoms of Kauntī and Kāśmīra are specifically named in this context.[8] The kings of these realms and kingdoms, who are repeatedly said to be like the Mlecchas (i.e., void of good conduct and barbarous in nature) reigned there simultaneously (*tulya-kālāḥ*).[9]

With the mention of these contemporaneous kingdoms of northern region ruled over by the Mleccha-like kings, ends the account of all the future dynasties of the kali age. Henceforward the Bhāgavata throws light on the conduct and behaviour of the kings and the people of this region as they were at this time. As for the kings, they are said to be niggards in graciousness, very irascible and intent upon falsity.[1] They lacked heroism but ravished others' wives and wealth ; and massacred children, cows and the Brāhmaṇas[2] Destitute of sacred rites and religious practices, they were unrighteous and unrestrained. So they oppressed people like barbarians.[3] The populace naturally followed their masters and rulers in character (*śīla*), conduct (*ācāra*) and talking (*vāda*), which means that they quarrelled mutually on the one hand and suffered under the tyranny of the so-called kings on the other. The result was that population diminished day by day.[4]

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[1] 12.1.30bcd-31.

[2] 12.1.32ab.

[3] 12.1.32cd.

[4] 12.1.33.

[5] 12.1.34-35.

[6] Śrīdhara (on 12.1.34):—अपरानितिपाठे अन्यान्पुलिन्दादि-संज्ञान् वर्णान् करिष्यतीत्यर्थः ।

[7] 12.1.36.

[8] 12.1.37.

[9] 12.1.38ab.

SCHEMATIC

A. *Time of the Compilation of the Account :* The account of future kings belonging to the dynasties of the kali age, as noted above, is in prophetic shape. This shape of the account gives the idea that it was composed before the kings were born or the events described in the account occurred. But evidently this cannot be so. The account of the post-War kings was compiled and revised in the Purāṇas at later dates as and when the dynasties ruled and passed away. So according to Pargiter[5], the materials concerning these dynasties came under composition since 7th century B. C. when the art of writing was introduced in India ; and the account was written in or near Magadha—one of the chief centres of political life and thought during those times and famous for its bards and minstrels. Such account was successively revised and enlarged by the insertion of the new dynastic matters which poured in down to the rise of the Guptas, i.e., 320 A.D. During this long process of continuous revision and enlargement, it is said, the original language of the account viz, Prakrit was converted to Sanskrit. The account so compiled for the Purāṇas was first inserted in the Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa and later on in all the Purāṇas when it was brought up-to-date in the Gupta era in the version found now. Thus, if the Prakrit metrical chronicles were converted to Sanskrit prophecies uttered by Vyāsa at a later date or dates, they may be called a pious fraud. The account then seems to have found place in the prophetic manner in the Purāṇas during the middle of the 3rd century A.D. It may be noted here that the account, so revised and added in the Purāṇas, was not revised so far as the regnal periods of some dynasties are concerned (e.g., of the Kāṇva, local and Mleccha dynasties so far as the Bhāgavata is concerned). It so happened because the compilers had little inclination for their revision, as the dynasties were of contemptible kings. With strict reference to those few verses of the Bhāgavata that mention the three earliest post-War dynasties in the ninth skandha and the first chapter of the twelfth skandha which records the rest of the post-War dynastic matter, it may be accepted, as suggested, that the Bhāgavata text was compiled in the 8th century A.D. This later date is acceptable because the Bhāgavata drew materials from other Purāṇas chiefly from the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa with which it has closest resemblance ; and also because the Bhāgavata text, in this respect, is mainly a condensation composed afresh in good Sanskrit.[1]

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[1] 12.1.38cd. [2] 12.1.39. [3] 12.1.40. [4] 12.1.41.

[5] vide DKA pp. XI-XIII, XVIII, XXVI-XXVII

The Bhāgavata text, as we have seen in the enumerative portion, gives the lists of dynasties down to the Andhras and mentions their regnal periods also. Other Purāṇas also do the same with the difference that they mention the regnal period of each king in a particular dynasty. Pargiter in his book 'The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age' has given a single unified version of these dynasties as recorded in different Purāṇas as well as in their numerous editions and manuscripts. Thus comes out one agreed version which he calls 'The Purāṇa Text'. Where agreed and unified version was not possible, he has juxtaposed the versions of different Purāṇas (e.g., in the case of the Maurya dynasty). So, we have prepared the dynastic lists from our text and the Purāṇa Text for comparison, and have arranged them in a collateral way. The lists, as prepared from the Bhāgavata text and the Purāṇa Text, are presented in the following Table according to their order of enumeration in the preceeding portion. (As for the presentation of these lists, the same procedure is adopted here which was formulated to present the dynastic lists of the ancient tradition.[2])

B. THE COLLATERAL DYNASTIC LISTS

1. *Pauravas*

S.No.	Bhāgavata list	Purāṇa Text list	S.No.	Bhāgavata list	Purāṇa Text list
1.	Janamejaya		10.	Vṛṣṭimān	Vṛṣṇimat
2.	Śatānīka I		11.	Suṣeṇa	
3.	Sahasrānīka	(......)	12.	Sunītha	
4.	Aśvamedhaka	Aśvamedhadatta	12a.	(......)	Ruca
5.	*Asīmakṛṣṇa*	*Adhisīmakṛṣṇa*	13.	Nṛcakṣu	
6.	Nimicakra	Nicakṣu	14.	Sukhīnala	Sukhībala
7.	Ukta	Uṣṇa	15.	Pariplava	
8.	Citraratha		16.	Sunaya	
9.	Kaviratha	Śucidratha	17.	Medhāvin	

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[1] cf. DKA pp. XVI-XVII, XXVIII, 83.

[2] For the procedure see Chapter VI, pp. 138-139.

S.No.	Bhāgavata list	Purāṇa Text list	S.No.	Bhāgavata list	Purāṇa Text list
18.	Nṛpañjaya		23.	Śatānīka II	
19.	Dūrva		24.	Durdamana‡	Udayana‡
20.	Timi	Tigmātman	25.	Bahīnara	Vahīnara
21.	Bṛhadratha (Vasudāna)	Bṛhadratha-Vasudāna	26.	Daṇḍapāṇi	
			27.	Nimi	Niramitra
22.	Sudāsa ?	(……)	28.	Kṣemaka	
		2. *Ikṣvākus*			
1.	Bṛhadraṇa	Bṛhatkṣaya	17.	Bṛhadrāja	Bṛhadbhrāja
2.	Urukriya	Urukṣaya	18.	Barhi	Dharmin
3.	Vatsavṛddha	Vatsavyūha	19.	Kṛtañjaya	
4.	Prativyoman		20.	Raṇañjaya	
5.	*Divāka*	*Divākara*	21.	Sañjaya	
6.	Sahadeva		22.	Śākya	
7.	Bṛhadaśva		23.	Śuddhoda	Śuddhodana
8.	Bhānumān	Bhānuratha	23a.	(……)	Siddhārtha
9.	Pratīkāśva	Pratītāśva	24.	Lāṅgala	Rāhula
10.	Supratīka		25.	Prasenajit	(Son of Mahākosala)
11.	Marudeva				
12.	Sunakṣatra		26.	Kṣudraka	
13.	Puṣkara	Kinnarāśva	27.	Raṇaka	Kulaka
14.	Antarikṣa		28.	Suratha	
15.	Sutapas	Suparṇa	29.	Sumitra	
16.	Amitrajit				
		3. *Bārhadrathas*			
1.	Somāpi or Mārjāri	Somādhi	12.	Suvrata	
			13.	Dharmasūtra	Dharmanetra
2.	Śrutaśravas		13a.	(……)	Nirvṛti
3.	Ayutāyus		14.	Śama	Suśrama
4.	Niramitra		15.	Dyumatsena	Dṛḍhasena
5.	Sunakṣatra	Sukṣatra	16.	Sumati	
6.	Bṛhatsena	Bṛhatkarman	17.	Subala	Sucala
7.	*Karmajit*	*Senājit*	18.	Sunītha	Sunetra
8.	Sṛtañjaya	Śrutañjaya	19.	Satyajit	
9.	Vipra	Vibhu	20.	Viśvajit	
10.	Śuci		21.	Ripuñjaya or Purañjaya	
11.	Kṣema				
		4. *Pradyotas*			
1.	Sunaka	Pulika	4.	Viśākhayūpa	
2.	Pradyota		5.	Rajaka	Ajaka
3.	Pālaka		6.	Nandivardhan	
		5. *Śiśunāgas*			
1.	Śiśunāga‡		6.	*Ajataśatru** (?)	
2.	Kākavarṇa		7.	Darbhaka	Darśaka
3.	Kṣemadharman		8.	Ajaya	Udayin
4.	Kṣetrajña	Kṣatraujas	9.	Nandivardhana	
5.	*Vidhisāra***	*Vimbisāra*(?)	10.	Mahānandi	Mahānandin

6. *Nandas*

S.No.	Bhāgavata list	Purāṇa Text list	S.No.	Bhāgavata list	Purāṇa Text list
1.	Mahāpadma Nanda**		2.	Sumālya etc. eight sons	Sukalpa etc. eight sons

7. *Mauryas*

1.	Candragupta**		6.	Saṁgata	Samprati
2.	Vārisāra	Vindusāra	7.	Śāliśūka	
3.	Aśokavardhana	Aśoka	8.	Somaśarman	Devadharman
3a.	(......)	Kuṇāla	9.	Śatadhanvan	
4.	Suyaśas	Daśoṇa	10.	Bṛhadratha	
5.	(Daśaratha)				

Śuṅgas 8.

1.	(Puṣpamitra)	Puṣyamitra	6.	Pulinda	Pulindaka
2.	Agnimitra		7.	Ghoṣa	
3.	Sujyeṣṭha	Vasujyeṣṭha	8.	Vajramitra	
4.	Vasumitra		9.	Bhāgavata	
5.	Bhadraka	Andhraka	10.	Devabhūti	Devabhūmi

9. *Kāṇvas*

1.	Vasudeva		3.	Nārāyaṇa	
2.	Bhūmitra	Bhūmimitra	4.	Suśarman	

10. *Andhras*

1.	Balī	Simuka	17.	Hāleya	Hāla
2.	Kṛṣṇa		18.	Talaka	Mantalaka or Pattalaka
3.	Śrī-śāntakarṇa	Śrī-śātakarṇi			
4.	Paurṇamāsa	Purṇotsaṅga	19.	Purīṣabhīru	Purīndrasena
5.	(......)	Skandhastambi	20.	Sunandana	Sundara-Śātakarṇi
6.	(......)	Śātakarṇi			
7.	Lambodara		21.	Cakora	
8.	Vikala	Āpīlaka (Divilaka)	22.	Śivasvāti	
9.	Meghasvāti		23.	Gaumatīputra	Gautamīputra
10.	(......)	Svāti	24.	Purīmān	Pulomā
11.	(......)	Skandasvāti	25.	Medaśirā	Śivaśrī
12.	(......)	Mṛgendra	26.	Śivaskanda	Śivaskandha
13.	(......)	Kuntala	27.	Yajñaśrī	
14.	(......)	Svātivarṇa	28.	Vijaya	
15.	Aṭamāna	Padumān	29.	Candravijña	Caṇḍaśrī
16.	Aniṣṭakarman	Ariṣṭakarṇa	30.	Salomadhi	Pulomāvī

C. *Examination of the Dynastic Lists :* Having presented the dynastic lists as given by the Bhāgavata text and the Purāṇa Text in collateral manner, we now see what their collation shows :—

1. *Pauravas :* The collation of the lists of the Pauravas as found in the Bhāgavata text[1] and the Purāṇa Text[2] shows that both are in substantial agreement. From Janamejaya (no. 1) to Kṣemaka (no. 28)

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[1] 9.22.38-43.

[2] vide DKA pp. 4-8, 65-66.

the Bhāgavata enlists 28 kings while the Purāṇa Text mentions 27 kings in its version omitting one king (no. 3). There is one more omission on the part of the later against no. 22. But the name given by the former at this place seems to be superfluous because with slight variation it can be taken as his father's appellation viz, Vasudāna (no. 21) as mentioned by the collateral list. It therefore appears in our list in the bracket. Thus only one omission remains in the parallel row, and similarly there is one omission in the main series against no. 12a. So the total number in each list comes on par, i.e., 27 with one additional name in both viz, Sahasrānīka (no. 3) in the former and Ruca (no. 12a) in the later. As for the variation in names, they are usual. Further, the king noted against no. 5 was of fixed position and that noted against no. 24 was a king of note, as will appear with regard to both.

2. *Ikṣvākus :* Subject to usual variation in names, the lists of the Ikṣvākus as found in the Bhāgavata text[1] and the Purāṇa Text[2] are in general agreement. One omission against no. 23a in the Bhāgavata list is remarkable inasmuch as it brings into notice the inaccuracy and thereby incompleteness of the lists of Ikṣvākus as given in the Purāṇas in general. It is said that Śākya (no. 22) etc., the four kings mentioned as the immediate predecessors of Prasenajit (No. 25), serve as the typical example of wrong entry ; because they belonged to a different dynasty. Prasenajit was in fact the son of Mahakosala (whose name the Purāṇas do not mention) and instead they have jumbled Śākya etc. as his predecessors. But the names of Prasenajit's real predecessors are available in the Buddhist account and can be well inserted here ousting Śākya etc. from this dynasty.[3] It is therefore that the four names (nos. 22-24) are *shelled.*

3. *Bārhadrathas :* Subject to variation in names, the lists of the Bārhadrathas as given by the Bhāgavata text[4] and the Purāṇa Text[5] are in complete agreement. It is interesting to note that both the first and the last Bārhadratha kings had two names. According to the Bhāgavata, the first (no. 1) was called Somāpi[6] or Mārjāri ;[7] and the last (no. 21), Ripuñjaya[8] or Purañjaya.[9]

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[1] 9.12.9-15.

[2] vide DKA pp. 9-12, 66-67.

[3] vide VA p. 326.

[4] 9.22.45-48.

[5] vide DKA pp. 14-17, 67-68.

[6] 9.22.9ab.

[7] 9.22.45cd.

[8] 9.22.48d.

[9] 12.1.2ab; Here Śrīdhara comments :—रिपुंजय एव पुरंजयः ।

4 & 5. *Pradyotas and Śiśunāgas :* The lists of the Pradyotas and Śiśunāgas as given by the Bhāgavata text[1] and the Purāṇa Text[2] fairly agree with their counterparts. But the following points may be noted in connection with these two dynasties :—(i) The dynasty of the Pradyotas is placed here in false sequence after the Bārhadrathas and before the Śiśunāgas to make it appear as if it reigned in Magadha between these two dynasties. (ii) The founder of the Pradyota dynasty viz, Śunaka (or Pulika—no. 1) was contemporary of Bimbisāra (or Vidhisāra or Vimbisāra—no. 5) who is made appear 10 generations after him in the Śiśunāga dynasty. (iii) It is also wrong to say that Śiśunāga (no. 1) founded the Śiśunāga dynasty and that Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru (no. 6) were his fifth and sixth descendants as both the lists show. The following conclusions then emerge from the above-noted points :—(i) The Pradyotas reigned in Avanti and not in Magadha. (ii) They were then the Śiśunāgas who supplanted the Bārhadrathas and not the Pradyotas as the Purāṇas generally say. (iii) It was Bimbisāra who founded the Śiśunāga dynasty and not Śiśunāga.[3]

6. *Nandas :* There is no question of discrepancy with regard to the lists of the Nandas as given by the Bhāgavata text[4] and the Purāṇa Text ;[5] because among the nine Nandas only the names of the founders viz, Mahāpadma Nanda (no. 1) and that of his one son Sumālya (or Sukalpa—no. 2) are available. The rest of the seven brothers of Sumālya are not named, although it is specifically said that Nanda had eight sons.[6]

7. *Mauryas :* As for the Mauryas, there is much discrepancy about their number, names and order of kings in other five Purāṇas which mention them, although the best attested number is ten.[7] The list of the Bhāgavata text[8] agrees closely with the combined version of the Matsya and the Vāyu Purāṇas,[9] which is then accepted for collation. The Bhāgavata, confirming the best attested number of the Maurya kings, says that there were ten Mauryas[10] but it names nine only. Hence Śrīdhara[11] has supplied the remaining name of 'Daśartha' to reconcile the statement; and he seems to place Daśaratha against no. 8, although Daśaratha has to be placed against

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[1] Pradyotas—12.1.2-3 ; Śiśunāgas—12.1.4cdef-6ab.

[2] Pradyotas—DKA pp. 18-19, 68 ; Śiśunāgas—DKA pp. 21-22, 68-69.

[3] cf. VA pp. 327-28.

[4] 12.1.7cd-10.

[5] vide DKA pp. 25-26, 69.

[6] 12.1.10ab.

[7] vide DKA. pp. 26-27.

[8] 12.1.11-14.

[9] DKA p. 70.

[10] 12.1.14c.

[11] Śrīdhara (on 12.1.14) fills up the blank as follows :—
तेषां प्रथमो दशरथः पराशरादिभिरुक्तोऽत्राप्यनुसंधेयः ; तेन सह मौर्या दश ।

no. 5 according to the version accepted for comparison. The name of Daśaratha is bracketted because it is not found mentioned in the original Bhāgavata text.

8 & 9. *Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas :* The lists of the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas as found in the Bhāgavata text[1] and the Purāṇa Text[2] concur with the corresponding ones fairly well with least variation in names of kings. But, as happened in the case of the Mauryas, the Bhāgavata says that there were ten Śuṅga kings,[3] although it names nine only. And, again, Śrīdhara[4] supplies the name of Puṣpamitra (or Puṣyamitra—no. 1) who was the founder of the dynasty. Excepting this remarkable omission, the rest of the nine Śuṅga kings and the four Kāṇva kings fully concur in names and order in the collateral lists.

10. *Andhras :* All the Purāṇas which mention the Andhra dynasty say that there were thirty Andhra kings but none of them excepting the three manuscripts of the Matsya-Purāṇa give the thirty names.[5] In the same strain, the Bhāgavata says that there were thirty Andhra kings[6] and names only twenty-three of them.[7] No doubt, then, thirty is the correct number. So, Pargiter has drawn a co-ordinated list[8] of thirty Andhra kings separately besides giving the single unified Purāṇa Text[9] of the Andhra dynasty. We have compared our text with both the co-ordinated list as well as the unified Purāṇa Text. The collation shows striking discrepancy at the very beginning about the name of the founder himself. The Purāṇas are at pains to emend the founder's name in various ways and finally converge on the name Simuka whose correctness is proved by the testimony of Indian coins.[10] Simuka-Sātavāhana, who is identified with this Simuka, is mentioned in Lūder's List of Brāhmī Inscriptions.[11] But the Bhāgavata omits Simuka and gives quite a new name viz, Balī for the founder with two discourteous terms viz, *asattama* and *vṛṣala* super-added.[12] This incongruity becomes compatible in this way. Other Purāṇas use the words *balīyasaḥ, balam* or even *balī* in the context of Simuka,[13] and these

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[1] Śuṅgas—12.1.15-16 ; Kāṇvas—12.1.17cd-19.

[2] Śuṅgas—DKA pp. 31-32, 70 ; Kāṇvas—DKA pp. 34-35, 71.

[3] 12.1.17a.

[4] vide *ante* ref. no. 3 on p. 261.

[5] DKA pp. 35-36.

[6] 12.1.26a.

[7] 12.1.20-25.

[8] vide DKA p. 36.

[9] vide DKA pp. 38-43, 71-72.

[10] vide DKA p. 37, note 17 on p. 38, and note 5 on p. 71.

[11] vide DKA p. 37.

[12] 12.1.20.

[13] vide DKA p. 38, Line 2 ; and notes 14 and 16

words mean to say that Simuka was a powerful (*balīyasaḥ* or *balī*) king who destroyed the army (*balam*) of the Kāṇvas, as he really did. So, it seems that these adjectives and common noun used in the context of Simuka were taken as the proper noun by the latter redactors of the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa. Onwards, there is general agreement between the Bhāgavata list and the co-ordinated list excepting the above-mentioned shortage of seven names in our list as done by other Purāṇas also. So, the names of the twenty-three Andhra kings are stretched in the main series in consonance with those of the co-ordinated list; and seven omissions are marked out. Both the collateral lists show that many of the kings bore the name Śātakarṇi. Svāti is often used both as an independant name and as a suffix, Śiva as prefix only, and Śrī both as prefix and suffix of names.

11. *Various Local Dynasties:* Now the local dynasties that are enumerated after the Andhras are compared and examined here. A different type of comparison is required for these dynasties because the names of the kings belonging to them are not available in the Purāṇas, as they were available in the cases of preceding dynasties brought on the Table to face the Purāṇa Text. In the account of the local dynasties, the Bhāgavata text gives the number of kings, names of the dynasties (i.e., of the tribes to which the kings belonged) and then collectively states the duration of all the dynasties. As exceptions to this general mode of account, the number of kings in the first dynasty is lacking and the duration of the last dynasty is stated separately.[1] Similarly, the Purāṇa Text[2] summarises the number of kings in each dynasty but, unlike the Bhāgavata, states the duration of each dynasty separately. A Tabular statement of these two versions of the local dynasties embodied in the two texts is as follows :—

Chart Of The Local Dynasties

Bhāgavata Text				Purāṇa Text		
S.No.	No. of kings	Name of Dynasty	Duration in Years	No. of kings	Name of Dynasty	Duration in Years
1.	...	Āvabhṛtyas ?	1099 ?	7	Āndhras	52
2.	7	Ābhīras		10	Ābhīras	67
3.	10	Gārdabhinas		7	Gārdabhins	72
4.	16	Kaṅkas		18	Śakas	183
5.	8	Yavanas		8	Yavanas	87
6.	14	Puṣkasas		14	Tuṣāras	105
7.	10	Guruṇḍas		13	Muruṇḍas	200
8.	11	Maunas	300	11	Maunas (Hūṇas)	103

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[1] 12.1.27-30ab.

[2] vide DKA pp. 45-48, 72.

The collation of the two versions shows that both are in general agreement with regard to the number, names and seriality of the local dynasties. The total number of kings given by the Bhāgavata becomes nearly equal to that given by the Purāṇa Text if only the number omitted in the case of the first dynasty is taken from the corresponding one. The number of kings mentioned with respect to the second and the third dynasties fully agree with the corresponding ones if inter-changed mutually. As for the variations in names of the dynasties, the first and the last are significant. The Bhāgavata text names the first dynasty as Āvabhṛtyas, and Śrīdhara defines them as the kings of Avabhṛti city.[1] The Purāṇa Text names the first dynasty as Āndhras on the basis of the three Purāṇas viz, Matsya etc.[2] But it is the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa which gives the right name of this dynasty viz, Andhrabhṛtyas,[3] i.e., the kings who belonged to the lineage of the servants of the Andhras. Since the dynasty preceding these local ones was that of the Andhras, the first local dynasty should be that of the Andhra-bhrtyas who might have come in power by overthrowing their master—a phenomenon which is visible at all stages of the post-War hostorical tradition. To cite an example of this phenomenon befitting this context, we may take the Kāṇvas who were also called the Śuṅga-bhṛtyas;[4] because the Kāṇva minister of the last Śuṅga king killed the master and founded his dynasty—a fact which the Bhāgavata also confirms.[5] In view of this struggle between the master and the servant being the characteristic political trend of the age, the name Āvabhṛtyas may be dismissed; and like Śuṅga-bhṛtyas, Andhrabhṛtyas may be accepted as the right name for the first local dynasty. The name of the last local dynasty is significant from two standpoints. Firstly, the Bhāgavata mentions its duration separately; and secondly, the Purāṇa Text gives two names for it and both are well-supported by traditional account.[6] In this way the examination of the number of kings and names of dynasties closes here; and the respective durations of these local dynasties shall be examined in the next topic separately. The local dynasties virtually form the last limit of the traditional account. The dynasties and kings described afterwards cursorily and curtly need no comparison here. They have been enumerated in the preceding portion; and it will be seen in the next portion how far the fragmentary and stray references to them, as recorded in the Bhāgavata, find support in the same manner from other Purāṇas and also from the sources other than the Purāṇas.

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[1] Śrīdhara (on 12.1.27) comments :—आवभृत्याः अवभृतिर्नगरी तद्राजानः ।

[2] vide DKA p. 72. [3] vide DKA p. 45. note 5.

[4] vide DKA pp. 31, 71. [5] 12.1.18. [6] vide DKA p. 46, note 24.

D. *Examination of the Numerical Statements:* (D-i) *From Bārhadrathas to Andhras:* Since the Bhāgavata has given the durations of all the post-War dynasties and other Purāṇas also do the same, it is better to examine their numerical statements in this respect so that we may find out the chronological sequence of the dynasties. It has been said that the Pauravas, the Ikṣvākus and the Bārhadrathas constitute the three chief and the earliest dynasties. Of these, the duration of only the last one is given. But it is sufficient to trace the durations of the first two also because all the three were collateral and had more or less the same number of kings. So, if the duration of one is known, other two shall fall in with it accordingly. Starting from the Bārhadrathas, therefore, we give here the durations of all the dynasties that are described to come in succession, in the following chart :—

S.No.	No. of Kings	Name of the Dynasty	Duration in Years	References from the Bhāgavata
1.	21	Bārhadratha	1000 ?	9.22.48ef.
2.	6	Pradyota	138	12.1.4ab.
3.	10	Śiśunāga	360 ?	12.1.6cd.
4.	9	Nanda	100	12.1.10d-11a.
5.	10	Maurya	137	12.1.14cd.
6.	10	Śuṅga	112	12.1.17ab.
7.	4	Kāṇva	345 ?	12.1.19cdef.
8.	30	Andhra	456	12.1.26

The numerical statements of other Purāṇas also assign nearly the same durations as given by the Bhāgavata, although their method of assigning is different. Other Purāṇas mention the regnal period of each king in a particular dynasty, while the Bhāgavata has given the total duration of each dynasty without giving the figures of individual reigns. But the total duration of a dynasty, as shown in the chart, generally concurs with the total of individual reigns as shown by other Purāṇas. Yet some figures of the Bhāgavata as well as of other Purāṇas in this respect are excessive and discrepant.[1] So, we consider here the excessiveness and discrepancies appearing with regard to some of these figures as follows :

The two dates are fixed, i.e., of the Great War (950 B.C.) and that of the coronation of Nanda (402 B.C.).[2] This means that 548 years elapsed among the post-War dynasties that preceded Nanda. But the total duration of the three dynasties that reigned after the War and before Nanda, as shown in the above chart, comes to (1000+138+360=) 1498 years which exceeds by (1498—548=) 950 years in comparison to the actual lapse of time shown by the two fixed dates. So the figures denoting the duration of these three dynasties falling between the two points should be execessive ; and this excessiveness is easily traceable on the basis of the average regnal period of a king, which is definitely high with regard to the dynasties of the Bārhadrathas and Śiśunāgas in comparison to all others. The average reign in these two dynasties comes to nearly $(\frac{1000}{21}=)$ 50 years and $(\frac{360}{10}=)$ 36 years respectively ; while in the cases of other dynasties it is not more than 17 years. This means that the numerical statements are not genuine. The duration of 360 years assigned to the Śiśunāgas may be read as 163 years also from the statement of the Matsya-Purāṇa.[1] Similarly, the figure 345 denoting the regnal period of the four Kāṇva kings is fantastic; as all other Purāṇas unanimously state that the Kāṇvas reigned for 45 years only.[2] As regards the durations of the remaining dynasties viz, Pradyotas,[3] Nandas,[4] Mauryas,[5] Śuṅgas[6] and Andhras,[7] other Purāṇas assign the same duration as the Bhāgavata has done, although the durations of a few dynasties shall have to be reduced while we consider them chronologically.

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[1] vide DKA pp. 13, 18, 20, 69.

[2] For these dates, vide Chapter VI, p. 174. Thereat 382 B.C. has been mentioned as the date of Nanda's accession. The discrepancy between the two dates—382 B.C. and 402 B.C.—may be met as follows : Nanda was crowned at 402 B.C., but he came in power as the paramount monarch of the great Magadha empire in 382 B.C., i.e., 20 years after his accession, by destroying the existing kingdoms in N. India (cf. AIHT pp. 180-2, 286-7 ; vide also VA p. 323).

(D-ii). *Various Local Dynasties :* The names of the local dynasties and the number of kings therein are ascertained above. The durations of these dynasties are now considered here. The Bhāgavata has given the duration of the first seven dynasties in aggregate as 1099 years,[8] and of the last dynasty of the Maunas as 300 years.[9] This type of assignment of durations by the Bhāgavata suggests that it has taken these dynasties to be successive ones ; and has therefore totalised the different durations allotted to them separately by other Purāṇas. The Purāṇa Text, on the other hand, mentions the duration of each dynasty separately ; and it is said that all the eight local dynasties were more or less contemporaneous.[10] The duration of 300 years allotted to the last dynasty also does not agree with other Purāṇas which say it was of 103 years only.[11] It may be reminded here that the numerical statements regarding the various local dynasties as found in the Bhāgavata or in other Purāṇas are those unrevised statements for which the redactors were least careful, as the dynasties were mostly of the foreign tribes.[1] An example shall reveal how wild and discrepant figures are assigned to these dynasties in different Purāṇas. They say that Tuṣāras (see dynasty no. 6 in the chart where they are called Puṣkasas by the Bhāgavata) reigned on the earth for 7000, 500 or 107 years, although 105 is really meant.[2]

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[1] vide DKA p. 20.

[2] vide DKA pp. 33, 71.

[3] ibid., p. 18.

[4] ibid., p. 24.

[5] ibid., p. 27.

[6] ibid., p. 30.

[7] ibid., p. 37.

[8] 12.1.29 abc.

[9] 12.1.29d-30a.

[10] vide DKA p. 44.

[11] ibid., 45.

Of these eight local dynasties of the foreign and non-Aryan tribes, two viz, Śaka and Hūṇa were important. So their durations deserve consideration in some detail. The Śakas whom the Bhāgavata calls Kaṅkas (dynasty no. 4) were contemporary with the Hūṇas whom the Bhāgavata calls Maunas (dynasty no. 8). The Pūrāṇas assign 380 years to the Śakas; and as this figure leads to impossible results, the statement—*śatāni trīṇy aśītiṁca*—is rendered to mean as 183 only. The Śaka era is said to have begun with A.D. 78. So, their duration taken from the suitable rendering fixes their lower limit in 260-1 A.D., although they might have continued for some time afterwards.[3] As far the Maunas or Hūṇas, the Bhāgavata assigns them 300 years while other Purāṇas 103 years ; and both durations may be correct from different standpoints. The Purāṇas may be right because the Hūṇas are known to have formed a small kingdom for 103 years on the north-west frontier of India before A.D. 260.[4] Thus, if the figure 103 is taken to be right, the statement of the Bhāgavata—*adba-śatāny aṅga trīṇi*[5]—may also be construed to mean 103 also. On the other hand, the simple meaning of the statement, that is, 300 years is also right from another standponit. There are definite evidences that the Hūṇas were on the Indian soil by 500 A.D. and they were converted to Vaiṣṇavism by 700 A.D..[6] In view of this, 300 years, assigned in an exclusive manner to them by the Bhāgavata, may mean their period of stay in India (when they came down from the north-west after 260 A.D.) as a separate tribe till they were accommodated within the framework of the Hindu society.

Besides the Śakas and the Hūṇas, other tribes finding mention with them as the then reigning dynasties are the Ābhīras (no. 2), Yavanas (no. 5) and Maruṇḍas (or Guruṇḍas—no. 7) whose existence at the time is well-supported by Lüder's list of Brāhmī Inscriptions and Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions.[1] The examination of the durations of the various local dynasties thus brings us to the conclusion that after the fall of the Andhras (236 A.D.[2])—the dynasty which precedes them in the account—these local dynasties reigned simultaneously in different localities in the middle of the third century A.D. for more or less the same number of years as assigned to each of them in the chart. As the examination of the dynastic lists ended with the various local dynasties, in the same way the examination of numerical statements should also end here. In the enumeration the fragmentary references to the dynasties and kings given at the extreme end of the account are classified on the basis of their treatment in the Bhāgavata into two heads viz, those noticed cursorily and those noticed curtly. They are classified in the Purāṇa Text on the basis of their time in the two corresponding heads viz, dynasties of the third century A.D.[3] and contemporary dynasties of the early fourth century[4] respectively.

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[1] cf. ibid., p. XXVI.

[2] vide ibid., p. 44, Line 11 on p. 47, p. 72 and its note 15.

[3] ibid., pp. XXIV-XXV.

[4] ibid., pp. XXV-XXVI.

[5] 12.1.30a.

[6] PSB—Additions, p. 348.

(D-iii). *Two Stages of Termination :* As to the last limit of the historical narrative, the subject-matter in the Bhāgavata or other Purāṇas shows two stages of termination. The post-War dynasties are treated fully from the beginning down to the Andhras including the various local dynasties. That is to say, the names and number of kings as well as the realms and durations of these dynasties are given in the account in details. After this the subject-matter is condensed and at times obscure also. It is, in fact, treated cursorily and curtly. So we may say that the earlier stage of termination of the account is represented by the period following the downfall of the Andhras (236A.D.) and the local kingdoms that survived them a while in the middle of the third century A.D. Afterwards the Bhāgavata and other Purāṇas simply carry the historical narrative on to the rise of the Guptas (320 A.D.), which is then the later stage.[5] These two stages of termination of the account and also those unrevised figures denoting the durations of the dynasties (especially of the various local dynasties that stand exactly between the two stages) confirm the view[6] that the historical narrative of the kali age dynasties was, as already noticed, compiled up to the middle of the third century ; and that it was extended to the rise of the Gupta dynasty which augmented their compilation in the Purāṇas before the year 335 A.D. The non-revision of the numerical statements clearly suggests that the redactors and compilers were in haste to introduce all the latest available dynastic matters in the Purāṇas in the early part of the fourth century, the last limit of the historical narrative.

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[1] For references vide DKA p. 45.

[2] vide DKA p. XII.

[3] ibid., pp. 49-53, 72-73.

[4] ibid., pp. 53-54, 73-74.

[5] cf. ibid., p. XII.

[6] cf. ibid., pp. XII-XIII, XXVII-XXIII.

E. *Chronological Sequence :* The examination of the lists and durations of the post-War dynasties led us in a position to chalk out their chronological sequence from Bārhadrathas, the earliest dynasty, down to the Andhras, the last dynasty representing the earlier stage of termination of the historical narrative. The first future Bārhadratha king viz, Somāpi or Mārjāri (no. 1) was contemporary of Parīkṣit II,[1] and the latter came on the throne of Hastināpura some 20 years[2] after the Great War (950 B.C.). So, allowing these 20 years for the period of transition when the ancient tradition was ending and the new tradition of post-War era coresponding to the beginning of the kali age was emerging, we may take the accession of Somāpi in 930 B.C. From Somāpi, then, the 20 Bārhadratha kings, the 6 Pradyota kings and the 10 Śiśunaga kings—37 in all require to be placed between 930 B.C. and 402 B.C.—the date of Nanda's coronation who succeeded the last Śiśunāga. To accommodate these 37 kings between the two fixed dates, we shall have to accept an average of 14½ years per reign as suggested by Pargiter.[3] Accordingly, we get (37+14½=) 536 years as the total regnal period, which is nearly equal to the period that elapsed between the two fixed dates (930—402=528). But the other synchromisms of Buddha as well as of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, the two Śiśunāga kings, suggest some modification in the general average of 14½ years.[4] In view of this exigency, we have to accept an average of 9 years for the Pradyotas and an average of 17 years for the Śiśunāgas, whereby the chronology may by arranged thus :—

1. Accession of Somāpi Bārhadratha		B.C. 930
He and 20 Bārhadratha kings (average, 14½ yrs.)	304 yrs.	
2. Beginning of the Pradyotas		B.C. 626
6 Pradyotas (average, 9 yrs.)	54 yrs.	
3. Beginning of the Śiśunāgas		B.C. 572
10 Śiśunāgas (average, 17 yrs.)	170 yrs.	
4. Accession of Mahapadma Nanda		B.C. 402
He and his eight sons	80 yrs.	
5. Accession of Candragupta Maurya		B.C. 322

The above chronology is formed on the basis of the Pauraṇic statements and the sequence shown by them. But, the Pradyotas do not fit in here, as they reigned in Avanti contemporary with the Śiśunagas of Magadha ; as already noticed while examining their dynastic list. It may be said here that the dates of Nanda and Candragupta shall vary slightly in the next portion, as they have been taken from other source there. After Candragupta the dates are well established. Yet something may be added with regard to the remaining dynasties that came afterwards on the basis of the Pauranic statements. While examining the numerical statements of the Purāṇas, we have seen that 10 Mauryas, 10 Śuṅgas 4 Kāṇvas and 30 Andhras are said to have reigned for 137, 112, 45 and 456 years respectively. Thus average reign comes to nearly ($\frac{137}{10}=$)14, ($\frac{112}{10}=$)11 and ($\frac{45}{4}=$)11 with regard to the first three dynasties respectively which are all reasonable averages ; and their total duration (137+112+45) of 294 years also agrees with the known facts. The difficulty occurs only in adjusting the last dynasty of the Andhras for whom only (322—294=28+236=) 264 years remains in stock because 236 A.D. is fixed as the date of their downfall. So, as against the Pauranic figure of 456, we shall have to accept the calculative figure of 264 as suitable for 30 Andhra kings. This figure gives a lesser average of 9 years than those of 11 or 14 noted above, This is quite reasonable because the number of kings was more in this dynasty ; and, therefore average regnal period per king should naturally be lower. In this way the tentative chronology of the dynasties that came after the nine Nandas may be shown as follows :—

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[1] Śrīdhara (on 12.2.26) comments :—
परीक्षित्समकालं मागधं मार्जारिमारभ्य ।
See also ref. no. 4, *ante*, p. 260.

[2] vide DKA p. X.

[3] vide AIHT pp. 286-87.

[4] ibid.

5.	Accession of Candragupta Maurya	B.C. 322
	He and his nine successors (average, 14 yrs.)	137 yrs.
6.	Beginning of the Śuṅgas	B.C. 185
	10 Śuṅgas (average, 11 yrs.)	112 yrs.
7.	Beginning of the Kāṇvas	B.C. 73
	4 Kāṇvas (average, 11 yrs.)	45 yrs.
8.	Beginning of the Andhras	B.C. 28
	30 Andhras (average, 9 yrs.)	264 yrs.
	Fall of the Andhras	A.D. 236

CRITICAL

A. *Introduction :* Before we proceed to evaluate the account of the future kings or dynasties of the kali age, enumerated and schematised in the preceding portions of the present Chapter, it is desirable to note the Paurāṇic conceptions of the commencement of the 'future' and the 'kali' age.

(A—i) *Commencement of the Future :* Like the two stages of termination of the historical narrative, as noticed above, there are two limits whence the ancient tradition adopts a change-over to future, The Bhāgavata starts giving the narrative in prophetic shape from those kings who came immediately after the Great War. But other Purāṇas turn off to 'future' from the fifth or seventh descendants of those kings. Thus Asīmakṛṣṇa (no. 5), Divākara (no. 5) and Karmajit (or Senājit—no. 7)—the three contemporary kings of the Paurava, Ikṣvāku and Bārhadratha dynasties respectively—form the limit whence the account of other Purāṇas assumes prophetic shape.[1] As regards the 'future', then, there are two limits of commencement, an upper, the end of the Great War that the Bhāgavata has chosen ; and a lower, about a century later that other Purāṇas have preferred. But the earlier limit chosen by the Bhāgavata is convenient from the standpoint of describing the dynasties of the kali age—the age that starts soon after the Great War, as we now see.

(A—ii) *Starting Point of the Kali Age :* As to the exact starting point of the kali age, all the Purāṇas[2] unanimously declare that it precisely started on the very day, on which Kṛṣṇa departed from this world. The Bhāgavata confirms this traditional belief in an old verse which it has preserved intact[3] for the purpose :—

yamin kṛṣṇo divaṁ yātas tasminn ev tadā'hani.
pratipannaṁ kali-yugam iti prāhuḥ purā-vidaḥ[4]..

"It is remembered by the wise, acquainted with the past times and events, that the kali age had already set in the from of *sandhyā* (morning twilight indicative of the beginning) when Kṛṣṇa was present on the earth (i.e., at the time of the Great War). But his presence made kali unable to influence the people by its traits ; and so its beginning was not felt till his departure. It is, then, rightly said that the hard iron age started from the moment Kṛṣṇa dismembered himself from the mortal form." It is believed that Kṛṣṇa departed 20 years after the War and that it was then that Yudhiṣṭhira abdicated and Parīkṣit II began to reign.[1] These two kings, therefore, reigned in the morning twilight (*sandhyā*) of the kali-yuga, which is somewhat different from the full swing of the yuga iteself. Yudhiṣṭhira was the righteous ruler in the presence of Kṛṣṇa and his grandson Parīkṣit also kept in check the evil tendencies of the people after the departure of Kṛṣṇa. Thus the arrival of the new age and its characteristic traits were not experienced.[2] In short, the kali age virtually began after the Great War, but its starting point is fixed some years after that War to commemorate the departure of Kṛṣṇa. With this Paurāṇic conception of the starting point of the kali age in view, we can well appreciate the Bhāgavata conception of the commencement of the 'future'. As soon as Parīkṣit is no more heard of, his son Janamejaya (no. 1) appears in the Bhāgavata as the first future king of the ancient Paurava lineage. Similarly, Bṛhadraṇa (no. 1), the son of Bṛhadbala, who died at the hands of Abhimanyu in the Great War, appears as the first future king in the ancient Ikṣvāku lineage. Lastly, Somāpi (no. 1), the son of Sahadeva, who died in the Great War fighting on the side of the Pāṇḍavas, rightly appears as the first future king in the ancient Bārhadratha dynasty. These are the only three dynasties which find mention as the earliest post-War ones in the Purāṇas in predictive form. The Bhāgavata narrative changes over to future from their first kings, who came when the kali age had actually started. Thus its conception is more convenient for enumeration etc. of the dynasties of the kali age than that of other Purāṇas whose 'future' begins from the fifth or seventh descendants of the above three kings.

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[1] vide DKA p. IX ; vide also VA p. 325.

[2] For references from the Purāṇas, vide DKA p. 57 ; For the unified Text of the same, vide ibid., p. 62 and also p. 76.

[3] Other Purāṇas, which mention this verse, have substituted the last half line so as to connect their statement with the verse that follows (vide the text given by DKA p. 62). But the Bhāgavata verse appears to be the oldest version, because it is complete in itself and is obviously an old saying ; whereas the last half line in other Purāṇas was evidently substituted when the account was drawn up : the reverse is hardly credible (vide DKA p. 79).

[4] 12.2.33 ; vide also 1.15.36 ; 1.18.6 ; 12.2.30.

B. *Evaluation :* (B—i). *Pauravas at Hastināpura :* It has been already noticed that the last Paurava king of the ancient tradition viz, Parīkṣit II ruled over the territory which extended from the Sarasvatī to the Gaṅgā,[3] and that the primitive tribe of the Nāgas that had established at Takṣaśilā assailed the capital Hastināpura and killed Parīkṣit II.[4]

The myth,[5] which says that Parīkṣit II's son Janamejaya (no. 1) performed the serpent-sacrifice, shows that he invaded Takṣaśilā to avenge his father's death and slaughtered countless Nāgas (described as oblations of the serpents on fire) there, but for the intercession of Astika (called Bṛhaspati in the myth) he refrained from their extinction. Takṣaka, the king of the Nāgas, who had killed Parīkṣit II, escaped safely. Janamejaya, then, stayed at Takṣaśilā for some time, and the Mahābhārata was recited to him there by Vaiśampāyana.[1] The account that Janamejaya conquered the whole earth and performed three horse-sacrifices[2] confirms his conquest of Takṣaśilā The Bhāgavata says that these horse-sacrifices were conducted by Tura-Kāvaṣeya. But, according to Pargiter,[3] Tura-Kāvaṣeya was the priest of Janamejaya II, who was the son of Parīkṣit I. He says that Kavaṣa-Ailūṣa, the elder contemporary of Parīkṣit I, was the reputed author of a Sūkta of the Ṛg-Veda, and had a grandson viz, Tura who consecrated Janamejaya II on the throne and became his priest. Yet Kavaṣa appears in the Bhāgavata with Parīkṣit II[4] and Tura-Kāvaṣeya with his son Janamejaya III,[5] as noted above. So, it seems that both the hermits are misplaced with the latter pair of father and son while they should be placed with the former pair of the same relation and names. As for Tura-Kāvaṣeya's misplacement with the latter Janamejaya, i.e., Janamejaya III, he seems to appear with him apparently because Parīkṣit I was issueless, according to the Bhāgavata.[6] Further, latter Janamejaya's son was Śatānīka I, and he had three preceptors viz, Yājñavalkya, Śaunaka and Kṛpa.[7] Kṛpa was the Āṅgirasa Brāhmaṇa, son of Śaradvān and brother-in-law of Droṇa-Bhāradvāja.[8] Other two preceptors are referred to here by their *gotra*-names. A Śaunaka was the principal priest in a twelve-year sacrifice performed at Naimiṣa during the reign of Śatānīka I's grandson or great-grandson Asīmakṛṣṇa[9] (no. 5). So, either the same Śaunaka or his near ancestor belonging to the sub-family of the Śaunakas may be the preceptor of Śatānīka I. The latest Yājñavalkya appears in the Bhāgavata with Vasudeva,[10] the father of Kṛṣṇa, and his descendant may be the preceptor of Śatānīka I, who was some six generations below Vasudeva.

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[1] vide DKA p. X.

[2] vide Chapter V, p. 113 and Chapter VII, p. 212.

[3] vide VA p. 323.

[4] vide AIHT p. 285.

[5] 9.22.36 ; 12.6.16-18.

(B—i—a) *Vatsa Kingdom :* The shifting of the Paurava-Kaurava people from Hastināpura to Kauśāmbī when the former capital was washed away by the flood of the Gaṅgā during the reign of Nimicakra[11] (or Nickaṣu—no. 6) means that the Paurava capital was conseqnently established in the Vatsa realm. The history of the Vatsa realm may be recalled here. At the beginning of the silver age it was founded by the Kāśyas, i.e., the kings of Kāśī when Vatsa (no. 42) annexed the realm lying around Kauśāmbī, which thence came to be called as Vatsa-bhūmi.[1] The Kāśyas continued to rule in the realm till it fell in the hands of the Vāsavas, the branch line of the Pauravas, in the middle of the copper age ; and it seems that Vasu's son Kuśāmba founded Kauśāmbī as the caipital of the Vatsa kingdom.[2] Onwards, we know nothing of the Kauśāmbī kings till the Kaurava people, who were the last vestige of the main line of the ancient Paurava family, came to Vatsa, settled there and founded afresh the Kaurava kingdom with capital at Kauśāmbī. But, the reason furnished for the Kaurava evacuation of Hastināpura does not seem adequate to Pargiter. He contends : "If the carrying away of Hastināpura by the Gaṅgā were the whole truth, Nṛcakṣu could have chosen some other town nearby as a capital, and there was no need to move more than 300 miles south across Pañcāla to Kauśāmbī in Vatsa country. Manifestly he was obliged to abandon all the northern part of the Gaṅgā-Yamunā doab, and there can be no doubt that he was driven south by pressure from the Punjab."[3] But, in spite of the fact that there had been pressure from the Punjab, the reason given in the account for the wholesale migration of the Kauravas to Kauśāmbī is plausible. The spate of the Gaṅgā, preceded by the heavy downpour of rains, washed away the Kuru realm and affected seriously on the whole of the northern doab so that the Kuru people migrated and settled in Vatsa-bhūmi.[4] The history of the realm is in favour of this Kaurava settlement in Vatsa. The remnants of the main Paurava line must have come to mingle with their brethrens, the Vāsavas. Like that of the Vāsava kings of Kauśāmbī, the history of the Kaurava kings of Vatsa is obscure. The account of a king available from another source[5] says that Durdāmana (or Udayana—no. 24) was a king of note, and contemporary of Buddha, Pradyota Mahāsena (the king of Avanti) and Ajātaśatru (no. 6). His father Śatānīka II (no. 23) is said to have attacked Campāpurī, the capital of Aṅga, during the reign of Dadhivāhana.

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[1] cf. VA 324.

[2] 9.22.37.

[3] vide AIHT pp. 172-73.

[4] 1.19.10.

[5] vide ref. no. 2 above; For three Janamejayas, see Chapter VI, p. 163.

[6] 9.22.9c.

[7] 9.22.38.

[8] 9.21.36.

[9] vide DKA pp. VIII-IX ; vide also VA p. 325 ; The Bhāgavata also mentions this *satra* which was to last for one thousand years, and in which Śaunaka was the chief priest (1.1.4 ; For the details of the *satra*—1.1.5-23).

[10] 10.84.5.

[11] 9.22.39d-40ab.

(B—ii) *Ikṣvākus in Kośala :* Since the days of Rāma, the Ayodhyā kingdom had assumed the new name, Kośala, and soon afterwards the capital also changed from Ayodhyā to Śrāvastī.[6] There is no account in the Purāṇas of the post-War Ikṣvākus who ruled at Śrāvastī or Sāketa, as it is also called in the Buddhist account. This account informs[1] that there were frequent wars between the neighbouring kingdoms of Kośala and Kāśī. After a longcontinued rivalry for supremacy, the final victory went to the Ikṣvākus or the Kośalas. The result of this victory was the total absorption of the Kāśī kingdom under the Kośala king Mahākosala (not mentioned by the Purāṇas), the father of Prasenajit (no. 25) and elder contemporary of Buddha and Bimbisāra.

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[1] vide AIHT pp. 269-70.

[2] vide Chapter VII, p. 206.

[3] AIHT p. 285.

[4] cf. VA p. 325 ; Kauśāmbī is identified with modern Kosama near Prayāga—ibid.

[5] vide VA pp.285, 325.

[6] vide Chapter VII, pp. 192, 194.

Besides the above two dynasties, i.e., of the Pauravas in Vatsa and of the Ikṣvākus in Kośala, there was the well-known dynasty of the Bārhadrathas in Magadha. Of these, the two kingdoms viz, Vatsa and Kośala cease to find any further mention in the Purāṇas, while Magadha figures prominently even after the Bārhadrathas had gone. So, the Bārhadrathas and the subsequent dynasties that reigned in Magadha should be noticed now. But before we do that, it is desirable to know what other dynasties existed simultaneous with the above chief and the earliest three. Some Purāṇas take casual notice of such other kingdoms and mention Kāśī, Videha, Aṅga, Kaliṅga, States of the Vītihotras, Haihayas and Aśmakas, Avanti, Śurasena and north Pañcāla.[2] There might have been many others also of which we do not know even the names; and, of which the names are known, we do not know the particulars.

(B-iii) *Māgadha Dynasties :* The account, examination of lists and chronology of different dynasties that came in succession in Magadha are already noted. Here we look into the history of the Māgadha dynasties in the same order as noticed before.

(B-iii-a) *From Bārhadrathas to Andhras :* The Bārhadrathas had started their career in Magadha ten generations before the Great War (950 B.C.), and Somāpi (no. 95—ancient tradition[3] or no. 1—post-War tradition) was their first post-War king. They passed away without prominence after reigning for more than three hundred years at about 636 B.C. when their last king Ripuñjaya or Purañjaya (no. 21) was killed by his own minister Śunaka (or Pulika—no. 1) who is then said to have founded the Pradyota dynasty.[1] It has been noticed that the Pradyotas reigned in Avanti and not in Magadha ; and that the Śiśunāgas supplanted the Bārhadrathas in Magadha and not the Pradyotas as said by the Purāṇas. It is further known from another source[2] that Bimbisāra (544-493 B.C.), the founder of the Śiśunāga dynasty, was a paramount monarch ; who, by his conquests and marriage alliances, enlarged his kingdom and suzerainty. His son Ajātaśatru (493-462 B.C.) was an implacable king who crushed the republic of Licchavi, vanquished Kośala and annexed Kāśī. Śiśunāga (430 B.C.), on whose name the dynasty seems to have existed, and his successors followed in the footsteps of their predecessors and enlarged the Magadha empire. It may be added here that the period is lit up by the personality of two great reformers, Buddha and Mahāvīra. Both organised wandering ascetics, denied the authority of the Vedas on *dharma*, revolted against the supremacy of the priests, opposed ritualistic Vedic religion and derided the varṇā'śrama-dharma advocated by the Smṛtis.

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[1] cf. VA pp. 326-27 ; Sāketa was the adjoining city to Ayodhyā on the river Sarayū. Both Śrāvastī and Sāketa figured prominently among the six great cities of India in the time of Buddha—ibid.

[2] vide AIHT pp. 285-86, 180 ; vide also DKA pp. 23-24, 69.

[3] See the Dynastic List of Magadha, Chapter VI, p. 149.

The first remarkable change in the history of Magadha or of the post-War India as well, took place when Mahāpadma Nanda (364 B.C.) established a widespread empire, overthrowing all the existing dynasties of North India. It is for this act of his, that he earned the appellation of 'second Paraśurāma' (*dvitīya iva bhārgavaḥ*).[3] But Nanda, the first great historical emperor, was opposed to Paraśurāma so far as his birth and belief were concerned. Nanda was a low-born person[4] and seems to be the first in the series of irreligious kings that poured in soon afterwards.[5] When the fabulous nine Nandas were ruling, Alexander (326 B.C.), the Macedonian, attacked north-west India with his thundering legions. However, in a few months he retreated, being unable to face the Nanda empire, and his invasion left no lasting impression on the people.[6] The powerful Nanda dynasty was rooted out by Cāṇakya, the celebrated Brāhamaṇa, who installed Candragupta on the now exalted throne of Magadha.[7] The first Maurya emperor Candragupta (324-300 B. C.) drove out the Greeks from the Punjab, and for the first time in his reign the writ of one emperor ran in the country through the hierarchy of centrally appointed officers. His grandson Aśoka (273–236 B.C.) rounded off the empire by annexing Kaliṅga. But, under the influence of Buddhism, he assumed the position of a gaurdian of moral and material welfare of the people extricating himself from warfare etc. His *dharma-cakra* was proclaimed from Assam to Afganistan in the form of ordinances that emphasised philanthropic outlook and tolerance of other religious sects. Thus Aśoka was the founder of a welfare State. But his pacifist policy evoked resistance, and after his death the outlying kingdoms rose in revolt. In the north, Greeks, who were driven away by Candragupta, again attacked India and advanced too far up to Ayodhyā.[1] Puṣpamitra (or Puṣyamitra—no. 1) seized this opportunity to strike the final blow at his royal master ; and through *coup detat* became the king, although he was only the commander in the army of the last Maurya king, Bṛhadratha.[2] Puṣyamitra (187-151 B.C.), a powerful Brāhmaṇa like Cāṇakya, stopped further disintegration of Magadha empire that had begun after Aśoka. He and his successors, the Śuṅgas, carried the pre-Aśokan State policy laid down by Cāṇakya and revived military strength to achieve political unity. The Śuṅga kings were thus able to maintain hold over the major portion of North India vanquishing Greeks who had come up to Ayodhyā. During their reign of more than a century (187-73 B.C.) on the eve of the Christian era, the Śuṅgas fostered revival of art, literature and culture. The Vedic religion that has lost its supremacy after Buddha, was restored on the pillars of the varṇa and āśrama dharmas. The revival in this way expressed its combative attitude towards Buddhism.[3] The Kāṇvas then came in power by the same technique which Puṣyamitra had adopted. The minister of the last Śuṅga king killed the master ; and founded the Kāṇva dynasty in Magadha.[4] But, as opposed to the Śuṅgas, the Kāṇvas were less virtuous kings[5], and their rule hardly lasted for half a century (73-28 B.C.). Again the *coup detat* brings the Andhras in power who were despicable and outcaste kings. Balī (or Simuka—no. 1) was their first king who killed the last Kāṇva king and founded the dynasty.[6] It is said that Simuka etc. claimed Brāhmaṇa descent, although they belonged to the non-Aryan tribe called the Andhras.[7] The use of the words *assattama* and *vṛṣala* for the founder in the Bhāgavata[8] suggests that Balī or Simuka might have born from the Brāhmaṇa male ; but he was treated as an outcaste and his successors were definitely so. Yet Simuka was a powerful king who vanquished the Indo-Greeks, Parthians and Scythians ; and round about the Christian era his successors claimed suzerainty on the entire trans-Vindhyan region. Yajñaśrī (no. 27) eliminated the Śakas from Western India (Surāṣṭra) completely.[1] The Andhra dynasty ended in 236 A.D. after the reign of two and a half centuries.

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[1] 12.1.2.

[2] cf. VA. pp. 327-28 ; also AIU pp. XIV-XV.

[3] 12.1.9.

[4] 12.1.7d.

[5] 12.1.8.

[6] cf. AIU p. XV.

[7] 12.1.11.

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[1] cf. AIU p. XV.

[2] vide ref. no. 3 on p. 261, *ante*.

[3] cf. ref. no. 1 above.

[4] 12.1.18.

[5] 12.1.17cd.

[6] 12.1.20.

[7] vide AIU p. XVIII.

[8] vide ref. no. 6 above.

(B-iv) *Various Local Dynasties :* Among the various local dynasties, two were prominent viz, the Śakas and the Hūṇas. These two and others such as Yavanas, Ābhīras etc. reigned in different localities in the middle of the 3rd century A.D. for more or less the period assigned to them in the Purāṇas.[2] It is said that Śaka was the name of a king who founded the Śālivāhana dynasty in 78 A.D..[3] The Śakas were later on eliminated by Yajñaśrī, the Andhra king, as noted above.

(B-v) *Dynasties of the Third Century, A.D. :* The account of the dynasties and kings, noticed cursorily by the Bhāgavata,[4] finds support in similar manner in other Purāṇas and their combined version is found in Pargiter's Purāṇa Text classified under the head : dynasties of the third century, A.D.[5] In the account of the kings falling under this head, the Bhāgavata mentions Bhūtananda etc. as kings of Kilakilāpurī.[6] With variation in names Bhūtinanda etc. find mention in the Purāṇa Text as the kings of Vidiśā dynasty[7]. So Kilakilāpurī may be taken as the capital of the Vidiśā realm. Then the petty kings of Bālhīka realm called the Bā'hīkas, and similarly the Kośalas, Vedūras and Naiṣadhas are casually noticed by the Bhāgavata;[8] and other Purāṇas do the same.[9] The Bhāgavata[10] then gives the account of Viśvasphūrji, a famous Māgadha king. Similarly other Purāṇas do, although his name slightly varies, i.e., he is called Viśvasphāṇi in other Purāṇas and Viśvasphaṭika in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa.[11] While mentioning the kings of Kilakilāpurī, the Bhāgavata omits the name of an important king viz, Vindhyaśakti mentioned by other Purāṇas.[12] Vindhyaśakti (320 A.D.) arose in the Vindhya region (i.e., Vidiśā realm), and rising on the wave of re-surgent neo-Hinduism, extended his sway from Bundelakhaṇḍa (comprising the districts of Tikamgarh etc. in Madhya-Pradeśa) in the north to the river Kṛṣṇā in the south.[13] But

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[1] vide AIU p. XVIII.

[2] vide chart, *ante* p. 270.

[3] vide the word Śaka in Apte's Skt-Eng. Dictionary.

[4] vide *ante* pp. 261-2.

[5] vide DKA pp. 50-53, 73.

[6] 12.1.30cd-31.

[7] vide DKA pp. 49, 72-73.

[8] 12.1.32-33.

[9] vide DKA pp. 51, 73.

[10] 12.1.34-35.

[11] vide DKA pp. 52, 73.

[12] ibid., pp. 48, 72.

[13] vide AIU pp. XXIV-XXV.

Vindhyaśakti, as his date indicates, should come in the category of the kings and the dynasties given below from the standpoint of time.

(B-vi) *Contemporary Dynasties of the Early Fourth Century:* The account of the dynasties and kings, noticed curtly by the Bhāgavata,[1] is given similarly in other Purāṇas; and the Purāṇa Text classifies them under the head: contemporary dynasties of the early fourth century.[2] In the account falling under this head, Surāṣṭra, Avanti, Śurasena, Arbuda and Mālava, i.e., the kingdoms of the Western and Central India are mentioned with deep regret for the conduct and behaviour of the people and kings therein.[3] A few kingdoms of North India which find mention in discourteously brief manner are those that existed on the banks of the rivers Sindhu and Candrabhāgā, especially the Kauntī and Kāśmīra realms. The people and rulers of these kingdoms were destitute of Vedic holiness and customary morality[4], with the result that political instability and social disorder was the order of the day. This is the end-point of the Paurāṇic account of the dynasties of the kali age; and the terminus shows, it may be remineded here, that the account of the post-War dynasties was last compiled in the Purāṇas at this juncture.

C. *Conclusion:* It was the dawn of the "historic period' (*cir.* 950-625 B.C.) when the three dynasties viz, the Ikṣvāku, the Paurava, and the Bārhadratha were ruling in Kośala, Vatsa and Magadha respectively. These three earliest and contemporaneous post-War dynasties disappeared without distinction after the reign of a little more than three centuries in their respective realms. The next period (*cir.* 625-400 B.C.) saw the rise of Magadha imperialism. Magadha now became the chief centre of political life and thought. Virile with energy and unsophisticated power, theMāgadha kings of the Śiśunāga dynasty extended the boundries of Magadha widely—an act in which the monarchs like Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru contributed their shares in greater proportion than other Śiśunāgas. But the history of India during the periods, noted above, is only known to us in vague outline. All that can be said definitely is that North India was divided into a large number of States, and no paramount monarch arose during these five or six centuries till the amazing Nanda (364 B.C.) swept away all of them and founded the Magadha empire. During the reign of the highly renowned nine Nandas, which lasted for half a century only, the empire reached the zenith of its strength and power. Cāṇakya then uprooted the powerful Nanda dynasty ; and the vacuum was filled up by the Mauryas who continued for a little more than one and a half century (325-185 B.C.). Candragupta (324-300 B.C.) and his successors extended the authority of the Magadha empire till its dominions stretched from beyond the Hindukuśa and Kāśmīra in the north, Assam in the east and Mysore in the south.[1] Although the pacifist ideals, which led Aśoka (273-236 B.C.) away from the policy of war and conquests, resulted in the disintegration of the Magadha empire, the Mauryas left behind a rich legacy in the form of cultural and political unity of India. A uniform type of language, art and religion flourished. For this reason, the whole period that preceded and followed the Mauryas (i.e., from 700 B.C. down to 320 A.D.) is designated as 'The Age of Imperial Unity'.[2]

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[1] vide *ante* p. 262.

[2] vide DKA pp. 53-55, 73-74.

[3] 12.1.36 ; vide DKA pp. 54-55, 74.

[4] 12.1.37 ; vide DKA pp. 55, 74.

Buddhism and foreign powers became influential again in the north-west after the Mauryas faded away. But Puṣyamitra (187-151 B.C.) haulted the disintegration of the Magadha empire and vanquished the foreign invaders. Hinduism in his time became combatant with Buddhism, and the Vedic religion was re-established with emphasis on the varṇā'śrama-dharma. But the reign of less virtuous Kāṇvas for half a century and contemptuous kings of the Andhra tribe for more than two centuries (B.C. 28-236 AD.) again disturbed the cultural unity brought about by the Mauryas and the Śuṅgas. As a result, social anarchy spread in different kingdoms of India especially in the remote North where barbarian foreigners held sway. Vindhyaśakti (320 A.D.) of the Paurāṇic fame appears at this juncture in the Vindhya region with whom the wave of neo-Hinduism re-surged. It is said that 'the age of imperial unity' ends with Vindhyaśakti when the new age designated as 'The Classical Age' was ushered in by the Guptas.[3]

The foreign invaders—the Greeks, Parthians, Turks and Śakas—who appeared in the distant north-west moved for a while on the chess-board of Indian politics. But stunned by their blows, India recovered herself soon ; and they were absorbed in the ever-expanding stream of the Aryan culture. Buddhism, which had given a serious blow to the Vedic religion, also could not survive for long under the stress of the process of assimilation adopted by the Aryans since their inception. The process culminated when Buddha was declared as an incarnation of Viṣṇu ;[4] and the Mahāyāna sect of Buddhism was absorbed in Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism.[1] With the accommodation of foreigners in the Hindu society, and with the assimilation of heterodox sects in the Hindu religion ; India was ripe to appear as a powerful Hindu nation. The political and cultural unity restored by the Mauryas and strengthened by the Śuṅgas, the Artha-śāstra of Kauṭilya, the Smṛtis of Manu, Yājñavalkya etc., the Epics with their evergrowing popularity, the supremacy of Sanskrit language and literature, the intermingling of the aboriginals, Dravidians and Aryans on all levels—all these factors provided a solid foundation for resurgent Hinduism which derives its ultimate authority from the Vedas. The Gītā is its sweetheart. In the magnificent panorama of the evolution of Vaiṣṇavism, the Gītā is the first repository of the teachings of Bhagavān-Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva ; and as such it is the first authentic pronouncement of the *Bhāgavata-dharma*.[2] It was therefore in fitness of things that the period of the "*parama-bhāgavvta*" Imperial Guptas was marked by the renaissance of Hinduism with its pre- dominantly Vaiṣṇava strain.[3] Under their patronage, Vaiṣṇavism became almost the national religion of India.[4]

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[1] vide AIU p. XLIII. [2] ibid. [3] cf. ibid., vide also p. XXV.

[4] In its first elucidatory account of the incarnations of Viṣṇu, the Bhāgavata gives the short sketch of 22 Descents. Among these Buddha, who is said to have born at Gayā, finds mention at the 21st place (1.3.24).

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[1] vide AIU p. XV.

[2] vide PSB Vol. II, p. XIV.

[3] vide PSB Vol. I., p. VII.

[4] vide PSB Vol. II., p. IX.

RELIGIOUS CODE FOR A CASTE (EXPOSITORY)

THE FOUR CASTES (VIRTUES AND VṚTTIS)
DVIJAS AND ŚŪDRAS (CONTRAST)
THE BRĀHMAṆA CASTE (SUPREMACY AND PRIVILEGES)
THE HYBRID CASTES (CLASSIFICATION AND PROFESSIONS)

[X] RELIGIOUS CODE FOR A CASTE (EXPOSITORY)

THE FOUR CASTES (VIRTUES AND VṚTTIS)

(i) *The Fourfold Classification:* In the vein of the Puruṣa-Sūkta,[1] the Bhāgavata reiterates that the four castes (*varṇa*) form part of the Cosmic Man (*Vairāja-Puruṣa*). Accordingly, "the Brāhmaṇa caste is said to be his mouth, the Kṣatriya caste his arms, the Vaiśyas his thighs and the Śūdras of dark colour (*kṛṣṇa-varṇa*) his feet".[2] Like the Gītā,[3] the Bhāgavata has observed that human disposition (*svabhāva* or *prakṛti*—constituted by the impressions of the past actions and giving rise to the virtues viz, *śama* etc.[4]) is liable to the above fourfold classification.[5] Svabhāva may also mean the totality of the three *guṇa*-reals viz, *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*.[6] Some persons are dominated by *sattva-guṇa* (the principle of revelation), and are therefore given to moral and spiritual virtues ; they are called Brāhmaṇas. Some are dominated by both *sattva* and *rajas* (the principle of activity), and are therefore endowed with valour and military spirit ; they are called Kṣatriyas. Some are dominated by *rajas* and *tamas* (the principle of inertia), and therefore become adept in merchandise, production of crops etc. ; they are Vaiśyas. Finally, those dominated by *tamas* furnish manpower and are called Śūdras.[7]

(ii) *Respective Virtues:* The virtues of a Brāhmaṇa are: control of the mind (*śama* or *samādhi*), restraint of the sense organs (*dama* or *indriya-nigraha*), external and internal purity (*śauca*), abandonment of talks contrary to the learning (*mauna*), the reading of the Scriptures (*svādhyāya*), straightforwardness (*ārjava*), the sense of universal pity (*dayā* or *bhūta-vatsalatva*), desirelessness (*nispṛhatva*), knowledge of the soul (*vidyā*), knowledge of the Vedas (*jñāna* or *śruta*), satisfaction (*santoṣa* or *tuṣṭi*) contemplatation or penance (*tapas*) and forgiveness (*kṣamā*) implying tolerance (*kṣānti*) and forbearance (*titikṣā*).[1] Of these, the last four virtues are indispensable to others. As for the knowledge of the soul, the virtue preceding the last four, a Brāhmaṇa may not possess it at the beginning; but if he is versed in the Vedas (*Veda-vid*) and acts according to the injunctions of the Scriptures, he is liable to be awakened to *Brahma-jñāna* as soon as his mind is purified by such actions.[2] Satisfaction in what is received increases the spiritual pre-eminence (*tejas*) of a Brāhmaṇa while dissatisfaction destroys all other virtues through the fickleness of the senses.[3] It is for this reason that the Bhāgavata lays highest premium on 'satisfaction' for all men, especially for a Brāhmaṇa who generally lives on the charity of others.[4] *Tapas* in the sense of penance or austerity is conceived to be the characteristic virtue of a Brāhmaṇa because his body is not thought to be meant for the appeasement of the petty desires but for self-mortification here which brings about endless happiness hereafter.[5] Lastly, it is due to his virtue of forgiveness that a Brāhmaṇa becomes venerable (*pūjya*) and is honoured as the teacher of mankind (*loka-guru*).[6]

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[1] RV—10.90.12.

[2] 2.1.37 ; vide also 2.5.37 ; 3.6.29-32 ; 8.5.41 ; 11.5.2 ; 11.17.12 ; cf. MS—1.87 ; vide PSB Vol. I, p. 131.

[3] Gītā—18.41.

[4] Śrīdhara on the above verse of the Gītā says :—स्वभावः पूर्वजन्मसंस्कारस्तस्मात्प्रादुर्भूतैर्गुणैरित्यर्थः ।

[5] 7.11.31.

[6] Giving an alternative meaning of *svabhāva*, on which is based the fourfold classification, Śrīdhara ont he same verse (Gītā 18.41) says :—
स्वभावः सात्त्विकादिः प्रभवति प्रादुर्भवति येभ्यस्तैर्गुणैरुपलक्षणभूतैः ।

[7] 11.5.2 ; and Gītā—18.41 ; at both the places Śrīdhara distinguishes the four castes on the basis of the predominance of the three *guṇa*-reals.

The characteristics of a Kṣatriya are: war effort (*śaurya*), restraint of the mind (*ātma-jaya*), protection of the people (*rakṣā*), influence (*vīrya*), patience (*dhṛti*), boldness (*tejas*), charity (*tyāga*), strength of the body (*bala*), fortitude (*titikṣā*), liberality (*audārya*), enterprise (*udyama*), steadiness (*sthairya*), lordship (*aiśvarya*) and veneration towards the Brāhmaṇas (*brahmaṇyatā*).[7] The tendencies of a Vaiśya are: productive activity (*udyama*), proficiency (*naipuṇya*), inclination for gifts (*dāna-niṣṭhā*), humility (*adambha*), faith in the teachings of the Scriptures and general proneness towards spiritual paths (*āstikya*), unsatiety from the amassing of wealth and last, but not the least, veneration to the Gurus and the Brāhmaṇas.[8] The qualities necessary for a Śūdra are: non-stealing (*a-steya*), external purity (*śauca*), obeisance (*sannati*) and sincere service to other castes with servile spirit.

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[1] 4.21.36,41 ; 5.5.24-25 ; 7.14. 28, 41cd ; 12.10.19 ; esp. 7.11.21 and 11.17.15 ; vide also Gītā—18.42.

[2] MS—4.260 where Kullūka, the commentator says : अनेन शास्त्रोक्ताचारेण वेदविद् ब्राह्मणो वर्त्तमानो नित्यकर्मानुष्ठानात्क्षीणपापः सन् ब्रह्म-ज्ञान-प्रकर्षेण ब्रह्मैव...।

[3] 7.15.19 ; 8.19.26.

[4] 10.52.31-33.

[5] 11.17.42.

[6] 9.15.39.

[7] 7.11.22 ; vide also 11.17.16 ; Gītā—18.43.

[8] 7.11.23 ; vide also 11.17.17.

Veneration to and protection of the Brāhmaṇas and the cows are also expected of him.[1] *Satya*, the universal virtue that brooks no exception, is recommended in all the contexts where the respective virtues of the four castes, noted above, are described. According to the Bhāgavata,[2] devotion to God (*Acyutā'tmatva*) is another spiritual virtue which is expected of all the castes, like *satya*. Devotion to God is considered as due on a Brāhmaṇa in the absence of which he is liable to lose his caste and thus supremacy accruing from it. It is so because the moral and spiritual virtues of a Brāhmaṇa may become the cause of arrogance rather than that of the purification of the mind in the absence of devotion to God. The Bhāgavata, therefore, declares a *śvapaca* (the man of very low caste) adorned with devotion to God as superior to the Brāhmaṇa who is bereft of it, however virtuous he may be.[3]

(iii) *The Virtues for All Castes :* Irrespective of castes and āśramas, some virtues have claim upon all men ; and they are, therefore, called sarva-sādhāraṇa-dharmas[4] or simply sādhāraṇa-dharmas[5] (religious code for all castes). "According to Manu,[6] the sādharaṇa-dharmas are complacency (*dhṛti*), forgiveness (*kṣamā*), control of the mind (*dama*), non-stealing (*a-steya*), external purity (*śauca*), restraint of the sense organs (*indriya-nigraha*), Scriptural knowledge (*dhī*), knowledge of the soul (*vidyā*), truth (*satya*) and tolerance (*a-krodha*). Yājñavalkya[7] endorses Manu with the modification that he replaces complacency and the two types of knowledge by non-injury (*a-hiṁsā*), charity (*dāna*) and pity (*dayā*)."[8] Taking these virtues as inadequate and unable to produce devotion to God, the Bhāgavata recommends thirty virtues designating them as the supreme religion (*para dharma*) of all men.[9] Of these thirty, truth, pity, external purity, tolerance (*titikṣā*), control of the mind (*śama*), restraint of the sense organs (*dama*), non-injury and charity (*tyāga*)—eight in all are mentioned above. The rest are (ix) fasting on ekādaśī etc. (*tapas*), (x) discrimination between proper and improper (*īkṣā*), (xi) continence (*brahmacarya*), (xii) muttering the names of God (*svādhyāya*), (xiii) simplicity (*ārjava*), (xiv) satisfaction (*santoṣa*), (xv) rendering service to the good (*sama-dṛk-sevā*), (xvi) abstaining from the selfish deeds (*grāmya-īhā-uparama*), (xvii) discerning the uselessness of actions that always bring contrary results (*vipar-*

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[1] 7.11.24 ; vide also 11.17.18.

[2] 7.11.21 ; Śrīdhara comments here :—
अच्युतात्मत्वं श्रीविष्णुपरत्वं सर्वेषाम् ।

[3] 7.8.10.

[4] Śrīdhara on 11.17.20.

[5] Śrīdhara on 7.11.8.

[6] MS—6.92.

[7] Yāj-smṛti 1.122.

[8] For phraseology, see PSB Vol. II, p. 35.

[9] 7.11.12.

yaya-īhā-īkṣā), (xviii) giving up vain talking (*mauna*), (xix) search of the soul within but beyond body (*ātma-vimarśana*), (xx) distribution of grains etc. among all creatures according to their need and ability with special preference to men, (xxi) consequent upon the feeling that the same soul resides in all but in greater proportion in the bodies of men. Lastly, the ninefold devotion (*navadhā bhakti*), i.e., (xxii) listening to God (*śravaṇa*), (xxiii) chanting of God (*kīrtana*), (xxiv) remembrance (*smaraṇa*), (xxv) service to the lotus feet of God (*pāda-sevā*), (xxvi) worship of God (*arcana*), (xxvii) salutation and physical prostration before the image of God (*vandana*), (xxviii) servitude to God (*dāsya*), (xxix) friendship with God (*sakhya*), and (xxx) self-surrender (*ātma-nivedana*).[1]

(iv) *Means of Subsistence* (*Vṛttis*) : Largely along the lines of Manu,[2] the Bhāgavata[3] has described the respective functions and duties of the four castes. Among the six functions (*karman*) of a Brāhmaṇa, the reading of the Vedas (*adhyayana*), the performance of sacrifice (*yajana*) and presenting gifts (*dāna*) are his duties (*dharma*); while the teaching of the Vedas (*adhyāpana*), the act of conducting a sacrifice (*yājana*) and the acceptance of gifts (*pratigraha*) become his means of subsistence (*jīvikā* or *vṛtti*).[4] It may be noted that the above three duties of a Brāhmaṇa are necessary for all the twice-born (*dvija*) of the three upper castes while the three vṛttis are meant for the Brāhmaṇa caste only.[5] Of these vṛttis, the profession of teaching the Vedas is preferable to the other two.[6] The conducting of sacrifices etc. is not approved by the Bhāgavata if it means holding the office of a family-priest (*paurohitya* or *paurodhasa*); because the liabilities of this office require the expense of a Brāhmaṇa's inherent sanctity (*brahma-varcas*).[7] The acceptance of gifts may likewise destroy his penance, independence and fame.[8] Besides these three vṛttis exclusively meant for the Brāhmaṇa caste, there are four other hierarchical vṛttis which a Brāhmaṇa may adopt, especially at the stage of a householder. They are: agriculture etc. (*vārtā*), subsisting on alms without begging (*śālīna*), daily begging of grains (*yāyāvara*) and gleaning ears of corns (*śila-uñcha*).[9] Of these four, the most coveted vṛtti of a selfless Brāhmaṇa should be śila-uñcha.[10] This vṛtti is further bifurcated into gleaning ears of corns from fields neglected by the owner (*śila*) and collecting grains fallen in the market place etc. (*uñcha*).[1] The bifurcation marks out the difference that the former vṛtti is seasonal while the latter means poor yield. In the hierarchy of the vṛttis, then, *uñcha* or *kāpotī*, as it is rightly called, is recommended as the best for the Brāhmaṇa of the highest stature.[2]

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[1] 7.11.8-11 ; vide also 11.17.20.

[2] MS—10.74-80.

[3] 7.11. 14-15.

[4] 7.11.14a ; vide also MS—1.88 and 10.75-76.

[5] 7.11.13cd ; vide also 11.17.39.

[6] 3.6.29 ; vide also 10.24.20a ; MS—10.80a.

[7] 6.7. 35ab, 36cd.

[8] 11.17.40ab.

[9] 3.12. 42cd ; vide also 7.11.16, 19.

[10] 6.7. 36ab.

The functions like ruling, administering (including taxation, imposition of fines etc.), and safeguarding the people and their property against thieves etc. become the vṛttis of the warrior class called the Kṣatriyas.[3] The four vṛttis, known by the singular term *vārtā*, of a Vaiśya are agriculture (*kṛṣi*), trade (*vāṇijya*), usury (*kusīda*) and cow-protection (*go-rakṣā*).[4] The last may be extended to mean the tending of the cattle (*paśu-pālana*) also.[5] The Vaiśyas are asked to utilize their wealth in gifts, sacrifices etc. and provide funds in charity to the needy ones if and when instructed to do so by their priests.[6] The main duty of a Śūdra is to serve the three upper castes ; and this means that employment as a domestic servant may become his regular vṛtti.[7]

(iv-*a*) *Vṛttis in Emergency:* The four castes may adopt the vṛttis of the next lower caste in the case of emergency, as a general rule.[8] But the Bhāgavata suggests that if a Brāhmaṇa is badly off for want of livelihood, he may get over the trouble by setting himself as a merchant selling only such goods and chattels which are allowable (i.e., excluding wine, salt etc.).[9] This may seem a contravention of the general rule because a Brāhmaṇa is asked to take recourse to the occupation of a Vaiśya rather than that of a Kṣatriya which is the next lower caste. But Śrīdhara[10] explains that although the Bhāgavata (or Bhagavān-Kṛṣṇa who happens to be the spokesman in this context) considers the Kṣatriya occupation of wielding the sword better than the suggested one, it has to give it the second place on account of violence involved in it. In accordance with the general rule, a Kṣatriya may take recourse to a Vaiśya course of life; and if it is overtaken by misfortune he may resort to hunting etc. On the other hand, a learned Kṣatriya may take to the professions of the Brāhmaṇa caste such as teachership or priesthood.[1] The adoption of Brāhmaṇa's profession by a Kṣatriya may, again, seem an infringement on the general rule. Yet, it was conceded so that the Kṣatriyas well-known for their competence to do so may not be debarred. But, it may be noted, the acceptance of gifts remained the exclusive privilege of the Brāhmaṇas in all times, and the Kṣatriyas were barred to adopt it.[2] Further, the two upper castes viz, the Brāhmaṇa and the Kṣatriya were never allowed to take to the despicable jobs such as attending upon the vile persons with dog-like servility (*śva-vṛtti*).[3] A Vaiśya, under pressing necessity, may lead the life of a Śūdra, i.e., he may live by serving the two upper castes. A Śūdra, in adversity, may become a craftsman as found among the cross breeds of the castes.[4] The above-mentioned vṛttis, recommended for the emergency-time, are meant to get over the trouble of livelihood. So, as soon as it is over, the castes should adhere to their respective vṛttis that are prescribed for them by the Dharma-śāstras.[5]

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[1] Śrīdhara on 6.7. 36 comments :—क्षेत्रे स्वाम्युपेक्षित-कणिशोपादानं शिलम्, हट्टादौ पतित-व्रीह्यादेरुपादानमुञ्छनम् ।

[2] 9.18. 25abc.

[3] 3.6.30 ; vide also 7.11.14cd ; 10.24.20b.

[4] 7.11.15a ; vide also 10.24.20c, 21abc ; All the four vṛttis of a Vaiśya are denoted by the single term *vārtā* see—7.11.15a ; vide also 10.24.20c ; and also MS 10.80c.

[5] The Gītā (18.44a) and the Bhāgavata, as noted above, mention cow-protection as one of Vaiśya's *vārtā*. On the other hand, Manu envisages the tending of cattle as the coveted vṛtti of a Vaiśya. So the latter may be taken as implied in the former.

[6] 10.20.24cd.

[7] 3.6.32 ; vide also 7.11.15cd ; 10.24.20d .

[8] 7.11.17.

[9] 11.17.46ab.

[10] Śrīdhara (on 11.17.46) comments :—खड्गधारणं पण्य-विक्रयात् श्रेष्ठं मन्यते तथाऽपि हिंसातो वणिग्वृत्तिरेव श्रेष्ठेति भगवतो मतम् ।

Normally the virtues and professions form the criteria of a caste. According to the Gītā[6] and the Bhāgavata,[7] the caste of a person depends on the virtues (*guṇa*) and professions (*vṛtti* or *karman*) prescribed for the four castes; and not merely on the birth (*janma*) in a particular caste. For example, a Brāhmaṇa is so called on account of his virtues (e.g., control of the mind) and professions (e.g., teaching of the Vedas); and not only because he is born through the Brāhmaṇa parents. So, a person should be understood to belong to that caste whose virtues and professions he possesses and adopts.

DVIJAS AND ŚŪDRAS (CONTRAST)

(i) *The Dvijas :* A person belonging to any of the three upper castes (*traivarṇika*) is entitled to be called a twice-born (*dvija*) if the purificatory rites (*saṁsakāra*) beginning from the ceremony observed upon the impregnation of his mother (*garbhādhāna*—consequent upon the seminal effusion of his father, i.e., *ni-ṣeka*) and ending with the funeral oblation to himself when he is dead (*antya-iṣṭi*) are performed uninterruptedly.[1] A traivarṇika is introduced to the membership of the dvija class by performing upon him the upanayana-saṁsakāra when he attains boyhood.[2] The Gṛhya-sūtras[3] give detailed description of this rite which was compuslory for all the boys of the three upper castes. Accordingly, a boy at the age of eight, eleven or twelve (the age differs in the case of a Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya or Vaiśya boy respectively) was to be initiated to the rites for a twice-born. At this time he wears a new garment of skin (which is to be of a deer, goat or cow according to the caste as mentioned above), and a lower garment of suitable colour. He keeps a club (*daṇḍa*) of the prescribed length (which has to be of a Palāśa tree for the boys of all the three castes[4]). A three-fold twisted girdle (*tri-mekhalā*) and the sacrificial thread (*sūtra* or *upavīta*[5]) are especially worn at this occasion. Recitation of the *Gāyatrī*, the very sacred Ṛg-Vedic verse[6] in which the Vedic god Savitṛ is prayed for the stimulation of the intellect, formed the principal part of this sacred thread-ceremony. The *ācārya* who conducts this ritual, then, leads forth the boy to his residence called guru-kula where the boy lives as a celebate reading the Vedas (*brahma-cārin*). The boy is henceforth called *dvija* (twice-born) because he has now received, as it were, the second birth to read the Vedas (*brahma-janma*) in which the *ācārya* was his father and the Gāyatrī or Sāvitrī his mother.[7] The rite for the twice-born (*upanayana*) was so important that those who neglected this for three generations were treated as the outcastes (*vrātya*)[8]; and as their sight was thought to be inauspicious they had to live outside the residential places.[9] An expiatory rite viz, *vrātya-stoma* was prescribed for the purification and re-entry of such defaulters. The three normal duties of a Brāhmaṇa viz, the performance of sacrifices (*ijyā*), the reading of the Vedas (*adhyayana*) and charity (*dāna*), noted above, are considered as the necessary duties of a dvija.[10]

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[1] 11.17.47abc.

[2] 7.11.14b, 17c.

[3] 7.11.18, 20abcd; 11.17.46d, 47d.

[4] 11.17.48ab.

[5] 11.17.48cd.

[6] Gītā—4. 13ab.

[7] 7.11.35.

(ii) *The Śūdras:* As opposed to the dvijas, the Śūdras were not entitled to undergo the purificatory rites including the āśrama practices.

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[1] 7.11.13 ; vide also 7.15. 52ab ; MS—2.16.

[2] 3.12.42ab.

[3] vide VA p. 520.

[4] vide PSB Vol. II., p. 34.

[5] cf. 5.10.16b.

[6] RV—3.62.10.

[7] MS—2.146, 148.

[8] MS—2.39 ; vide also 10.20.

[9] vide VA p. 515.

[10] vide ref. 5 on p. 294.

The essential rite for a traivarṇika viz, upanayana was strictly prohibited for them ; and the only rite conceded was marriage which took place in their case without the recitation of the Vedic mantras. So, a Śūdra can never be a dvija.[1] After his marriage, a Śūdra may perform the five great sacrifices without the recitation of the mantras as happens in his marriage-ceremony.[2] But a Śūdra was thought to be unfit for the reading of the Vedas[3] (*brahma-yajña*)—the first of the five great sacrifices. His unfitness does not mean that the Śūdras were inferior (*hīna*) but only that they were unsuitable (*anarha*) for the sacred knowledge (*uśatīgir*).[4]

THE BRĀHMAṆA CASTE (SUPREMACY AND PRIVILEGES)

(i) *Supremacy:* In the hierarchy of the four castes, the Brāhmaṇa caste is the best (*uttama*)[5] ; and therefore holds the first position (*mukhya* or *prathama*) as the torch-bearer (*guru*) of the society.[6] The Bhāgavata has chosen to declare the supremacy of the Brāhmaṇa caste through the mouths of such great personalities as Śiva,[7] the god of egotism, Pṛthu,[8] the most celebrated king of the pre-flood tradition, Ṛṣabha,[9] the first known teacher of the *pārama-haṁsya-dharma*, and the universal teacher Kṛṣṇa.[10] All these assert Brāhmaṇa's supremacy in unequivocal terms and favour reverential attitude towards the Brāhmaṇas in general—an attitude which finds expression in their service and adoration. According to Śrīdhara, this attitude is necessary for firmness of devotion to God.[11] The Brāhmaṇas deserve veneration on account of the supremacy of their caste, although there is hierarchy in the caste for this. Those who are endowed with the cardinal virtues of the Brāhmaṇa caste viz, knowledge of the Vedas, satisfaction, penance[1] and forgiveness deserve the supreme position (*pārmeṣṭhaya-pada*) of a universal teacher (*loka-guru*) and are worthy of worship (*arhaṇa*).[2] Their worship is obligatory.[3] The Brāhmaṇas endowed with these virtues are superior to the gods (*deva*) and places of pilgrimage (*tīrtha*) because such Brāhmaṇas purify the most sinful persons immediately and on the mass scale merely by their sight. But the gods and the holy-places do so in due course after some observance on the part of the sinners (votaries) and according to the religious merits acquired therefrom.[4]

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[1] Śrīdhara (on 7.11.13) cites statements from a Smṛti and a Śruti in support of this position of the Śūdra caste.

[2] 7.11. 24c ; Śrīdhara cites Yājñavalkya in support of this as follows :— नमस्कारेण मन्त्रेण पञ्चयज्ञान्न हापयेत् । आमान्नेन घृतेनैव पक्वान्नं तु विवर्जयेत् ॥

[3] cf. 4.2. 13d ; vide also 9.18.14d.

[4] Śrīdhara (on 4.2.16) comments :—शूद्रायेति अनर्हत्व-मात्रे दृष्टान्तः न हीनत्वे पूर्वापर-स्ववचन-विरोधापत्तेः । This comment is on the Bhāgavata statement शूद्रायेवोशतीगिरम् (4.2.13d)—a simile uttered by Dakṣa, the father of Satī, when he was repenting over the giving of his daughter in marriage to Śiva.

[5] 3.29.31ab.

[6] 3.6.29.

[7] 12.10. 19-24.

[8] 4.21.37-43.

[9] 5.5.21-25.

[10] 10.64.42 ; vide also 10.86. 51-57.

[11] Śrīdhara (on 4.21.36) comments :— इदानीं हरि-भक्ति-दाढ्र्याय ब्राह्मण-भक्ति विधत्ते ।

(i-*a*) *The Two Upper Castes* (*Relative Position*) *:* Already the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa[5] has asserted the supremacy of the Brāhmaṇas over the Kṣatriyas in general who are said to derive their power from the first caste, Similarly, the Bhāgavata says that a Brāhmaṇa versed in the doctrines of the Vedas and other Scriptures (*Veda-śāstra-vid*) deserves proprietory right over a king, his belongings and powers.[6] The Brāhmaṇa caste is said to be the heart of God while the Kṣatriya caste His limbs ;[7] and, it is the grace of the former caste that the latter caste gets its livelihood etc.[8] Even if a king is conceived to represent all the gods (*sarva-deva-maya*), a Brāhmaṇa is superior to him being versed in all the Vedas (*sarva-Veda-maya*). This is so because the Vedas are the proven testimony and comprise the valid knowledge (*pramāṇa*) that furnished proof of the finite gods.[9] Yet, in spite of this supreme position of the Brāhmaṇa caste, the Bhāgavata is amenable to considering both the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas on equal footing up to the extent the sustenance of the society is concerned. So, it is said that God dwells in the Brāhmaṇas and maintains the Kṣatriyas ; He dwells in the Kṣatriyas and maintains the Brāhmaṇas ; and dwelling in both maintains the world.[10] The best example of the cordial relation between the two upper castes is the well-known narration of a Brāhmaṇa or Vipra called Śrīdāman and his gift of the parched and flattened rice (*pṛthuka*) to Kṛṣṇa. It was the attitude of veneration towards the Brāhmaṇas (*brahmaṇyatā*) that Kṛṣṇa warmly greeted this poor Brāhmaṇa, the inmate of guru-kula days, when he came to his house.[11]

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[1] 10.86.53.

[2] 9.15.39 ; vide also 12.10.20-21.

[3] 10.86.54ab, 57.

[4] 10.86.52 ; vide also 12.10.22,24.

[5] ŚB 1.2.3.3 ; vide also 4.1.4.6 ; 12.7.3.12.

[6] 4.22.44-45.

[7] 3.22.3cd.

[8] 4.22.46.

[9] 7.11.20 ef ; vide also 10.86.54cd.

[10] 4.21.51.

[11] Full narration—10.80.6-45 ; and 10.81.1-41 combined.

(ii) *Privileges* (ii-*a*) *Prerogative of Receiving Gifts etc :* The Bhāgavata[1] has propagated the Upaniṣadic view[2] that the soul lies as life in diverse bodies, of animals, of men, of hermits and of gods, after they were created by the soul itself. The soul dwelling (*śete*) in the composite body (*pura*) is called *puruṣa* (the finite soul), and the soul abiding in them all is called *Puruṣa* (God).[3] So, all created beings are deserving recipients (*pātra*) of gifts etc. But God abides in the bodies of beings in proportion to their realization of the soul. So, men are more deserving than animals who have no intrinsic power for the purpose. Since a Brāhmaṇa adorned with contemplative power (*tapas*) can realize the soul, he is thought to be most worthy recipient (*su-pātra*) of gifts etc.[4] Among the Brāhmaṇas, preference should be given according to their accomplishment in the knowledge of the soul, i.e., leaving aside the consideration of their cardinal virtues noted above. So, one who is accomplished gets top priority in the distribution of *havya* (oblations meant for the gods), *kavya* (oblations meant for the forefathers) etc.[5] Satisfaction of the recipients is also important in matters of gifts, feasts etc. So, while making gifts or feeding the Brāhmaṇas one should see that they are satisfied by one's acts of charity.[6] This means that whatever they ask for should be given in full and not less. But it is legitimately expected that the learned and selfless Brāhmaṇas shall not put their hosts in embarrassing situation. Thus in the capacity of the best and uppermost caste, the Brāhmaṇas have a special right to receive gifts and enjoy feasts. It is therefore that acceptance of gifts (*pratigraha*) remained their exclusive vṛtti even when their other vṛttis were conceded to the Kṣatriyas in emergency-time.[7] A beautiful story showing the exercise of this prerogative concerns Jarāsandha on the one hand and Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna and Bhīma on the other. The three, disguised as Brāhmaṇa mendicants, approached Jarāsandha and asked for the alms in the form of a single combat. Jarāsandha granted the unique alms only because the three were in the guise of a Brāhmaṇa, although he knew that they were his enemies deliberately playing trick upon him.[8]

(ii-b) *Worthy of the Highest Honour :* There is hierarchy among the created beings for paying respects etc. also ; and men stand at the top in comparison to the insentient beings, vegetable growth, small creatures, birds and animals respectively.[9] Among the four castes of the human beings, the Brāhmaṇa caste is the highest.[1] Among the Brāhmaṇas, again, there are gradations. The six hierarchical grades of the Brāhmaṇa caste for the purpose are : (i) one who knows the Vedas (*Veda-jña*), (ii) one who discerns the meaning of the Vedas (*artha-jña*), (iii) one who investigates the import of the Vedic injunctions (*mīmāṁsaka*), (iv) the follower of one's prescribed duties (*sva-karma-kṛt*), (v) the selfless performer of one's duties (*mukta-saṁga* or *niṣkāma*) and (vi) one who, by surrendering one's body, actions and their fruits to God, has become free from the sense of egoity (*a-kartu*). Of these, the first three grades are based on the Vedic learning while the rest three on the manner of the performance of one's duties. The last grade comprising those who are free from ego-centric deeds commands the highest honour from all quarters.[2]

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[1] 7.14.37.

[2] BU—1.4.7.

[3] vide PSB Vol. II., pp. 115-116.

[4] 7.14.38, 41.

[5] 7.15.2.

[6] 3.16.8 ; vide also 8.20.6.

[7] 7.11.14ab ; See also *ante* p. 296.

[8] 10.72.23.

[9] 3.29. 28-30.

(ii-c) *Right of Keeping Property :* The Brāhmaṇas have the vital right to keep property ; and the taking, removing, concealing or stealing etc. of his earthly possessions are not allowed by anybody in any case.[3] The property of a Brāhmaṇa (*brahma-sva*) is strictly guarded by imprecating curses upon its taker etc. It is predicted that such acts shall result in the extinction of the taker including his descendants followed by sufferings in the hells and rebirths as low creatures.[4] The story[5] of the king Nṛga, the son of Ikṣvāku, illustrates this prediction. It is said that he happened to take one cow of a Brāhmaṇa and donated it to another. For this act of taking a Brāhmaṇa's cow he had to suffer in the hell and was reborn in the form of a lizard at the time of Kṛṣṇa.

(ii-*d*) *Unamenable to Disregard etc. :* A Brāhmaṇa is not subject to disregard (*avamāna*)[6] and deceit (*pralambhana*) as both are said to be fraught with dreadful consequences. The case of Bali-Vairocana may be cited here. He was put in a situation when either of the two became inevitable. The story says that the support of his preceptor Śukra and other Brāhmaṇas made him and his army inviolable for the gods and Indra with the result that he won the throne of heaven.[7] So Vāmana, intending to help the gods in distress, approached Bali and asked for three steps of land which the latter promised to donate.[8] But the preceptor Śukra, who was aware of the trick to be played upon his disciple, dissuaded him to do so.[9] Yet, in disregard of the advice of Śukra that sought to divert him from the promise, Bali donated the required land to Vāmana so that the promisee may not feel deceived.[1] As a result of the disregard, then, he suffered the loss of all that he had ; and as a result of the promise-keeping, he is to attain the dignity of Indra in the coming Sāvarṇi-manvantra.[2]

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[1] vide ref. 6 on p. 298.

[2] 3.29.31-33.

[3] 5.26.18.

[4] 10.64.32-40.

[5] 10.64.10-24 ; esp. 10.64.43.

[6] 5.10.17, 25.

[7] 8.15.31-33.

[8] For details see—8.16.12-20 ; 8.18.11-32 ; 8.19.1-28.

[9] 8.19.29-42.

(ii-*e*) *Free from Witchcraft :* The practice of killing others by witches (*abhicāra*)[3] is strictly prohibited in the case of a Brāhmaṇa.[4] Witchcraft (*abhicāra-vidhi*) is supposed to be a highly improper act if applied on a Brāhmaṇa or his supporter. This is exemplified by the story of Kṛṣṇa on the one hand and Sudakṣiṇa on the other. The latter employed the magic fire (*kṛtyānala*) against the former with malevolent purpose ; and, it is said, the fire reacted adversely resulting in the destruction of all concerned—i.e., the offender Sudakṣiṇa, the incantator of the magical formulae (*mantra*) and Kāśī, the place from where it was launched.[5]

(ii-*f*) *Exempt from Capital Punishment etc. :* Even a nominal Brāhmaṇa (*brahma-bandhu*) was not liable to death sentence if he committed homicide.[6] Shearing of hair on the head (*vapana*), taking away wealth and ousting from the place were considered tantamount to the death of a Brahmaṇa ; and as such he was exempt from corporal punishment (*vadha*) even if he was found guilty of murder.[7] This is exemplified by the case of Aśvatthāman who had killed the sons of Draupadī. The bereaved mother not only forgave Aśvatthāman when he was brought before her for punishment but also bowed down before him because he was a Brāhmaṇa and son of her husband's guru.[8] Further, a Brāhmaṇa is not to be punished but respected even if he is guilty of some stumble such as assault, curse etc.[9] The story[10] of the king Ambarīṣa and of the hermit Durvāsas exemplifies this. The latter cursed the hospitable and courteous king and tried to kill him by the magic fire ; while the king, in his turn, forgave the hermit and fed him respectfully.

THE HYBRID CASTES (CLASSIFICATION AND PROFESSIONS)

Following the Gītā[11] and Manu,[12] the Bhāgavata[13] has taken cognizance of a hybrid caste, outside the pale of the four castes mentioned above.[14]

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[1] 8.20.1-18.

[2] 8.22.29-31.

[3] Śrīdhara (on 11.66.40) explains the term as follows :—
अभिचर्यंते मार्यंतेऽनेन इत्यभिचारः ।

[4] 3.19.13d.

[5] 10.66.28-42 ; esp. 10.66.40.

[6] 1.7.53a.

[7] 1.7.57 ; vide also MS 8.379-80.

[8] 1.7.43ab.

[9] 10.64.41.

[10] Full story—9.4.29-71 and 9. 5. 1-22 combined.

[11] Gītā—1.41cd.

[12] MS—10.24

[13] 7.11.30.

[14] For phraseology see PSB Vol. 11., p. 32

According to Śrīdhara,[1] *saṁkaras* or the hybrid castes may either be pratilomajas or anulomajas. Of these two cross breeds of the castes, the former are the issue born through marriage contrary to the natural order, i.e., in which the mother is of the upper caste and the father of the lower; while the latter were the offshoots of the parents who were married in natural order.[2] Both these types of *saṁkaras* constitute the half-castes and we look into their details below.

(i) *Pratilomajas:* There are at least two types of pratilomajas viz, antyajas and antyā'vasāyins.[3] Śrīdhara throws light on both these types.[4] Accordingly, antyajas consist in seven kinds of low hybrid sub-castes viz, washerman (*rajaka*), currier (*carmakāra*), mimic (*naṭa*), basket-maker (*buruḍa*[5]), fisherman (*kaivarta*), attendant on women (*meda*) and mountaineer or forester (*bhilla*). Śrīdhara, at the same place, cites cāṇḍāla, pulkasa, mātaṅga etc. as examples of antyā'vasāyins and takes dying of clothes etc. as their professions. Manu[6] defines an antyā'vasāyin as an offspring begotten by a cāṇḍāla on a niṣādī woman and calls him as the most degraded one. Cāṇḍāla is defined as an offspring begotten by a Śūdra male on a Brāhmaṇa female; and was to be treated as an outcaste.[7] According to the Bhāgavata, naiṣādas were a tribe living in the forests, caves etc. As for their bodily construction, they were dark-skinned, short-bodied, lean and had red eyes and brown hair. As being wicked and sinful in habits, they were not permitted to enter the dwelling-places.[8] Manu[9] defines pukkasa, to whom the Bhāgavata calls pulkasa,[10] as an offspring begotten by a niṣāda on a Śūdra woman; while the niṣāda is said to be an offspring of a Brāhmaṇa father and Śūdra mother.[11] Thus the antyā'-vasāyins comprised indefinite number of sub-castes which were all apparently very low hybrid castes. The general characteristics of the antyā'-

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[1] While introducing the verse 7.11.30 which refers to the occupations of the *saṁkaras*, Śrīdhara comments :—प्रतिलोमजानुलोमजानां वृत्तिमाह वृत्तिरिति ।

[2] Śrīdhara (on 11.20.1) defines both as follows :—प्रतिलोमजा: उत्तमवर्णासु स्त्रीषु हीनवर्णेभ्य: पुरुषेभ्यो जाता: सूतवैदेहकादय:, अनुलोमजास्तूत्तमवर्णेभ्य: पुरुषेभ्यो हीन-वर्णासु स्त्रीषु जाता: मूर्द्धविसिक्ताम्बष्ठादय: ।

[3] 7.11.30d—Śrīdhara introduces this part of the verse as follows :—कांश्चित् प्रतिलोमज-विशेषानाह अन्त्यजेति ।

[4] Śrīdhara on 7.11.30.

[5] A buruḍa falls in another kind of pratilomaja caste called kāru whose general profession is weaving—Śrīdhara comments (on 11.17.48) as follows :—कारव: प्रतिलोमज-विशेषा: बुरुडादय: ; तेषां वृत्ति कटादि-क्रियाम् ।

[6] MS—10.39.

[7] MS—10.12.

[8] 4.14.43-46.

[9] MS—10.18ab.

[10] 9.21.10.

[11] MS—10.8cd.

vasāyins are said to be uncleanliness, falsity, theft, atheism, barren disputations, lust, anger and greed.[1] Other pratilomajas, who do not belong to the above two types of hybrids, are sūta, vaidehaka, māgadha etc.[2] According to Manu,[3] a sūta is an offspring of a Kṣatriya father and Brāhmaṇa mother, vaidehaka of a Vaiśya father and Kṣatriya mother, and, māgadha, again, of a Vaiśya father but Brāhmaṇa mother. The professions of these three were those of a charioteer, a trader and a bard respectively.[4]

(ii) *Anulomajas :* Ambaṣṭha etc. are cited as examples of anulomajas.[5] According to Manu,[6] an ambaṣṭha is an offspring of a Brāhmaṇa born through a Vaiśya woman. Bandin,[7] who sprang from a Kṣatriya father and Śūdra mother, was another anulomaja to whom Manu calls ugra.[8]

It will be seen from the above description that the classification of the hybrid castes, as the Manu-smṛti itself says,[9] was based on the caste of one's father and mother primarily, although the main criterion was one's profession. As a result of marriages or intercourses among the persons of the four castes, emerged cross breeds of the castes, and they, in turn, mixed with the persons of the four castes on the one hand and among themselves on the other. This gave rise to numerous half-castes and sub-castes of the hybrids. But the Bhāgavata is agreeable to accepting them all if they follow the prescribed professions and desist from theft, sins etc.[10] Nay, the Bhāgavata goes further and with unparalleled liberality allows even the non-Aryan natives such as the Kirātas, Pulindas, Śabaras, Khasas (all mountaineers who live by hunting), Ābhīras[11] (cowherds), and Draviḍas—all savage peoples—and even those alien tribes such as the Yavanas, Śakas, Hūṇas and so on—all barbarious outsiders—to enter the fold of the Aryan society.[12] The condition for the entry is that they should be devoted to God. With devotion to God as the only admission fee, they are all welcomed ; and, at the same time, they are granted full freedom to follow the vocations of their forefathers.[13]

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[1] 11.17.20.

[2] vide. *ante* ref. 2 on p. 303.

[3] MS—10.11,17.

[4] vide Apte's Skt. Eng. Dictionary.

[5] vide *ante* ref. 2 on p. 303.

[6] MS—10.8ab.

[7] vide Apte's Dictionary.

[8] MS—10.9.

[9] MS—10.40.

[10] vide ref. 13 on p. 302.

[11] According to Manu-smṛti *ābhīra* is an offspring of a Brāhmaṇa born through an ambaṣṭha female (MS—10.15c.).

[12] For the reigning or staying period etc. of the above and such other tribes—Indian or alien—see Chapter IX. All such peoples were called *dasyus* if they did not conform to the Aryan way of life (MS—10.44-45).

[13] 2.4.18 ; vide also 2.7.46.

RELIGIOUS CODE FOR A CASTE (CRITICAL)

THE CONCEPT OF CUSTOMARY MORALITY
CRITERIA OF CASTE AND CASTE-DUTIES
STATUS OF THE FOUR CASTES
THE HYBRID CASTES
BRĀHMAṆA VAṀŚAS
BRĀHMAṆA GOTRAS
CONCLUSION

[XI] RELIGIOUS CODE FOR A CASTE (CRITICAL)

THE CONCEPT OF CUSTOMARY MORALITY

Religious code according to one's caste (*varṇa-dharma*) and stage of life (*āśrama-dharma*) is commonly known as Varṇā'śrama-dharma (customary morality).[1] "For a person plunged in selfishness, the sense of discrimination has given rise to customary morality . As the Bhāgavata points out, such morality was a by-product of sacrificial milieu. The golden age (kṛta-yuga) was marked by simple contemplation of God and no customary morality".[2] In the golden age there was one Veda viz, Ṛk; one Agni viz, Laukika (i.e., not sanctified by rituals); and one Varṇa viz, Haṁsa. People were dominated by sattva-guṇa and needed no externals to worship God who was called Nārāyaṇa. But in the silver age (tretā-yuga) people came to be dominated by rajas and the path of action became evident. So, people began to perform religious practices mostly with selfish motives. Thus the era of the three Vedas and the three fires (tretā) ushered in the concept of customary morality.[3]

The timing of the emergence of this concept, as shown by the Bhāgavata statement above, is corroborated by the findings of the modern writers who probed into the question of the origin and development of the caste system.[4] The Puruṣa-Sūkta, which furnishes the earliest evidence of the caste system, is labelled by them as an admittedly late hymn. This means that the four castes, towards which it points out, did not flourish in the age of the Ṛk-Saṁhitā but somewhat later. And, this exactly agrees with the statement of the Bhāgavata that the concept ushered in the silver age and not in the golden age of the Ṛg-Veda. Further, on the evidence of the same Sūkta, they conceded that the classification of the society into the four castes was known in the Ṛg-Vedic age, but the system as such developed afterwards in the silver age (which they call the age of the later Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas). The transition of the classified society of the golden age to the elaborate caste system in the succeeding era is traced by them to the complications of life resulting from further migration of the Vedic Aryans from the Punjab to East India. The monarchy, that emerged during the warfare with the aborigines, needed a standing armed force prepared to meet all eventualities such as resisting the sudden incursions of the natives and hostile tribes (*dasyus*), including quelling revolts on the part of the subdued aborigines (*dāsas*). This army was recruited from the ranks of the nobility of tribal princes and the chief armed retainers of the king. This is said to be the genesis of the warrior class which came to be called Kṣatriya. At the same time, the people of the Aryan masses, secure in the protection afforded by the warrior class, ceased to take interest in military matters and settled down to peaceful life devoted to agriculture, pastoral pursuits, trade and industry. They constituted the class which came to be called Vaiśya. The term Śūdra was evidently applied to the dāsas, i.e., the aborigines under the Aryan control who were conquered and absorbed as slaves. In course of time the aborigines who remained independent of Aryan control, i.e., dasyus were also subdued and included in the Śūdra caste. The colour of the dāsas and dasyus was black (*kṛṣṇa*)[1] while the Aryans were of the fair colour (*ārya-varṇa*). But this contrast between the two colours (*varṇa*) was sought to be mitigated by their incorporation in the fourth caste constituted by such Śūdras. Thus the dark-skinned (*dasyu-varṇa*) aborigines, distinguished from the Aryans, entered the Aryan society with manual labour as their prime duty. Lastly, as regards the first caste, when the sacrifice tended to become more complicated and elaborate, the need of a hieratic order was keenly felt. Side by side, therefore, grew a distinct community of priests. The intellectuals among the non-fighters, who could dedicate themselves to the exact performance of the highly developed ritual and to the preservation (by word of mouth) of the traditional formulae and sacred hymnology of the Vedas, formed a separate community which constituted the caste called Brāhmaṇa. Thus the four castes came into being in the silver age which is called the age of the later Saṁhitās or the sacrificial era or the era of the Brāhamaṇa texts. It was this age or era when the sacrificial cult, in the process of its consolidation, was knit into the texture of Varṇā'śrama-dharma.[2] The emergence of the four castes, in this way, converges on the point that the concept of customary morality emerged in the silver age as stated by the Bhāgavata.

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[1] 7.11.2. [2] PSB Vol. II., pp. 30-31.

[3] 11.17.9-13 ; vide also Śrīdhara's comments on 9.14.49 and 11.21.1.

[4] There is a voluminous literature on the origin and antiquity of the caste-system in India. V. M. Apte has summed up some generally accepted views of different writers in 'The Vedic Age' (pp. 388-91). The gist of these views is given here in a coherent and condensed form.

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[1] The Bhāgavata (12.1.37) specifically says that the Śūdras were of dark colour (*kṛṣṇa-varṇa*).

[2] vide PSB Vol II., p. 59.

We have seen above how the priestly class arose in the era when the sacrificial cult was in full swing. But how sacrifice became a cult and how it gave rise to the priests can be best understood in the following words of an authority: "The main ritual of sacrifice along with its preliminary and subsequent rites had to be an extremely complicated affair. The number of priests enhanced to cope with the situation. Manuals were composed to guide the entire process. Not a single flaw was allowed to vitiate it. Concessions, offered in agni-hotra, were strictly withdrawn from the yāgas. If the patron was anxious for heaven it devolved on him to see that the performance was perfect in every detail. ...... Sometimes, the patron might be anxious to reap the benefits of sacrifice not only for himself but also for his lineage. Sacrifice had thus become in some cases not a personal business but the affair of the family. Satra, enduring for one thousand years, thus came into existence. ...... Sacrifice was therefore the order of the day. The Vedas had nothing to offer excepting prescriptions for sacrifice. In short, everything was geared to sacrifice—the magic that could yield everything. Perform it perfectly and the result is yours....... Sacrifice in this way became a cult".[1] In the light of this thought, it is easily understandable how urgently and in what large number the priests were required in the sacrificial era, especially when the whole thing hardened into a mechanical process.

CRITERIA OF CASTE AND CASTE-DUTIES

(i) *The Criteria of Caste :* The earliest society, as shown above, was classified according to professions and its classes emerged as the four castes. That the professions were not hereditary in the beginning is clear when we find that the warriors were drawn from the people at large and that any person with the requisite qualifications could officiate as a priest. The Brāhmaṇas (far less the Kṣatriyas or the Vaiśyas) did not constitute an exclusive caste, and the prerogative of composing hymns and officiating as priests was not regarded as entirely confined to men of priestly families.[2] The heredity of profession was, therefore, not a recognised principle, far less an established fact. The Gītā[3] declares that virtues (*guṇa*) and professions (*karman*) form the criteria of one's caste. Similarly the Bhāgavata,[4] accepting the same basis for the classification of the society, says that the birth of a person in a particular caste does not suffice for its membership; but the virtues and professions determine the caste of a particular person. So there was neither heredity nor rigidity in the concept of the four castes, although the criteria had in many cases a tendency to become hereditary as a son naturally inherits the virtues and profession of his father. Again, according to the Bhāgavata,[1] a Brāhmaṇa can sink to the low position of a Śūdra and the latter can rise to the high status of the former in the absence and presence of devotion to God respectively. The statement suggests that not only the change of caste was allowed for a person but also that another was deprived of its membership if he did not possess the required virtues. There are abundant examples in the traditional history concerning Kṣatriyas who became Brāhmaṇas ; and these are dealt with *infra* separately. They testify that there was no rigidity in the caste system and change of caste was a matter of choice only. As for the persons who were deprived of their castes for the non-compliance of the caste-duties or purificatory rites, the outcasting was not irremediable. Some expiatory rites were there to allow their re-admission in the caste.[2] Further, the flexibility of the caste system is illustrated by the prevalence of the inter-caste marriages among which the anuloma type was permitted,[3] although the pratiloma type was not thought desirable.[4] So, when the classification of the society was based on the criteria noted above, when the change of caste as well as the anuloma type of marriages were allowed and when the outcastes were re-admitted, it is evident that both the heredity and rigidity in the caste system were not sanctioned by the ancient law-givers. Thus the four castes were expressions of natural aptitudes.

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[1] PSB Vol. II., p. iii. [3] Gītā—4.13ab ; cf. 11.18.47ab. [4] 7.11.35.

[2] cf. VA pp. 390-91 where this view of Muir is cited.

(ii) *The Caste-Duties :* The cardinal professions of the Brāhmaṇa caste were teachership and priesthood ; of the Kṣatriya caste ruling and administering ; of the Vaiśya caste agriculture and trade ; and, of the Śūdra caste doing physical labour.[5] These professions, as noticed above, went into the formation of the four castes in the sacrificial era ; and since then they served as denominators of a caste. The large section of the Brāhmaṇa caste lived on its two cardinal professions. The institution of *brahma-carya*, as we shall see in the next Chapter, testifies that a good number of Brāhmaṇas were teaching the Vedas to their disciples at their houses holding the time-honoured title of *ācārya*. As for the next profession, there were preceptors and priests attached to kings, besides the family-priests who conducted sacrifices and other religious practices of the people. Again, traditional history[6] amply testifies that the preceptors etc. wielded considerable power over the kings and their political affairs. But the Bhāgavata does not like that a Brāhmaṇa may stick to the profession of priesthood ;[1] and prefers teachership as a better profession for him.[2] It seems that in course of time the Brāhmaṇas took to other professions such as agriculture, begging of alms etc.[3] Perhaps the less learned Brāhmaṇas adopted agriculture, especially when they were householders. The acceptance of gifts (*pratigraha*) was the prerogative of this caste ;[4] and so large number of the Brāhmaṇas subsisted on gifts (*dāna*), fees (*dakṣiṇā*) and feasts. But the best means of subsistence, according to the Bhāgavata, is *uñcha* or *kāpotī*[5] (collecting grains fallen in the market-place etc.) because satisfaction in what is received was thought to be the most coveted virtue of a Brāhmaṇa.[6] So it seems probable that many Brāhmaṇas, renowned for their spiritual pre-eminence, adopted this poorest means of subsistence (*uñcha* or *kāpotī*) in which nobody was taxed.

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[1] 7.8.10.

[2] MS 2.39 ; vide also MS 11.197.

[3] 11.17.38d ; MS 3.12.

[4] 9.18.5.

[5] 7.11.14-15.

[6] vide appendix I, '*Kingdom*'.

The Kṣatriyas, valorous as they were, lived by administering and protecting the people.[7] These professions might have brought about some grants (of villages etc.) by the king under whom they served. They might be receiving some wealth directly from the populace also, especially from the Vaiśyas who were the richest caste and whose lives and properties, therefore, required special protection. The occupations of the Vaiśya caste extended scope for others' livelihood. The Vaiśyas, enterprising as they were, engaged themselves in such undertakings as production of grains, trade, usury, commerce etc.[8]; and these provided jobs for other people. The society was benefitted by their produce and earnings in other ways also. They were usurers ; and their monopoly in lending business was beyond doubt because none else was in a position or permitted to do this business. So, they provided loans to others who required it. Besides this loan, they provided funds in charity also.[9] The Vaiśyas formed guilds which served as useful media for socio-religious services as well as for their mutual aid. The Śūdras, who were fit for manual and menial works, came in close contact of the Vaiśyas as their labours and servants. According to the Bhāgavata, cow-protection was the duty of both a Vaiśya[10] and a Śūdra,[11] while the Gītā[12] assigns this duty to a Vaiśya only.

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[1] 6.7.35ab, 36cd.

[2] 3.6.29.

[3] 3.12.42cd.

[4] 7.11.14ab.

[5] 9.18.25abc.

[6] 7.15.19 ; vide also 8.19.26.

[7] 3.6.30 ; vide also 7.11.14cd.

[8] 7.11.15a.

[9] 10.20.24cd.

[10] 10.24.21abc.

[11] 7.11.24 ; vide also 11.17.18.

[12] Gītā—18.44ab.

These assignments suggest that cow-protection was originally done by the Vaiśyas; but, as their undertakings expanded and the Śūdras thereby came in their contact, the responsibility naturally devolved upon the latter who were generally employed as domestic servants. Further, the tending of cattle is an inevitable profession of an agriculturist. Manu, therefore, lays emphasis on the rearing of cattle by a Vaiśya.[1] So the Vaiśyas might have enlarged the business of cattle rearing with the help of the Śūdra servants; although among all domestic animals the cow always demanded respectful attention from all quarters.

Excepting in the case of emergency the castes adhered to their respective professions. It is said that the castes were following their hereditary professions in 700 A.D.;[2] and this means that the people were following the prescribed professions throughout the ages that preceded, subject to certain exceptions or variations in their respective fields. In the case of emergency, the castes, as a general rule,[3] adopted the professions of the next lower caste. But the Bhāgavata overrules this general rule in respect of the two upper castes. Accordingly, it advises a Brāhmaṇa to become a merchant rather than a swordsman under pressing necessity.[4] Similarly, a Kṣatriya was free to become a teacher instead of setting himself as a merchant.[5] This infringement suggests that Brāhmaṇa merchants and Kṣatriya teachers were not wanting.

Both the virtues (*guṇa*) based upon one's past actions (*svabhāva*)[6] and professions (*karman*) suitable for those virtues were conceived as caste-duties (*varṇa-dharma*); and their performance made an individual a useful member of the society as well as led him to his highest welfare.[7] "The assignment of the four castes to form part of the Cosmic Man[8] symbolizes that caste-duties are aimed at the formation of the ideal man."[9]

STATUS OF THE FOUR CASTES

(i) *Position of the Śūdras:* Varṇā'śrama-dharma with all its rites relate to the three upper castes who were entitled to be called dvijas while the Śūdras were separated from them in so far as only the caste-duties were prescribed for them, the purificatory rites and the āśrama practices being out of their purview.[10] The prohibition of the upanayana ceremony[11] for a Śūdra means that he was debarred from the Vedic learning imparted in the guru-kula. But, according to the esteemed commentator of the Bhāgavata,[1] this need not be taken to reflect on the inferiority of the caste but only on its unsuitability for the purpose. Yet the denial of the āśrama practices etc. to the Śūdra caste indicates its low position. As we have seen above,[2] the Śūdras were originally dark-skinned (*kṛṣṇa-varṇa*) aborigines; as such they had certain inherent disabilities on account of which they were denied the rites and practices meant for the traivarnikas. So, they could not attain the cultural purity up to the Aryan level with the result that they remained sunk to the low position. Thus the denial of rites etc. to the Śūdras was both the cause and the effect of their low position. Anyway, they could not attain equal status with the Vedic Aryans who constituted the three upper castes. This denial, therefore, is an indicator of the wide gulf that separated the fourth caste from the upper three. But the non-eligibility of the Śūdras to become a dvija was not a hindrance to the way of their material welfare. Their sole duty—service to the dvijas[3]—served as a means of their shelter and livelihood in the houses and fields of the upper castes. This means that there were better chances of success and moral uplift for them in ancient India.

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[1] MS 9.326, 327ab, 328.

[2] vide CA p. 561.

[3] 7.11.17; vide also 11.17.48.

[4] 11.17.46.

[5] 11.17.47.

[6] See *ante* p. 291 ref.4.

[7] 7.11.31.

[8] vide c. X, *ante* p. 291 refs. 1 & 2.

[9] PSB vol. II., p. 36.

[10] 7.11.13.

[11] vide Chapter X, p. 298.

It was not only that the position of the Śūdras was discriminated from the dvijas but the status of the dvijas themselves was also differentiated mutually according to their caste since the Brāhmaṇa-period. The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa[4] prescribes varying sizes of funeral mounds for the four castes; and different degrees of politeness are noticed in the modes of address to them. The rules of punishment as found in the Dharma-sūtras[5] are also largely based upon caste-consideration. Similarly, the Gṛhya-sūtras[6] differentiate the duties and privileges of the four castes in both spiritual and secular matters. But the Bhāgavata has nothing to say about these invidious discriminations. The traditional view that the status of the four castes was different in social and religious spheres may be said to have been accepted by the Bhāgavata in so far as it reiterates that the Śūdra, Vaiśya, Kṣatriya and Brāhmaṇa castes stand in hierarchical order.[7]

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[1] vide Chapter X, ref. 4 on p. 298.

[2] See *ante* p. 308.

[3] 7.11.15cd.

[4] ŚB 3.1.1.10; vide VA p. 454.

[5] vide VA p. 479.

[6] ibid., p. 513.

[7] The hierarchy is clearly visible in the assignment of the four castes to form feet, thighs, arms and mouth of the Cosmic Man respectively (vide *ante* p. 291).

(ii) *Standing of the Vaiśyas :* By virtue of their occupations the Vaiśyas came in contact with the Śūdras whose services were essential for their undertakings. This contact might have unfavourably affected their standing so as to give rise to the notion that they have little in common with the two upper castes.[1] But their eligibility to become a dvija distinguished them from the Śūdras. Moreover, the wealthy Vaiśyas were liable to maintain their standing, at least by performing religious and charitable deeds which they were prone to do.[2]

(iii) *Status of the Kṣatriyas :* The Bhāgavata[3] recognises, as it was being done since the age of the later Saṁhitās,[4] that the Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya castes have undoubted precedence over other castes; and so both came to enjoy the status of the two upper castes. This equality of status between the two castes comes into view when the Bhāgavata restricts both from resorting to the jobs of despicable nature even in the case of emergency and allows Kṣatriyas to adopt teachership, the profession of the Brāhmaṇas.[5] But there is not always the same equality in respect of the relative position of the upper two castes. Since the period of the later Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇa texts,[6] the more common view is that the Brāhmaṇa is superior to the king or other Kṣatriyas. The Bhāgavata has reiterated this Brahmaṇical view[7] and takes a learned Brāhmaṇa to be the authority and guide for the Kṣatriyas in general and a king in particular.[8] Thus the Brāhmaṇas, in the capacity of priests or preceptors, came to wield command over kings.[9] This had to be so because the Kṣatriyas, endowed with valour and empowered to rule, were liable to be led astray by the feeling of pride if the check and guidance of the learned and selfless Brāhmaṇas were not brought to bear upon them. Indeed, the goad is needed to correct the elephant. Thus the Kṣatriyas, who were physically and mentally able to do their duties, were legally and morally made powerless to do the same without the approval of the priests or preceptors. In other words, the Kṣatriyas were in power but it was not within their power to act freely. The supremacy of the Brāhmaṇas is asserted by saying that the Kṣatriyas get their livelihood arranged by the grace of the first caste.[10] Yet it seems that there was reciprocal dependence between the upper two castes. The guidance and instructions of the Brāhmaṇas were as necessary for the Kṣatriyas as the food and protection provided by the latter to the former. That friendly relations existed between the two castes is shown by matrimonial alliances between them. There are numerous examples of such wedlocks in traditional history. When there was some exigency, the Brāhmaṇas of the highest stature like Bhārgavas married the Kṣatriya princesses ;[1] and when there was spontaneous flow of love, the Kṣatriya kings married the daughters of Brāhmaṇa caste also.[2] That the attitude of the Kṣatriyas towards the Brāhmaṇas in general was that of friendliness mixed with veneration (*brahmaṇyatā*) can also be amply testified from the records of traditional history ; and the episode of Kṛṣṇa's welcome of Śrīdāman[3] serves as the best exemplar in this respect. So, the upper two castes had cordial relations mutually; and, both commanded equal respect from the society for whose moral and material welfare they worked in unison respectively.[4]

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[1] The Vaiśyas are classed with the Śūdras and women in the Gītā (9.32cd); and this may be taken as an indicator of the popular notion.

[2] 10.20.24cd.

[3] 4.21.51.

[4] vide VA p. 455.

[5] 7.11.20; 11.17.46d, 47cd.

[6] vide VA p. 455.

[7] vide Chapter X, ref 5 on p. 299.

[8] 7.11.20ef; vide also 10.86.54cd.

[9] 4.22.44-45.

[10] 4.22.46.

Looking to the assignments of the Kṣatriyas, one may plausibly think that they were mostly fighters and rulers. But we know of many post-Flood kings[5] who became hermits and subscribed in the field of sacred knowledge. The references in the Brāhmaṇa texts indicate that the Kṣatriya kings had betaken themselves to enquire into the true import of the sacrifices. The story of Janaka and Yājñavalkya is the most revealing in this respect.[6] The discussions recorded in the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad also show that the kings of the post-War era took leading part in speculation on the nature of Ultimate Reality. Aśvapati[7] and Pravāhaṇa Jaivāla[8] figure prominently as instructors of the Brāhmaṇas in the nature of the soul and in a new doctrine of transmigration respectively.[9] Aśvapati was the king of the Kaikeya realm and contemporary of Parīkṣit II, while Pravāhaṇa Jaivāla was the king of Pañcāla and flourished four generations later. At the same time there were other kings among the Pauravas of Hastināpura and the Janakas of Videha who composed the Vedic hymns. All these post-War kings[1] were reputed Vedic teachers and instructors in the field of sacred knowledge as well. The Bhāgavata devotes five chapters of the fifth skandha[2] to a discourse between the king Rahūgaṇa and a Brāhmaṇa called Jaḍa-Bharata in which the latter enlightens the former on the nature of the soul and the process of *saṁsāra*, i.e., the enjoyment of happiness and sorrow—a complex situation for the empirical soul. Irrespective of the persons concerned who belong to the domain of mythology, the discourse points out the tendency of the Kṣatriyas to elevate themselves by acquiring the sacred knowledge which extricates from the prejudices and superstitions that haunt theology. Thus the sacred knowledge cannot be said to be the monopoly of the Brāhmaṇas as the Kṣatriya teachers, inquirers and instructors did exist at every phase of different traditions with particular fascination for philosophical speculations.

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[1] The examples of inter-caste marriages of *anuloma* type between the Bhārgavas and the Kṣatriya princesses are as follows :—(i) Cyavana married Śaryāti's daughter (9.3.2-9) ; (ii) Ṛcīka married Gādhi's daughter (9.15.7) and (iii) Jamadagni married Reṇu's daughter (9.15.12cd.).

[2] The inter-caste marriage of *partiloma* type is best illustrated by Yayāti's marriage with Śukra's daughter (9.18.5,21).

[3] vide Chapter X, ref. 11 on p. 299.

[4] 4.22.51.

[5] vide Chapter VIII, pp. 231-32—where the kings or princes of ancient tradition are noted in the column of other hermits against nos. 2, 6, 10, 42, 83, 84 and 89. For their details vide pp. 250-1.

[6] ŚB Book II.

[7] Ch U 5.11ff.

[8] Ch U 5.3etc.

[9] vide VA p. 473 ; vide also Śrīdhara's comment (on 7.11.14) :—श्रूयते च अश्वपति-कैकय-प्रभृतीनां क्षत्रियाणामुपदेष्टृत्वादि ।

(iv) *The Exalted Status of the Brāhmaṇas :* If we consider the relative position of the four castes, it appears that by and large the Śūdras were dependent on the Vaiśyas for livelihood, the Vaiśyas on the Kṣatriyas for protection and the Kṣatriyas on the Brāhmaṇas for guidance. But in the hierarchy of the four castes, a Brāhmaṇa was independent and enjoyed supreme position. The Vedic literature and the Dharma-sūtras[3] including the Bhāgavata[4] all acclaim his supremacy on account of cardinal virtues such as Scriptural knowledge, satisfaction, penance and forgiveness which he possessed. According to the Bhāgavata,[5] devotion to God is an essential spiritual virtue for a Brāhmaṇa and all other virtues pale into insignificance before this. Thus the ideal of selflessness, learning and devotion to God was placed before the uppermost caste ; and it was liable to be practised by a Brāhmaṇa who liked to maintain his exalted status.

(iv-*a*) *Privileges :* On account of its supreme status, the Brāhmaṇa caste was placed in an advantageous position also. Certain favouring conditions were laid down so that the Brāhmaṇas may derive advantage from the society. Thus they came to enjoy many privileges. The first of them was the prerogative of receiving gifts etc.[6] The Brāhmaṇas, accomplished in the knowledge of the soul (sacred knowledge), used to get top priority.[1] They were considered as the most worthy recipient (*su-pātra*) of gifts etc.[2] Besides these worthy ones, all the Brāhmaṇas[3] seem to enjoy this prerogative as none else was allowed to receive gifts etc.[4] So the Brāhmaṇas, who were supposed to be have-nots, were well-fed by the society[5] through gifts, fees and feasts which formed the conclusive features of the domestic rites observed rather daily in each house of India in ancient times. Secondly, as a tribute to the noble qualities, the Brāhmaṇas, adorned with the above-mentioned cardinal virtues, were considered worthy of worship. For paying the highest honour to them, the Bhāgavata has shown six hierarchical grades.[6] It considers a Brāhmaṇa most worthy who has surrendered the immediate self for the restoration of the spiritual one, being endowed with the spirit of dedication of all acts unto God.[7] Thirdly, a Brāhmaṇa had the vital right to keep property, and the guarantee of its safety was the liability of the State. The kings and their personages, therefore, must have guarded his property vigilantly.[8] The threat of hells and imprecation of curses on those who dare steal Brāhmaṇa's property (*brahma-sva*) are found in the Atharva-Veda,[9] and the Bhāgavata[10] confirms them. These threat and imprecating imply that the thefts etc. of Brāhmaṇa's property were committed in spite of the vigilance of its protectors. But this privilege may not be taken to mean that the caste amassed money. The main content of its property seems to be the cows ;[11] and as such many Brāhmaṇas were engaged in cow-protection, the coveted profession of the ancients. It may be noted here that curse on those who dare molest a Brāhmaṇa's wife (*brahma-jāyā*)[12] or a Brāhmaṇa's preposterous claim to other men's wives,[13] as found in the Atharva-Veda[14] are wanting in the Bhāgavata. Fourthly, the Brāhmaṇas were not subject to disregard (*avamāna*) or deceit (*pralam-*

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[1] vide AIHT—'The Table of Vedic Teachers' (p. 330) ; see also p. 328, esp., for Pravāhaṇa's position.

[2] *5.10-14.*

[3] vide AIU p. 543.

[4] vide Chapter X, pp. 292, 298-9.

[5] 7.8.10.

[6] 7.11.14ab.

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[1] 7.15.2.

[2] 7.14.38,41.

[3] The story of Jarāsandha's grant of the alms of a single combat to Bhīma (see *ante* p. 300) testifies that the Brāhmaṇas often exercised this privilege and that they were not refused.

[4] vide ref. 6 on p. 316.

[5] A *yajamāna* is asked to see that the Brāhmaṇas are satisfied by his acts of charity (3.16.8; 8.20.6).

[6] vide Chapter X, p. 301.

[7] 3.29.31-33.

[8] 5.26.18.

[9] AV 5.18.9-10.

[10] 10.64.32-40.

[11] 10.66.40—The story of king Nṛga is cited here. It says that the king took away one cow of a Brāhmaṇa ; as a result he had to suffer. Thus the cow figures prominently as a Brāhmaṇa's wealth (see also *ante* p. 301).

[12] AV 5.7.8-9.

[13] AV 5.7.12.

[14] vide VA p. 412.

bhana). The case of Bali-Vairocana connected with Śukra and Vāmana shows that both disregarding a Brāhmaṇa's advice and cheating him in some matters were undesirable ; and if either of them became inevitable, the later course was not adopted by the person concerned, as Bali did.[1] Fifthly, a Brāhmaṇa was free from the attack of witchcraft (*abhicāra-vidhi*).[2] The adverse reaction of the use of magic fire (*kṛtyā'nala*) on a supporter of the Brāhmaṇas, as described by the Bhāgavata,[3] shows that the practice was in vogue but it was rarely applied to the Brāhmaṇas. Lastly, even the nominal Brāhmaṇas (*brahma-bandhu*) were exempted from capital punishment.[4] If a Brāhmaṇa happened to commit homicide, his property was taken away and he was ousted from the place in a very disgraceful manner.[5] This was considered tantamount to his death as he was deprived of his high status. In view of the prerogatives and privileges, as noted above, it was quite possible that a Brāhmaṇa may pass unscatched for his stumbles such as assaults or curses on others.[6] The Bhāgavata has suitably adapted the privileges of the Brāhmaṇa caste as granted by other Scriptures, although it has extended them to the Vaiṣṇavas[7] also, not found in earlier thought.

4. THE HYBRID CASTES

(i) *Classification by the Law-Givers :* The offspring of the parents of two different castes constituted the hybrid caste (*saṁkara jāti*), which remained out of the fold of the four castes. As anuloma type of marriage was permitted,[8] a cross breed of such parents was legible for absorption in the caste of his father. But the later Dharma-sūtras[9] did not allow this advantage to the anulomajas and they, therefore, could not be adjusted within the federation of the four castes. The pratiloma type of marriage was also prevalent,[10] although such unions were considered undesirable.[11] The number of the pratilomajas seem to be always on the increase. So, the law-givers recognised the fact and coped with the situation by grouping cross breeds of the castes into the half-castes on the basis of their birth and occupations. The two half-castes of the hybrids viz, the anulomaja and pratilomaja thus came into existence. The persons of these castes further increased when they had their connections with the four castes on the one hand and among themselves on the other. This gave rise to several types of mixed progeny that required further classification. So, the pratilomajas, who had outnumbered others, were again sub-divided into two sub-castes viz, the antyaja and the antyā'vasāyin. Of these two, the first further comprised at least seven kinds of low hybrid castes while the latter comprised many groups in its fold. The antyajas were mostly fishermen, washermen, basket-makers, mountaineers etc. while the antyā'vasāyins were butchers, executioners, scavengers etc. Evidently the latter were very low castes and they lived on the outskirts of the residential places. Among them were the niṣādas or naiṣādas who roamed in the forest without fixed-dwellings and lived on hunting etc[1]. The vocations and general characteristics of the *saṁkaras* and their classification into the two half-castes etc., referred to above, are fully described by the Manu-saṁhitā (200 B.C.—200 A.D.)—the earliest and the most representative of the Smṛti manuals[2]—and the Bhāgavata briefly endorses the same.[3] Accordingly, it may be said that the hybrids were unknown in ancient ages and that they appeared in the society in the kali age that begins after the Great War (950 B.C.).

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[1] See *ante*, ii-d, on p. 301.

[2] 3.19.13d.

[3] 10.66.40.

[4] 1.7.53a.

[5] 1.7.57 ; vide also MS—8.379-80.

[6] 10.64.41.

[7] The Vaiṣṇavas are defined as the people whose progenitor may be Acyuta, i.e., Viṣṇu (4.21.12) and Deity is Ajita, the Descent of Viṣṇu (4.21.36).

[8] 11.17.38d ; The Dharma-sūtras had already permitted such marriages (vide VA p. 515).

[9] vide VA p. 515.

[10] vide ref. 2 on p. 315.

[11] 9.18.5.

(ii) *Accommodation in the Hindu Society:* The habits and customs of the *saṁkaras* were naturally not in conformity with the accepted standard of morality.[4] But "with unique catholicity, the Bhāgavata has accommodated the half-castes and even those from the foreign stock within the framework of the Hindu society, provided such people expressed their general willingness to submit to the principles of good conduct laid down by the society."[5] Therefore the fourfold classification of the society on the basis of the natural aptitudes of an individual, as envisaged by the Dharma-sūtras, elaborated by the Dharma-śāstras and reiterated by the Bhāgavata, remained dynamical. Whosoever adopted the prescribed code was admitted in the society. The non-Aryan peoples and the alien tribes were no exception to this. These backwards and immigrants, from whom the Hindu society had persistent danger, were gradually absorbed through successive processes of incorporation, amalgamation and merger. The impact of this unique method of take-in and transform was that there remained no separate existence of these peoples and tribes.[1] The method, so typical of the Hindu society, continued so that we hear that the Hūṇas, who ravaged northern India in the third, fourth and fifth centuries, were also converted to Vaiṣṇavism by 700 A.D.[2]

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[1] 4.14.43-46.

[2] vide PSB Vol. II., p. 17.

[3] vide Chapter X, pp. 302-4.

[4] 11.17.20.

[5] 2.4.18 ; 2.7.46 ; For phraseology vide PSB Vol II., pp. 32-33.

BRĀHMAṆA-VAṀŚAS

The hermits of the Brāhmaṇa families played an important role in the traditional history and the eighth Chapter is given to this topic. Here we give a short account of the chief Brāhmaṇa families (*vaṁśa*) first, and shall see the Brāhmaṇa sub-families (*gotra*) afterwards in some detail. Vaṁśas, or so-called genealogies of the Brāhmaṇa families are given in some Purāṇas including the Mahābhārata; and it is claimed that they all originated from the mythical hermits, i.e., the mind-born sons of Brahmā.[3] The Bhāgavata does not give the genealogies of the Brāhmaṇa families, although the names of ten sons of Brahmā, from whom these families claim their descent, are found in it.[4] It is said that genuine Brāhmaṇa families existed in ancient India in the names of only five sons of Brahmā viz, Bhṛgu, Vasiṣṭha, Aṅgiras, Atri and Marīci. As for Marīci, the Brāhmaṇa family claimed descent from his son Kaśyapa.[5] Thus the Bhārgava, Vasiṣṭha, Āṅgirasa, Ātreya and Kāśyapa—all coming in succession were the chief, earliest and genuine families of the original Brāhmaṇas.[6] Besides these five, old and original Brāhmaṇa families, there was one notable family viz, the Viśvāmitra which claimed no primaeval antiquity. This family descended from Viśvāmitra, the king of Kānyakubja, who became a Brāhmaṇa, attained the status of a hermit and founded an independent family of his own.[7] The lists of the gotras belonging to this family, as found in four Purāṇas as well as in the Mahābhārata, show that their number is greater than those belonging to any of the above five original Brāhmaṇa families.[8]

(a) The *Mārkaṇḍeyas* : Like the Brāhmaṇa family existing in the name of Kaśyapa, the son of progenitor Marīci, as noted above ; it is probable that the Mārkaṇḍeya gotra, mentioned among the Bhārgava-vaṁśa,[9] may be a family existing in the name of Mṛkaṇḍa, the son of progenitor Bhṛgu, or in the name of Bhṛgu's grand-son Mārkaṇḍeya.[1] But it is suggested[2] that the Mārkaṇḍeyas probably descended from Śukra's son Marka[3] whom we have already noticed as the priest of hostile aborigines.[4] As Bhṛgu and Śukra (both historical hermits to be distinguished from their namesakes of the pre-Flood tradition) founded two distinct lines in the Bhārgava-vaṁśa,[5] the suggestion seems meaningful. The Bhāgavata[6] vividly describes the life and penance of a muni called Mārkaṇḍeya. It is stated therein that after a long penance lasting for six manvantaras, he, with the grace of God, experienced a deluge (*māyika-pralaya*) and God's power of delusion (*Māyā*) therein. The god Śiva also came afterwards and praised Mārkaṇḍeya's penance etc. The description brings into light the fact that this Mārkaṇḍeya, whose position cannot be specified, was a hermit of celebrity[7] ; and as such the Mārkaṇḍeya gotra may be taken as the most distinguished among those which we shall now see with fervency.

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[1] cf. AIU p. 545.

[2] vide PSB p. 348.

[3] vide AIHT pp. 184-85 ; For the names of these sons of Brahmā who were recognised as progenitors of the pre-flood tradition—vide c. I, p. 24.

[4] 3.12.21-22.

[5] 4.1.13.

[6] cf. AIHT pp. 185-86.

[7] cf. ibid., p. 189.

[8] cf. ibid., p. 237

[9] vide ibid., p. 202.

BRĀHMAṆA GOTRAS

The Brāhmaṇa sub-families (*gotras*) founded by the Kṣatriya princes have been noticed at appropriate points while enumerating the traditional history in Chapter five. The emergence of the Brāhmaṇa sub-families from the members of the royal families is an important phenomenon that throws light on the constitution of the castesystem. So, all such gotras are considered here with special reference to their chronological position and affiliation to the above-mentioned chief Brāhmaṇa families. The genealogies, at definite stages of tradition, plainly declare that the members of the royal families became Brāhmaṇas or Kṣatriyas-*cum*-Brāhmaṇas (*kṣatropetā dvijātayaḥ*) ; and founded different sub-families in their names. Thus there were two types of sub-families, one comprising those who became Brāhmaṇas forthwith and another comprising those who attained the Brāhmaṇa status but retained the Kṣatriya status also ; and this means that they enjoyed both status. This peculiar combination of the Kṣatriya status and Brāhmaṇa status in one person was, however, not stable ; and the members gravitated to one or the other status in due course. Thus the successors of the gotra-founder were admitted into the great Brāhmaṇa families, especially in the Āṅgirasa and Bhārgava, as will appear. Quite distinct from these two types was the family of Viśvāmitra who relinquished

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[1] 4.1.44,45a.

[2] vide AIHT p. 203.

[3] 7.5.1cd.

[4] vide Chapter VIII, pp. 236-7.

[5] ibid., and also p. 233.

[6] *12.8-10.*

[7] A Mārkaṇḍeya is mentioned with Vasudeva (10.84.4) and another reference to him is vague (6.15.12).

Kṣatriyahood to become a Brāhmaṇa and established a separate and iudependent Brāhmaṇa family, as noted above. Having thus seen the origin and character of the sub-families or gotras briefly, we look into them individually according as they sprang first from the Solar race and then from the Lunar race.

A. *The Gotras in the Solar Race :*

In the Solar race there were five princes viz, Dhṛṣṭa, Rathītara, Agniveśya, Hārīta and Viṣṇuvṛddha who were founders of the Brāhmaṇa gotras. Of these, the first gotra was separate, the third was closely connected with the Vasiṣṭhas and the rest were affiliated to the Āṅgirasa family. They are considered here in order of their origin as follows :—

(i) *Dhārṣṭas :* From Dhṛṣṭa, the son of Manu, descended the Dhārṣṭas who were Kṣatriyas; but many of them became Brāhmaṇas(*brahma-bhūya*).[1] The Garuḍa-Purāṇa[2] says that the Dhārṣṭas or Dhārṣṭakas became Vaiśyas ; other Purāṇas say that they remained Kṣatriyas.[3] So it seems that a number of descendants called Dhārṣṭas came from Dhṛṣṭa ; among them a few were Vaiśyas, some were Kṣatriyas while the greater number of them became Brāhmaṇas as the term *brahma-bhūya* suggests. Nothing further is known about the Dhārṣṭas ; and the Dhārṣṭa-Brāhmaṇas, the earliest of their kind, do not seem to be connected with any of the chief Brāhmaṇa-vaṁśas.

(ii) *Rathītaras :* The Rathītara gotra of the Kṣatriya-*cum*-Brāhmaṇas descended from Rathītara, the fifth descendant of Manu's son Nabhaga. It is said that he was issueless. So, according to his wish, hermit Aṅgiras produced sons in his wife (*kṣetra*).[4] Being the kṣetraja sons of Rathītara these sons were called the Rathītaras and being born through the employment (*niyoga*) of Aṅgiras they were also known as the Āṅgirasas. Thus they could claim both Kṣatriya and Brāhmaṇa paternities either alternatively or simultaneously. This is said in the following vein :

> *ete kṣetre prasūtā vai punas tvāṅgirasāḥ smṛtāḥ.*
> *rathītarāṇāṁ pravarāḥ kṣatro'petā dvi-jātayaḥ* ..[5]

Other Purāṇas also give this verse but the word *kṣetre* is read in them as *kṣatra*[6] ; the meaning then would be that the Rathītaras were born

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[1] 9.2.17ab ; Here Śrīdhara comments :—ब्रह्मभूयं ब्राह्मणत्वम् ।

[2] Garuḍa-Purāṇa—1.138.15.

[3] vide AIHT p. 256, notes 2 and 3.

[4] 9.6.2.

[5] 9.6.3.

[6] vide AIHT p. 246, note 7.

Kṣatriyas and later on joined the Āṅgirasas. So, even if their Brāhmaṇa paternity may not be conceded, it is certain that the Rathītaras bore a gotra in the Āṅgirasa family, as the Matsya-Purāṇa also specifically says.[1]

(iii) *Āgniveśyāyanas :* The tenth and the last known descendant of Manu's son Nariṣyanta was Agniveśya. He was the great hermit well-known by two other names—Kānīna and Jātūkarṇya. From him descended the Brāhmaṇa gotra called Āgniveśyāyana.[2] This gotra was probably associated with the Vasiṣṭha family.[3] Some Purāṇas say that Nariṣyanta's offspring were the Śakas.[4] But this statement, if true, more probably refers to Nariṣyanta, the king of the Vaiśāla dynasty, whom the Bhāgavata has omitted.[5] The Śakas lay outside India and first appear among those hordes who entered India at the time of Sagara,[6] the second paramount monarch of Ayodhyā and a contemporary of this another Nariṣyanta[7] exactly at the end of the golden age. Hence the Śakas may be connected in any manner whatsoever with this later Nariṣyanta only and not with Manu's son Nariṣyanta whose tenth lineal descendant was Agniveśya. So, the Āgniveśyāyana was a Brāhmaṇa gotra of repute in the first half of the golden age.

(iv & v) *Hārītas and Viṣṇuvṛddhas :* Yuvanāśva II's son was Māndhātṛ, the first paramount monarch of Ayodhyā.[8] The Bhāgavata says that Māndhātṛ's distinguished (*pravara*) son Ambarīṣa, his son 'Yauvanāśva' (or Yauvanāśva may be the patronymic of Ambarīṣa who was adopted by his grandfather Yuvanāśva II as his son[9]) and his son Hārīta founded different branches (*pravara*) under the Māndhātṛ gotra.[10] And, it is known from other sources that the Māndhātṛ gotra with all its branches joined the Āṅgirasa-vaṁśa.[11] Besides the distinguished son Ambarīṣa, Māndhātṛ had two more sons viz, Purukutsa and Mucukunda.[1] It is said in four other Purāṇas that Purukutsa's great-grandson was Viṣṇuvṛddha (whom the Bhāgavata omits), and from him descended the Kṣatriya-*cum*-Brāhmaṇas called the Viṣṇuvṛddhas who joined the Āṅgirasa-vaṁśa. These Purāṇas say the same about the Hārītas noted above.[2] The emergence of these two important sub-families among the immediate descendants of Māndhātṛ may be shown thus :—[3]

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[1] Matsya-Purāṇa 196.38; vide AIHT pp. 225,247.

[2] 9.2.21-22ab.

[3] vide *Vasiṣṭhas, ante* pp. 239-40.

[4] vide AIHT p. 256, note 6.

[5] See no. 41 in the Dynastic List of Vaiśālī—Chapter VI, p. 142.

[6] 9.8.5cd-7ab.

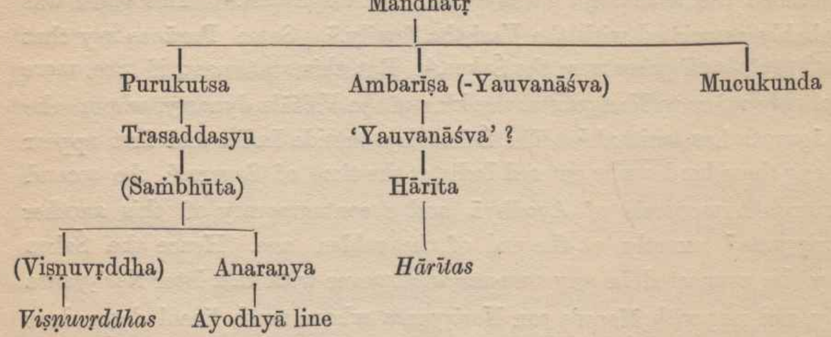
[7] See their respective Dynastic Lists (*ante* pp.142 and 144) where both names appear aganist the same number, i.e., 41.

[8] 9.6.30cd.

[9] The distinguished position of Ambarīṣa based on this patronymic is as follows :—अम्बरीषः पुत्र-प्रवरः पुत्र-श्रेष्ठः स पितामहेन युवनाश्वेन प्रवृत्तः पुत्रत्वेन स्वीकृतः। अतएव तस्य-मान्धातृप्रवर्यत्वम् (Śrīdhara on 9.7.1).

[10] 9.7.1-2ab.

[11] vide AIHT p. 246; Śrīdhara (on 9.7.2) cites Āśvalāyana to say that all these branches belonged to the Āṅgirasa family.



B. *The Gotras in the Lunar Race :*

In the Lunar race there were ten Brāhmaṇa sub-families. Of these, the earliest two emerged from the sub-lines of the Kāśī dynasty and the rest from the Paurava family. The founders of the earliest two were Śaunaka and Akriya (Ārṣṭiṣeṇa), and the affiliation of their sub-families is not certain. The phenomenon of the emergence of Kṣatriya-*cum*-Brāhmaṇa sub-families comes into full swing among the Pauravas after the time of Bharata ; and can be best studied among the junior branches of the Bhāratas. So, after taking into account the earliest two sub-families, we shall see the full swing of the phenomenon with a preface fixed to it separately.

(i) *Śaunakas :* Kṣatravṛddha, the grandson of Purūravas Aila and founder of the Kāśī dynasty, had a grandson viz, Gṛtsamada. Gṛtsamada's son was Śunaka and his son was Śaunaka, the celebrated hermit of the Ṛg-Veda, from whom descended the Śaunakas.[4] There is another version also of the origin of the Śaunakas given in the Mahābhārata[5] which says that the Śaunakas descended from Śunaka who was the 13th descendant of

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[1] 9.6.38cd.

[2] vide AIHT p. 246.

[3] For the positions of all are mentioned in the chart—see the Dynastic List of Ayodhyā, Chapter VI, p. 143 ; nos.—20-25. These sub-families flourished in the second phase of the golden age.

[4] 9.17.3bcd.

[5] vide AIHT p. 201.

Gṛtsamada, the son of Vītihotra (or Vītahavya).[1] Thus the Bhāgavata version makes the Śaunakas descend early in the golden age while the Mahābhārata version in the first phase of the silver age; but both the versions make Gṛtsamada the ancestor of the Śaunakas. It may be that there were two Gṛtsamadas and therefore two Śaunaka gotras. Far later at the close of the copper age, a hermit by name Gṛtsamada appears with Bhīṣma.[2] More than a century later, a hermit by name Śaunaka was the chief of the hermits of Naimiṣa who performed a long-lasting Satra there.[3] Hence it can be said that there were many Gṛtsamadas and many Śaunakas. It is, therefore, not certain to which family the two Śaunaka gotras belonged. Perhaps the earlier gotra, mentioned by the Bhāgavata, is named among the Ātreyas;[4] and the later gotra, mentioned by the Mahābhārata, among the Bhārgavas.[5]

(ii) *Ākriyas or Ārṣṭiṣeṇas :* Rambha, the brother of Kṣatravṛddha,[6] had a great-grandson viz, Akriya and his kṣetraja sons became Brāhmaṇas;[7] who may be called Ākriyas in the absence of any gotra-name. Similarly, other Purāṇas say that Kṣatravṛddha's great-grandson (in a junior line) was Ārṣṭiṣeṇa from whom descended the Ārṣṭiṣeṇas who were Kṣatriya-*cum*-Brāhmaṇas.[8] Both the statements, i.e., of the Bhāgavata and of other Purāṇas, clearly indicate that both the gotras emerged at the same time from the akin source and were of the same character.[9] So, it seems definite that they were not the two gotras but one and the same—the former being the variant name of the later.[10] But this ancient prince and gotra-founder Ārṣṭiṣeṇa (Akriya), who flourished in the early part of the golden age, should be clearly distinguished from Devāpi-Ārṣṭiṣeṇa who lived far later at the close of the copper age.[11] Nothing can be said about the affiliation of the Ārṣṭiṣeṇas, as it is not known that they were admitted into any of the great Brāhmaṇa families.[1]

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[1] For the position of Vītihotra see no. 41 in the Table of Hermits—Chapter VIII, p. 231; and for his details—pp. 235-36.

[2] 1.9.7.

[3] 1.1.4; For the time and details of this Śaunaka—see Chapter IX, p. 280.

[4] vide AIHT p. 247.

[5] ibid., p. 201.

[6] 9.17.1.

[7] 9.17.10cd-11a.

[8] vide AIHT p. 247.

[9] The Bhāgavata tells that the Ākriyas were the *kṣetraja* sons while other Purāṇas call Ārṣṭiṣeṇas as *kṣatropetā dvijātayaḥ*. Both the terms suggest that they were in a position to be both Kṣatriya and Brāhmaṇa.

[10] Ārṣṭiṣeṇa is the more justified name than Akriya because a hermit of this name appears in one of the Bhāgavata lists of hermits (1.19.10).

[11] For the time and details of Devāpi whose patronymic was Ārṣṭiṣeṇa—see Chapter VIII, pp. 250-51.

(B-ii-a) *Preface to the Phenomenon among the Bhāratas :* The number of the sub-families are the largest among the Pauravas ; and the Bhāgavata has taken cognisance of this before it started describing the family of Pūru.[2] There were eight sub-families which sprang from among the Pauravas, particularly in the junior lines of the Bhāratas after the time of Bharata ; with the exception of one, the earliest, which is said to be of the Kāṇvas but which was probably of the Priyamedhas, as will appear. As for the character of these sub-families, it has been pointed out[3] that the king Bharata adopted the Āṅgirasa hermit Bharadvāja's son (or descendant) Vitatha (or Vidathin) who continued the Paurava lineage and dynasty. So, it was natural that the Bhāratas would have asserted either Kṣatriya paternity or Brāhmaṇa paternity or both combined ; and also that the sub-families emerging from among them joined the Āṅgirasa family. As for the account of these sub-families, the Bhāgavata has given the name of the gotra-founders only ; and that too with a few omissions. Moreover, the names given by the Bhāgavata vary from other Purāṇas. So, to enumerate them correctly and fully we have to supply the names etc. from Pargiter's book.[4] Further, the enumeration also requires a preliminary note on their origin. Bharata's adopted son was Vitatha and his son was Manyu (Bhuvamanyu). Manyu had five sons of whom four are important in this context viz, Bṛhatkṣatra, Mahāvīrya, Nara and Garga.[5] From the three younger sons of Manyu sprang four Brāhmaṇa sub-families thus : from Mahāvirya, the Urukṣayas and Kāpyas ; from Nara, the Sāṅkṛtis ; and from Garga, the Gārgyas. Bṛhatkṣatra's grandson (or great-great-grandson[6]) was Ajamīḍha, and it is said that his descendants (*vaṁśyāḥ*), the Priyamedhas etc., became Brāhmaṇas.[7] But, as we shall see, the position of the Priyamedhas can be interchanged with the Kāṇvas who are assigned earlier origin.[8] Thus there were six sub-families among which the Priyamedhas may be the earliest and the remaining five emerged in the middle of the silver age. Later on, at the close of the silver age, sprang the Brāhmaṇa gotra called Maudgalya from Mudgala, the 8th descendant of Ajamīḍha[1] Lastly, sprang the Maitreyas from Mudgala's grandson Maitreya, although the Bhāgavata does not take notice of this last gotra. In this way there were eight sub-families among the Pauravas, and excepting one all emerged after Bharata's time. So they may be said to have sprung from among the Bhāratas. Having thus prefaced a note on the character, account and origin of these gotras, we consider them chronologically inserting in brackets the names of the gotra-founders and gotras given by other Purāṇas wherever necessary.

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[1] vide AIHT p. 247.

[2] 9.20.1 :—श्री शुक उवाच
पूरोर्वंशं प्रवक्ष्यामि यत्र जातोऽसि भारत ।
यत्र राजर्षयो वंश्या ब्रह्म-वंश्याश्च जज्ञिरे ।।

[3] vide Chapter VII, p. 209.

[4] cf. AIHT pp. 248-50 ; esp. p. 112.

[5] 9.21.1abc.

[6] See the Dynastic List of the Pauravas (p. 149) where Suhotra, omitted by the Bhāgavata, appears at no. 50, as the son of Bṛhatkṣatra ; and another blank space at no. 52 (p. 150) is also there.

[7] 9.21.21cd.

[8] 9.20.7ab.

(iii & iv) *Urukṣayas and Kāpyas :* Mahāvīrya's son Duritakṣaya (Urukṣaya) had three sons viz, Trayyāruṇi (Trayyāruṇa), Puṣkarāruṇi (Puṣkarin) and Kavi (Kapi) who all became Brāhmaṇas.[2] The descendants of the first two sons were known as the Urukṣayas, while that of the third as the Kāpyas. Both these gotras are mentioned in the Āṅgirasa-vaṁśa.[3]

(v) *Sāṅkṛtis :* Nara's son Saṅkṛti had two sons viz, Guru (Gurudhī) and Rantideva.[4] The Bhāgavata does not explicitly say that the Sāṅkṛtis became Brāhmaṇas, but the phenomenon is implied in the account of Saṅkṛti's descendants. The Bhāgavata applauds Rantideva's widespread fame,[5] and vividly describes his feeling of natural mercy for all living beings.[6] It is said that the descendants of Rantideva became Yogins and devotees of Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu.[7] So, it is apparent that the Sāṅkṛtis, descending from Rantideva, became Brāhmaṇas. As for Guru, the first son of Saṅkṛti, his name is spelt in various ways in the Purāṇas, and the Bhāgavata is silent about his descendants. Saṅkṛti is named as a hymn-maker among the Āṅgirasas ; and so the Sāṅkṛtis including Guru's progeny must have joined the Āṅgirasa-vaṁśa.[8]

(vi) *Gārgyas :* Garga's son was Śini and from him sprang the Gārgya gotra of the Brāhmaṇas,[9] which may be called Śainya-Gārgya also. This was the well-known sub-family of the Āṅgirasa-vaṁśa in which Garga and Śini are named as hymn-makers.[10] A Garga, who was the family-priest of the Yādavas, had initiated Kṛṣṇa to the preliminary rites for a twice-born in a ceremony observed privately at Vraja in Nanda's house.[1] The same or another Garga was the priest in the Rājasūya sacrifice performed by Yudhiṣṭhira.[2] The Mahābhārata similarly mentions many Gargas.[3]

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[1] 9.21.33ab.

[2] 9.21.19cd-20ab.

[3] vide AIHT pp. 111, 250.

[4] 9.21.1d-2ab.

[5] 9.21.2cd.

[6] 9.21.3-17.

[7] 9.22.18.

[8] cf. AIHT pp. 248-249.

[9] 9.21.19ab.

[10] vide AIHT p. 249.

(vii) *Praskaṇvas or Kāṇvas :* A statement in the Bhāgavata shows the origin of the Kāṇvas (?) at a point which falls in the middle of the golden age (?). Accordingly, the early Paurava king Rantibhāra (or Matināra—no. 19), who flourished 25 generations before Bharata[4] (no. 44), had a grandson viz, Kaṇva and his son was Medhātithi from whom descended the Praskaṇva (Kāṇvas) etc. who were Brāhmaṇas.[5] Similar statements are found in three other Purāṇas also. But there are four other Purāṇas which assign later origin to the Kāṇvas. They do admit that the Kāṇvas descended from Medhātithi who was the son of Kaṇva, but disagreeing on the paternity of this Kaṇva they say that he was the son of Ajamīḍha (no. 53), who was Rantibhāra's successor by some 34 generations. Thus the two versions of the origin of the Kāṇvas, each given by four Purāṇas, agree on the starting point viz, Medhātithi, son of Kaṇva ; but involve discrepancy as to the time when Kaṇva lived, i.e., whether the father of this gotra-founder Medhātithi was the grand-son of Rantibhāra or son of Ajamīḍha. It cannot be adduced here to reconcile the two versions that there were two Kāṇva gotras at two different times, as said above in the case of the Śaunakas. The versions imply that they are referring to one and the same gotra. So Pargiter, after the scrutiny of these diverging statements in the light of other synchronisms and Ṛg-Vedic references, arrives at the conclusion that the weight of authority is in favour of the later origin of the Kāṇvas ; and that they belonged to the Āṅgirasa-vaṁśa.[6] This means that the Kāṇvas sprang from Ajamīḍha's grandson viz, Medhātithi-Kāṇva in the middle of the silver age, and not from Rantibhāra's great-grandson of the same name and patronymic who was living in the middle of the golden age, as the Bhāgavata and three other Purāṇas say.[7]

(viii) *Priyamedhas vis-a-vis Kāṇvas :* But the acceptance of the later origin of the Kāṇvas raises another issue so far as a statement in our Purāṇa is concerned. The Bhāgavata derives another gotra from the very point whence the later origin of the Kāṇvas is asserted. It says that

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[1] 10.8.12-19.

[2] 10.74.8.

[3] vide AIHT p. 250.

[4] vide the Dynastic List of the Pauravas—Chapter VI, p. 149.

[5] 9.20.6-7ab.

[6] cf. AIHT. pp. 225-227.

[7] A hermit by name Medhātithi is mentioned with Parīkṣit II (1. 19.10).

Ajamīḍha's descendants Priyamedha etc. became Brāhmaṇas.[1] This statement cannot be stultified as the Priyamedhas were a gotra in the Āṅgirasa-vaṁśa[2]. So, to reconcile the juxtaposition of the two gotras, we may place the Priyamedhas at the time where the earlier origin of the Kāṇvas (Praskaṇvas) is said by the Bhāgavata, especially because the place has fallen vacant in view of their later origin being accepted. This mutual exchange of the points of origin of the two gotras is somewhat supported by the names of the gotra-founders themselves. Medhātithi, as we have seen, is the starting point of the Kāṇvas; and Priyamedha, who may be the founder of the Priyamedhas, seems to be the variant name of the former. So, this slight similarity of names might have led to the confusion of the two in the Bhāgavata, resulting in the emergence of the Priyamedhas at the point where Medhātithi was, in fact, the founder of the Kāṇva gotra, according to the accepted version. As the Bhāgavata has omitted Medhātithi from his proper place by placing him too earlier, automatically the Priyamedhas came in to fill up the place fallen vacant by the omission. Now the later origin of the Kāṇvas being accepted, the Priyamedhas may well ascend to the point of the earlier origin of the Kāṇvas ; and may then fall in the category of the earliest Brāhmaṇa sub-families in the Lunar race next to the Śaunakas and Ārṣṭiṣeṇas that sprang from the Kāśī dynasty. In this way the Priyamedhas, according to this exchanged position, emerged in the middle of the golden age and may be called the first gotra in so far as the Pauravas are concerned.

(ix & x) *Maudgalyas and Maitreyas :* A group of Brāhmaṇa gotras arose out of the N. Pañcāla dynasty of which the Bhāgavata takes notice of one only. It says that from Ajamīḍha's 8th descendant Mudgala (no. 60) descended the Maudgalya gotra of the Brāhamṇas ;[3] and it is informed by other Purāṇas that this gotra joined the Āṅgirasa-vaṁśa[4]. Further, it is known from the Ṛg-Veda that Mudgala's grandson Vadhṛyaśva (no. 62) and great-grandson Divodāsa (no. 63), the two famous N. Pañcāla kings, exercised priestly functions ; and both of them are mentioned by other Purāṇas in their lists of the Bhārgava-vaṁśa. The descendants of these two king-*cum*-priests, known as the Vadhṛyaśvas and Daivodāsas, were also the reputed authors of the Ṛg-Vedic hymns[5]. Divodāsa's son was Mitreyu[6] (or Mitrayu—no. 64). It is said in other Purāṇas that he was a Brāhmaṇa and his son was Maitreya (omitted by the Bhāgavata), from whom came the Maitreyas, who joined the Bhārgavas ; and accordingly, they were named in the Bhārgava-vaṁśa, But neither the Maudgalyas nor the Maitreyas produced any hermit of note[1]. The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa professes to have been declared by Parāśara to a Maitreya. The third and the fourth skandhas of the Bhāgavata are narrated by a Maitreya, the son of the hermit Kuṣārava,[2] to Vidura. This Maitreya of the Bhāgavata and the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa seems to be the same as the priest in the Rājasūya sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira ;[3] and another or the same was present at the time of Parīkṣit II[4]. From the position of the gotra-founders viz, Mudgala and Maitreya, it may be said that the Maudgalya and Maitreya gotras emerged at the close of and at the end of the silver age respectively.

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[1] 9.21.21cd.

[2] vide AIHT p. 226.

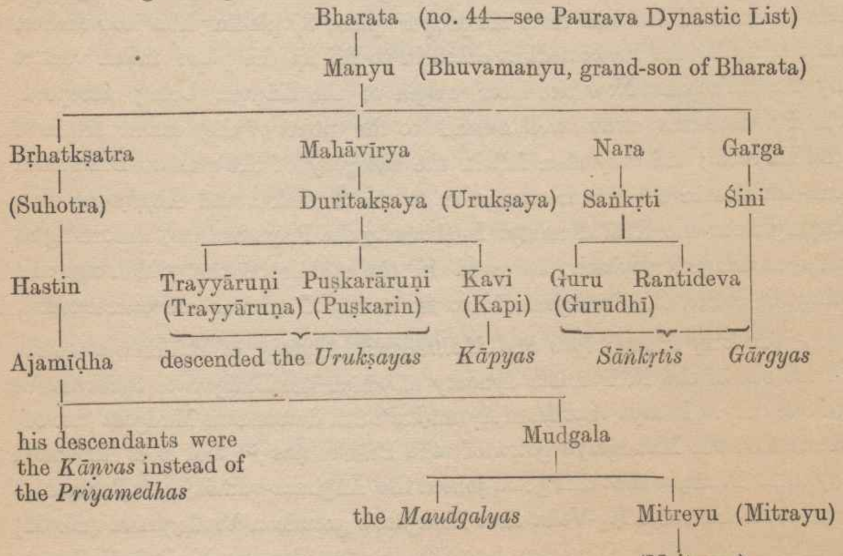
[3] 9.21.33cd.

[4] vide AIHT p. 251.

[5] ibid.

[6] 9.22.1a.

In this way the consideration of eight sub-families presenting the phenomenon in full swing ends here. All these may be collectively shown in a genealogical tree of Bharata as follows :—


Bharata (no. 44—see Paurava Dynastic List)
Manyu (Bhuvamanyu, grand-son of Bharata)
Bṛhatkṣatra
(Suhotra)
Hastin
Ajamīḍha
his descendants were the *Kāṇvas* instead of the *Priyamedhas*
Mahāvīrya
Duritakṣaya (Urukṣaya)
Trayyāruṇi (Trayyāruṇa)
Puṣkarāruṇi (Puṣkarin)
descended the *Urukṣayas*
Kavi (Kapi)
Kāpyas
Nara
Saṅkṛti
Guru (Gurudhī)
Rantideva
Sāṅkṛtis
Garga
Śini
Gārgyas
Mudgala
the *Maudgalyas*
Mitreyu (Mitrayu)
(Maitreya)
the *Maitreyas*

CONCLUSION

The phenomenon of the emergence of the Brāhmaṇa gotras or of the Kṣatriya-*cum*-Brāhmaṇa sub-families occurred rarely and only in the first period of history in the Solar race ; while oftener and mostly in the second period of history in the Lunar race. But here we are confronted with the problem of inconsistency. If we accept that the Brāhmaṇa gotras emerged or were affiliated to the original Brāhmaṇa families in the first period of history, i.e., the golden age, how can we reconcile it with the declaration of the Bhāgavata that the concept of customary morality (*varṇā'śrama-dharma*) ushered in the second period of history, i.e., the silver age, as already noticed at the beginning of this Chapter. It may be adduced in answer that the religious code for a caste (*varṇa-dharma*) and that for a stage of life (*āśrama-dharma*) came into practice in the silver age, while formulation of the castes, not the caste system, was already a *fait accompli* the golden age of the Ṛg-Veda.[1]

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[1] vide AIHT p. 251.

[2] 3.4.26.

[3] 10.74.7.

[4] 1.19.10.

(i) *Flexibility in the Caste System :* The phenomenon, then, reflects the absence of rigidity in the constitution of the castes. In the golden age when the castes were under formulation, the members of the royal families moved about with freedom to join any caste and most of them preferred to become Brāhmaṇas, although there are instances of becoming Vaiśyas also. When customary morality ushered in the succeeding age, there are still more examples of Kṣatriyas becoming Brāhmaṇas ; and this shows that there was flexibility in the caste system and heredity was not the only criterion for the membership of the Brāhmaṇa caste far less for other castes then. We also know[2] that at each stage of tradition there were princes who became recluses and attained the status of a hermit that was tantamount to becoming Brāhmaṇas. The glaring example in this respect is of Viśvāmitra who established a Brāhmaṇa family of his own having qualified himself by long austerities. One might argue that Viśvāmitra's status was challenged by Vasiṣṭha ; and so there was difficulty in the assumption of Brāhmaṇahood. But this plea is rendered void when we find that there is no indication of such difficulty in the phenomenon, as traced above. The Kṣatriya princes, excepting the great Viśvāmitra, underwent no initiation or penance before becoming Brāhmaṇas. All the statements with regard to the emergence of the Brāhmaṇa gotras plainly declare that the princes *became* Brāhmaṇas or *were* Brāhmaṇas ; and this means that they merely assumed Brāhmaṇahood for which they must have full freedom. Besides this general answer to the plea, it can be nullified by its own example also. It is true that there was feud between Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha ;[3] and the latter challenged the status of the former. But this was personal rivalry and need not be taken as the general denial of a Kṣatriya's right to become a Brāhmaṇa.

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[1] cf. VA—note 1 on p. 403—Here the writer V. M. Apte makes this distinction in point of time with regard to the origin of the castes.

[2] See *ante* pp. 81, 226, 251.

[3] For the details of this feud, see Chapter VIII, pp. 238, 246-7.

(ii) *Review :* A review of the phenomenon is presented here in two charts showing its occurrence in the two races distinctly at a glance. In the Solar race five sub-families of the Brāhmaṇas emerged in the golden age. Of these, the first three were from among the lines of Manu's sons ; and the two from among the immediate descendants of Māndhātṛ. The following chart shows their name, affiliation and approximate time during the age of emergence.

Brāhmaṇa Gotras in the Solar Race

S. No.	Name of the Brāhmaṇa gotra	Brāhmaṇa-vaṁśa to which affiliated	Dynasty to which belonged	Time during the golden age
1.	Dhārṣṭa	Separate	Line of Manu's son	Earliest
2.	Rathītara	Āṅgirasa	Line of Manu's son	Earlier
3.	Āgniveśyāyana	Vasiṣṭha	Line of Manu's son	First half
4.	Hārīta	Āṅgirasa	Ayodhyā	Second half
5.	Viṣṇuvṛddha	Āṅgirasa	Ayodhyā	Second half

In the Lunar race ten sub-families emerged. Of which the earliest two were from the Kāśī dynasty, and the remaining eight came from the Paurava Family. Of these eight, one earliest, whose name and place are doubtful, came from the Pauravas immediate and later on five emerged from among the Bhāratas who belonged to the main line of the Paurava Family. Rest of the two came from the N. Pañcāla dynasty, the branch line comprising the offshoots of the Bhāratas. As in the above chart, all these may be shown as follows :—

Brāhmaṇa Gotras in the Lunar Race

S. No.	Name of the Brāhmaṇa gotra	Brāhmaṇa-vaṁśa to which affiliated	Dynasty to which belonged	Time of emergence	
1.	Śaunaka	Ātreya ?	Kāśī	Earliest in	The golden age
2.	Ārṣṭiṣeṇa (Ākriya)	uncertain	Kāśī	Earlier in	
3.	Priyamedha ?	Āṅgirasa	Paurava	Middle of	
4.	Urukṣaya	Āṅgirasa	Bhārata	Middle of	The silver age
5.	Kāpya	do.	do.	do.	
6.	Sāṅkṛti	do.	do.	do.	
7.	Gārgya	do.	do.	do.	
8.	Kāṇva ?	do.	do.	do.	
9.	Maudgalya	do.	N. Pañcāla	At the close of	
10.	Maitreya	Bhārgava	N. Pañcāla	At the end of	

RELIGIOUS CODES FOR THE STAGES OF LIFE (EXPOSITORY)

THE STAGE OF CELEBACY
THE STAGE OE THE HOUSEHOLDER
THE STAGE OF RESORTING TO FOREST
THE STAGE OF THE RECLUSE
LIFE OF PEOPLE IN THE KALI AGE

[XII] RELIGIOUS CODES FOR THE STAGES OF LIFE (EXPOSITORY)

As to the growth of the individual, man was conceived to live up to one hundred years. His life was, therefore, broadly divided into four equal parts[1]. The Dharma-śāstras recommended certain practices to be adopted in each part so that man may grow to the full stature of humanity. The four parts or stages of life in which these practices were observed came to be styled as āśramas[2]. Like the four castes, the Bhāgavata relegates the four āśramas also to the *Vairāja-puruṣa*, the substratum of the fourteen worlds. Accordingly, Brahma-carya is said to be his heart, Gārhasthya his thighs, Vāna-prastha his breast and Saṁ-nyāsa his head[3]. Largely along the lines of Manu, the Bhāgavata has described these āśramas and their respective practices to which we look into in the following manner :

THE STAGE OF CELEBACY

The stage of celebacy (*brahmacarya-āśrama*) constituted the first part of life. According to the Bhāgavata, a preceptor (*ācārya*[4]) initiates the boys of the upper three castes to the rites for a twice-born (*dvija*) in the ceremony called upanayana[5]. After the investiture of the sacred thread (*sūtra* or *upavīta*) the boy is led to the guru-kula, the academic residence of the ācārya, where he stays up to the age of twenty-five years for reading the Vedas[6]. At guru-kula, the boy is called brahma-cārin because he is avowedly given to the reading of the Vedas (*brahman* or *brāhma*) ; and also because he observes the vow of celebacy (*brahma-carya* or *sāvitra*)[7]. From the time of his entry in a guru-kula, the boy also observes a particular fast lasting for one year (*prājāpatya*)[8].

(i) *The Rules and Regulations of a Guru-kula :* There are two types of brahma-carin : one is upakurvāṇaka who leaves the guru-kula after the prescribed period, and the other is naiṣṭhika, who having taken the vow of lifelong celebacy (*Bṛhat-vrata*), stays at the guru-kula up to the last[1]. A naiṣṭhika-brahmacārin (confirmed trainee) surrenders himself to the preceptor as a tribute for the knowledge he has received and yet to be received[2]. The rules and regulations (*dharma*) prescribed for a upakurvāṇaka celebate reading the Vedas (*brahma-cārin*) while living in the guru-kula with his preceptor (*ante-vāsin*) may be summarised thus: A brahma-cārin would hold the sacrificial thread on his body. He would wear an upper garment of skin, a garland of *rudrākṣa* beads and three girdles (*tri-mekhalā*) as the waist-band. He would keep *kuśa* grass, a water-pot, a club of *palāśa* tree and a hairy skin especially of black antelope to be used as a seat (*āsana*). His hair would remain undressed and bound with matted locks. He would beg the doles of food daily for the preceptor and would take measured food with his permission. He would keep silence in his daily routines, such as answering to the calls of nature, bathing, offering oblations on fire, eating etc. He would worship the sun-god and the god of fire twice daily and perform his daily prayer (*sandhyā*) thrice with the recitation of the Gāyatrī. He would have reverential attitude towards the Brāhmaṇas, elder people and the cows. To wait upon the preceptor would be his most important daily duty. He would observe absolute continence; and in case there is an unconscious lapse he would take a plunge bath and control the nerve-currents by the regulation of breath (*prāṇā'yāma*) while reciting the Gāyatrī. He would avoid all types of contact with women excepting the required business (e.g., for begging). Shunning all talks about them he would do no manual work for young women including the wife of his preceptor. He would never be in the vicinity of women whosoever she may be, mother or sister. The rule concerning his contact with women is absolute and brooks no exception because the restive organs are liable to disturb the mind of even the person who has control over the senses[3].

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[1] vide PSB Vol. II., p. 33.

[2] MS 6.87.

[3] 11.17.13 ; cf. 11.5.2.

[4] cf. MS 2.140 ; Śrīdhara (on 6.7.29) defines ācārya as follows :—
आचार्यं उपनीय वेदाध्यापकः ।

[5] MS 2.36 ; For the details of the upanayana-ceremony, vide Chapter X, p. 297.

[6] 11.17.21.

[7] 3.12.42ab.

[8] ibid. ; cf. MS 11.105.

(ii) *The Gurus and the Knowledges:* "God is the primordial teacher (*parama-guru*)[4] sending His spiritual message through all (*jagad-guru*)[5]. He combines within Himself the teacher, the soul, the friend and the Lord. He is the guide, the spiritual link of supreme consciousness between man and his highest good, and finally the *summum bonum* of spiritual aspirations.[1] The only shelter of the drowning soul, God disentangles the snare of pragmatic existence and leads man to his cherished goal, the land of eternal bliss[2]. As the spiritual teacher *par excellence* God leads us unmistakably to the path of emancipation. God is the unfailing guide, the beacon light that surely points to the goal. So one should depend more on God than on human beings."[3] Yet the Bhāgavata accepts the need of human teachers for men and refers to three hierarchical types of *guru.* The first is one's father who brings about the body and is to be honoured accordingly. The next is the ācārya (preceptor) who imparts the knowledge of the three Vedas (*karma-vidyā*) and is more honourable than the first. The last is the guru (spiritual teacher) who, by communicating the teachings of the Upaniṣads (*Brahma-vidyā*), becomes equivalent to God and deserves the highest honour[4]. Man cannot attain his cherished goal without the grace of the spiritual teacher[5]. The Upaniṣadic knowledge bestowed by the spiritual teacher helps discard ignorance (*anṛta-buddhi*), the seed of karman, through the process of dispelling delusion (Māyā).[6] The conceit of egoity (*ahaṁkaraṇa*) is the cause of bondage. But the sword of knowledge, sharpened by the service rendered to the guru, cuts at the root of it; and the disciple attains emancipation[7]. For receiving this highest knowledge or any other subtle or secret knowledge a disciple has to become the dearest of his guru.[8] And, to fall in the category of his dearest, a disciple serves the guru with unstinted devotion. Characteristically such a disciple is: modest (*a-mānī*), diligent (*dakṣa*), steady (*a-satvara*), not given to vain talking (*a-mogha-vāk*) and free from the feelings of malice, envy and 'Mine' (*anasūyu, a-matsara* and *nir-mama*).[9] The ācārya is the embodiment of Veda (*Veda-mūrti*)[10]. By virtue of his imparting the Vedic knowledge, he is not to be taken as an ordinary mortal but as the representative of all the gods.[11] To render service to the ācārya by the disciple, in the manner shown above, is mandatory for the discharge of his obligations.[12] So, the brahma-cārins at guru-kula serve their ācārya to receive the Vedic knowledge. For those who choose to be naiṣṭhika, the same ācārya may become their spiritual teacher and lead them to the path of emancipation.

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[1] Śrīdhara (on 11.17.21) comments :—ब्रह्मचारिणो धर्मा वर्ण्यन्ते : स च द्विविधः उपकुर्वाणको नैष्ठिकश्च । Elsewhere (on 3.12.42), he comments in the context of the vows (*vrata*) of a brahmacārin :—वृहन्नैष्ठिकम् । vide also MS—2.243.

[2] 11.17.30; MS—2.244.

[3] 7.12.1-12; vide also 11.17.22-29; MS—2.173-222.

[4] 6.9.43; For phraseology see PSB p. 228 ff.

[5] 6.16.65.

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[1] 8.24.52ab ; vide also 10.27.13 ; PSB p. 228.

[2] 8.2.33cd ; and 10.12.39ab ; vide PSB p. 231-32.

[3] 8.24.46d, 50 cd ; vide PSB p. 229.

[4] 10.80.32.

[5] 10.80.43cd.

[6] 10.14.24 ; vide also 11.10.13.

[7] 11.28.17.

[8] 1.1.8cd ; vide also 10.13.3cd.

[9] 11.10.6.

[10] 6.7.29a ; MS—2.226a.

[11] 7.15.26 ; vide also 11.17.26.

[12] 5.11.17 ; vide also 7.15.25 ; 10.80.34,41 ; MS—2.228.

Instructions by a father to his son, by a king to his subject and by a guru to his disciple are necessary for the latter's welfare ; and should be given even without query on the topics useful for them. Otherwise, they are bound to lose sight of their highest good under the compulsion of *Avidyā*, the force of bondage.[1] But this should not be taken to mean that a father may teach his son in the house. According to the Bhāgavata, the stay and study at a guru-kula is essential for all dvijas, Notwithstanding a highly learned Brāhmaṇa father may teach his son methodicallly after performing all the sacred rites upon him, the Bhāgavata does not approve this act of a father and labels it as his obstinacy (*asad āgraha*)[2].

(iii) *The Curriculum of a Guru-kula :* The trayī (the holy trinity of the Ṛk, the Yajus and the Sāman,) the Vedāṅgas (i.e., Śikṣā etc.) and the Upaniṣads form the compulsory subjects of study at a guru-kula, and the brahma-cārins of all the three castes read them according to their ability and as far as useful.[3] Besides, Ānvīkṣikī (Tarka-vidyā), Īkṣā (Ātma-vidyā), Nyāya-paths, (Mīmāṁsā etc.), Dharma-śāstras (Manu-smṛti etc.), Naya, Dama (Daṇḍa-nīti including the four expedients *sāma* etc. and the six expedients *sandhi* etc.), Vārtā (various means of livelihood) and the Scriptures dealing with Tri-varga (i.e., dharma, artha and kāma) are mentioned as other subjects of study ; and the ante-vāsins read them according to their liking.[4] Further, sixty-four types of Kalās (fine arts, crafts and skilled trade) are also included in the curriculum of a guru-kula.[5]

After finishing their daily duties (*nitya-karman*) in the morning, the brahma-cārins sit on their seats (*āsana*) near the feet of their preceptor and start learning through the process of listening and reciting. They repeat aloud the lessons in the same manner as their preceptor does.[6] A parable in the Bhāgavata says that an ācārya is the lower piece of the wood (*araṇi*) ; an ante-vāsin is the upper one ; the instruction (*upadeśa* or *pravacana*) is the attrition of the two pieces ; and, knowledge the fire that is generated in the middle (*sandhi*) of the two.[1] After completing the prescribed tenure of stay at a guru-kula and attaining the Vedic knowledge according to his ability, an upakurvāṇaka returns home to enter the second stage of life.[2] His returning ceremony (*samāvartana-saṁsakāra*) is marked by ablution (*snāna*) that entitles him to the degree of 'Snātaka'. On this occasion he pays tribute to the preceptor in the form of fee (*dakṣiṇā*).[3] The fee, which he gives for the first time at the time of his departure from the guru-kula where he stayed nearly for twelve years, may vary from vegetables to golden ornaments.[4]

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[1] 3.7.36 ; vide also 5.5.15ab. [2] 5.9.4-5. [3] 7.12.13 ; vide also 10.45.33.

[4] (a) 7.6.26ab ; (b) 10.45.34; (c) 7.5.18cd-19ab ; These references are arranged according to the number of the subjects mentioded therein.

[5] 10.45.36ab ; Here Śrīdhara enlists sixty-four types of fine arts etc. (e.g., singing, music, dancing, dramaturgy and so on) from the Śaiva-tantra.

[6] 7.5.3ab ; and 10.20.9d.

THE STAGE OF THE HOUSEHOLDER

"Having obtained solidarity of personality, he (a Snātaka) would enter life—marry and be settled. He is now equipped to utilise the resources, financial and otherwise, to his personal cause, the cause of his family, his society and last, but not the least, the world at large".[5] On this line of thought we may look into how a house-holder serves the above-mentioned causes or interests respectively.

A. *The Personal Cause*

(A-a) *Desires :* Man is impelled by his desires to work for the personal cause ; and gratification of his desires is necessary before one may expect him to attend to the requirements of others such as the family, the soceity and the world. The Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad[6] has pointed out that man is given to three kinds of desire—desire for offspring (*putra-eṣaṇā*), desire for riches (*vitta-eṣaṇā*) and desire for social status (*loka-eṣaṇā*),[7] So, we shall see what the Bhāgavata has to say about the appeasement of these three or four (if the first is bifurcated) inherent desires of man when he is in the stage of the householder (*gārhasthya-āśrama*) as follows :—

(i) *Desire for Offspring*

(a) *Marriage :* Marriage is essential to satisfy the desire for offspring legitimately.[8] A wife of similar disposition is required to assist in the fulfilment of the personal cause and other causes suitably. She satisfies the natural propensities of man and gives birth to progeny through which the anxiety of man to reap the benefits of wealth not only for himself but also for his lineage is rendered smooth.[9] So, with the desire for offspring, a Snātaka should marry and become a householder like Kardama,[10] the progenitor of the pre-Flood tradition, or Āgnīndhra,[1] the son of Priyavrata.

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[1] 11.10.12.
[2] MS 3.1-2.
[3] 11.17.36.
[4] MS—2.246.
[5] PSB Vol. II., p. 33.
[6] BU 3.5.1 ; vide also BU 1.5.17.
[7] vide PSB p. 38.
[8] MS—9.96.
[9] 3.21.15.
[10] 3.22.11-19.

(*a*-i) *Criteria :* A girl of the same caste (*savarṇā*), younger in age and of conduct and family that are unblamable should be accepted in marriage by a Snātaka.[2] Two persons who are kinsmen (*sa-piṇḍa*, i.e., connected with the offering of rice ball or *piṇḍa* to the Fathers) or who belong to the same gotra (*sa-gotra*) should not marry each other.[3] The criteria of suitable marriage are riches (*vitta*), beauty (*ākṛti*), lineal descent (*bhava*) and status (*aiśvarya*)—all of which should be mutually alike in the persons to be wedded. In the absence of mutual likeness of these criteria, the marriage becomes unworthy and is therefore not permitted.[4] As for the age of the girl at the time of marriage, she should not be adult.[5] The Āpastamba-gṛhya-sūtra[6] forbids marriage with the girl reaching the state of puberty. A girl is generally attracted towards moral virtues, knowledge, beauty and youth of her wooer.[7] The consent of the girl must be clearly ascertained through her mother before a father finally fixes her marriage.[8]

(*a*-ii) *The Traditional Forms :* There are eight traditional forms of giving away a girl in marriage (*kanyā-dāna*).[9] Of these, the first and the best is the *brāhma* form in which the bride decorated with garments and decked with ornamets is voluntarily presented by the father to a learned man of good conduct.[10] The second is the *daiva* form in which the girl is presented to the priest on the occasion of some great sacrifice such as Jyotiṣṭoma (Soma sacrifice leading to heaven) etc.[11] The third is the *ārṣa* form in which the girl is given by the father to the bridegroom after taking one or two pairs of cow and bullock, which are either utilized in a sacrifice or they become the girl's property.[12] According to Manu, the pairs so taken by the father are, in no way, to be used by the father for his personal benefit.[13] The fourth is the *prājāpatya* form in which the girl is given by the father in a duly arranged ceremony to somebody with the

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[1] 5.2.2.

[2] 11.17.38abc ; cf. MS.—3.4., 43ab.

[3] MS—3.5.

[4] 10.60.15.

[5] MS—9.94.

[6] Āp-gṛ-sūtra—1.3.11.

[7] 3.22.10.

[8] 3.22.22ab.

[9] MS 3.21 ; Yājñavalkya-smṛti 1.58-61 ; Most of the Dharma-sūtras and the Dharma-śāstras describe these eight forms, while among the Gṛhya-sūtras only the Āśvalāyana do so (vide VA p. 516).

[10] MS—3.27

[11] MS—3.28.

[12] MS—3.29.

[13] MS—3.53.

hope that both shall lead a religious life happily.[1] The fifth is the *āsura* form in which the girl is accepted by the bridegroom in a ceremony after giving some wealth to her father, kinsmen and the bride herself.[2] The sixth is the *gandharva* form in which the marriage proceeds entirely from attachment of a youth and a maiden to each other.[3] The seventh is the *rākṣasa* form in which an unwilling girl is forcibly abducted; and if the relatives etc. oppose the practice they are fitly beaten and defeated.[4] The last and the worst form is *paiśāca* in which a lover, by stealth, ravishes a maiden when she is helpless to resist and their sexual union culminates in marriage.[5] It is now intended to look into the marriages mentioned by the Bhāgavata keeping eye on how they fall in with the above forms.

(*a*-iii) *The Concurring Instances:* According to the Bhāgavata,[6] the first type marriage ceremony (*ādya-vaivāhika-vidhi*) was that of (i) Kardama and Devahūti which was performed at the beginning of the first Manu-period.[7] Kardama, who had completed the tenure of training at the guru-kula as an upakurvāṇa, was as anxious to enter life and marry as the first Manu was to present his daughter Devahūti to him.[8] Devahūti was also attached towards Kardama; and so the father married her with him while the mother gave wedding presents (*pāribarha*) that included wealth, ornaments, dresses and articles of household use.[9] This professed 'first marriage' fully concur with the first and the best form viz, the *brāhma*. As for the *daiva* form, the marriage between the hermit (ii) Ṛṣyaśṛṅga and Śāntā may be cited. Enticed by rural women, the hermit was brought to the capital of the Aṅga kingdom where he conducted a sacrifice (*iṣṭi*) for the king Romapāda. On this occasion the king married his adopted daughter Śāntā to him.[10] Although the sacrifice was not a great one, it may be conceded that the marriage was of the *daiva* sort as it coincides with the sacrifice. There is no instance of marriage in the Bhāgavata which may concur with the *ārṣa* form. (iii) Jamadagni's marriage with Reṇukā, though performed on the former's wish, seems to be of *prājāpatya* sort, for the father of the girl married her without taking anything in exchange[11]; and also because both led a religious life in which Reṇukā served her husband faithfully throughout her life with the exception that once for a moment there was slight infidelity in her conduct.[1] (iv) Ṛcīka Bhārgava sought to gain Gādhi's daughter Satyavatī in marriage but the father considered the wooer unsuitable (*vi-sadṛśa*) for her daughter. So he tried to avoid the marriage artfully by making a unique demand of one thousand white horses each having one ear black as the fee (*śulka*) for her. However, the fee was given and the marriage was performed.[2] This is clearly a specimen of the *āsura* form. The marriage which is professedly *gandharva* was that of (v) Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā. It proceeded entirely from love and mutual inclination and was performed on the spot where they met for the first time without consulting the relatives or undergoing any ceremony.[3] The marriage which may be called of the *rākṣasa* sort is that of (vi) Vicitravīrya, on whose behalf Bhīṣma abducted Ambā and Ambālikā, the daughters of the king of Kāśī, from the ceremony of svayam-vara.[4] But Bhīṣma being the abductor, the marriage cannot be of the sort purely. Similarly, it may be said that Kṛṣṇa's marriage with (vii) Rukmiṇī[5] was of the *rākṣasa* sort because he abducted her from svayam-vara ceremony after striking down Jarāsandha, Śālva etc., the supporters of his rival Śiśupāla. But this marriage cannot be termed so because the definition implies unwillingness of the girl in question. And here, the girl hereself was eager to marry Kṛṣṇa; for she had sent a secret message[6] imploring Kṛṣṇa to adopt, if necessary, the so-called *rākṣasa* way to win her by showing his valour (*vīrya*) as the fee (*śulka*) for the purpose.[7] Likewise, Kṛṣṇa abducted (viii) Mitravindā[8] from the svayam-vara ceremony after defeating the kings who obstructed. But the marriage cannot be of the *rākṣasa* sort because the girl was in love with Kṛṣṇa. Yet Kṛṣṇa's marriage with (ix) Lakṣamaṇā[9] (I) may be called of the *rākṣasa* sort, whom he alone abducted from the svayam-vara; for we do not know whether the girl was in love with Kṛṣṇa or not. It may be added in connection with the consideration of the forms of Kṛṣṇa's marriages here that his other marriages cannot be specifically formalised into the above recognised patterns. His marriages with (x) Jāmbavatī[10] and (xi) Satyabhāmā[11] may be called of the *brāhma* sort. (xii) Bhadrā's[12] marriage with him also falls in the same category.

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[1] MS—3.30.
[2] MS—3.31.
[3] MS—3.32.
[4] MS—3.33.
[5] MS—3.34.
[6] 3.22.15.

[7] The term *ādyaḥ* primarily means the 'first' as there was no performance of marriage ceremony before the time mentioned; or it may mean the 'main' also, as says Śrīdhara (on 3.22.25):—आद्यः प्रथमः, ततः पूर्वं विवाहाभावात् ; मुख्य इति वा ।

[8] 3.22.14.
[9] 3.22.21-23.
[10] 9.23.7-9.
[11] 9.15.12cd.

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[1] 9.16.2-3. [2] 9.15.5-7. [3] 9.20.15; For the full story—9.20.8-16.

[4] 9.22.23cd-24ab. N. B.—The ceremony organised for the election of the husband by the girl herself was called *svayam-vara*. [5] 10.52.16-18.

[6] For full message—10.52.37-43. [7] 10.52.41. [8] 10.58.30-31.

[9] 10.58.57. [10] 10.56.32. [11] 10.56.43-44. [12] 10.58.56.

(xiii) Kālindī[1] was the mythical girl who liked to marry none else than Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa. (xiv) Satyā[2] was married by Kṛṣṇa after fulfilling the condition (*samaya*) of controlling the restive bulls, as laid down by her father. Thus these were the eight principal wives of Kṛṣṇa. (xv) Many other girls,[3] whom he released from the custody of a primitive king, liked to marry him ; and their wish was fulfilled.[4] In the context of the *rākṣasa* sort, another notable marriage is that of (xvi) Arjuna and Subhadrā. There was abduction and fight in this marriage, but it cannot be called of the sort in question on the following grounds : Firstly, Arjuna came to Dvārakā in the guise of a yati and not as a wooer. Secondly, he won her love at the first sight. Thirdly, he abducted her with the permission of her father Vasudeva and brother Kṛṣṇa, because Balarāma opposed the idea. Lastly, Balarāma himself, when his anger was pacified, sent wedding presents for the pair.[5]

(*a*-iv) *The Non-concurring Instances :* The instances of marriages, which do not fall in with the above traditional forms any way are as follows :—

(1) A fable[6] describes the marriage of Purūravas Aila with Urvaśī, the celestial nymph who came down from Triviṣṭapa being affected by love-shaft (*smara-śara*) to marry him. But being desirous of leaving him at will, she placed three hazy conditions before the king Purūravas for the marriage. The king accepted them and the love-sick Urvaśī then enjoyed his company for sometime. One night she deserted the husband as there was breach of the conditions laid down by her. The king then wandered like a mad man in frantic search for Urvaśī. Once he saw her in Kurukṣetra ; and tried to make love to her again but in vain. At this juncture, the Bhāgavata[7] invokes the Ṛg-Vedic verse[8] in which Urvaśī cynically asks her lover not to trust the fickle woman and to be patient.

(2) Sāmba, the son of Kṛṣṇa, abducted Lakṣamaṇā (II), the daughter of Duryodhana, from the ceremony organised for the election of the husband by the girl herself (*svayam-vara*).[9] But he was chased and imprisoned by the eleder Kauravas viz, Bhīṣma etc. Anyhow,[10] he was able to get out of the clutches of the powerful Kauravas with the help of Balarāma ; and

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[1] For the full story—10.58.13-29 ; esp., the last verse.

[2] For the full story—10.58.32-47 ; esp., the last verse. [3] 10.58.58.

[4] For the details and import of all the marriages of Bhagavān Śrī-Kṛṣṇa vide Chapter V, pp. 125-6. [5] 10.86.2-12 ; vide also 9.24.55cd.

[6] 9.14.15-35 ; The fable is mentioned in the dialogue-hymn (10.95) of the Ṛg-Veda. [7] 9.14.36. [8] RV 10.95.15. [9] 10.68.1.

[10] For the details of Sāmba's marriage vide Chapter V, p. 133.

with Lakṣamaṇā came back to Dvārakā where he married her.[1] The marriage cannot be said to be of the *rākṣasa* sort on the following grounds : Firstly, the girl could not be eloped and the wooer was arrested. Secondly, Balarāma mediated on the issue. Thirdly, the father of the girl, however, gave wedding presents.

(3) There are two instances of polyandrous type of marriages. The first instance belongs to the pre-Flood tradition. It is said that the ten Pracetas married one girl viz, Māriṣā, the daughter of Kaṇḍu and Pramlocā said to be protected by the trees and nourished by Soma, the king of vegetable kingdom.[2] The next instance occurred at the close of the ancient tradition ; and it is well-known that Draupadī had five Pāṇḍavas as her husbands.[3]

(4) Having resemblance with the time of the occurrence of the above two instances of polyandry, there are two instances of *putrikā-dharma-vivāha*—a marriage in which the father gives his brotherless daughter to somebody on the condition that the son born through her shall be his.[4] Accordingly, the first instance is connected with the first Manu who gave his daughter Ākūti to the progenitor Ruci on the above condition. It may be reminded that the first Manu had already two sons ; but being desirous of many he preferred this type of marrage for Ākūti. When the twin of Yajña and Dakṣiṇā were born through Ākūti and Ruci, Manu adopted Yajña while Dakṣiṇā remained with her parents. Later on, as desired by Dakṣiṇā, Yajña married her. The marriage of these two apparent brother and sister was not contrary to conjugal morality because Yajña was the Descent of Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu and Dakṣiṇā was the part (*aṁśa*) of Lakṣmī.[5] As for the next instance, Arjuna Pāṇḍava married Ulūpī, the Nāga princess, on the same condtion and their son Babhruvāhana was therefore adopted by his maternal grandfather, the Nāga king of Maṇipūra.[6]

(ii) *Desire for Son :* Essentiality of marriage to satisfy the desire for offspring and the forms and instances thereof are noted above. But the desire for male offspring was more keen than that for female one since the beginning of the creation.[7] At the beginning of the ancient tradition, therefore, we find Vaivasvata Manu unhappy over the birth of a daughter viz, Ilā.[1] The custom of *putrikā-dharma-vivāha,* as noted above, may be said a device that satisfied the desire for male offspring, in case a maternal grand-father was sonless. But there were other devices also to satisfy this desire if the wedded pairs were sonless. For example, the motivated actions (*kāmya-karman*) were performed to have a son. So, all the stories mentioned by the Bhāgavata in this respect are noted here with their results ; and are displayed first from the pre-Flood tradition and then from the post-Flood tradition—all in order of the time of their occurrence.

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[1] Full Story—10.68.1-52. [2] Full myth—4.30.13-16, 48ab ; vide also 6.4.15-16.

[3] 9.22.28cd.

[4] Śrīdhara (on 4.1.2) comments :—अभ्रातृकां प्रदास्यामि तुभ्यं कन्यामलंकृताम्, अस्यां यो जायते पुत्रः स मे पुत्रो भवेदिति भाषा-बन्धेन कन्यादानं पुत्रिका-धर्मः। The same or simlar verse is found in the Manu-smṛti (9.127).

[5] 4.1.2-6ab. [6] 9.22.32cdef.

[7] Tbis is implicit in the first instance of *putrikā-dharma-vivāha* noted above.

(ii-*a*) *Instances of Motivated Actions :* The five instances mentioned in the pre-Flood tradition are as follows :—(1) Progenitor Atri and his wife Anusūyā underwent penance to have sons resembling God ; and they got three sons viz, Soma, Datta and Durvāsas said to be the parts (*aṁśa*) of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śaṁkara respectively.[2] (2) Rājarṣi Aṅga performed a horse-sacrifice to please Viṣṇu for offering him a son ; and he got Vena. But Vena became most infamous successor ; and so Aṅga, being disgusted of his evil deeds, had to leave home, kingdom etc. for ever.[3] According to Śrīdhara,[4] the birth of the wicked Vena is described to show that if a man destined to be sonless tries to get one through the force of motivated action, he shall not be happy over this birth. (3) Āgnīndhra, the son of Priyavrata, worshipped Viṣṇu with the desire for a son when he was unmarried. Then Pūrvacitti, a nymph, was sent to him to satisfy his desire. Āgnīndhra married her ; and got nine sons viz, Nābhi etc. Afterwards the nymph left her.[5] (4) Nābhi had no son. So desirous of one, he and his wife Merudevī worshipped God with sacrifice. It is said that God deescended as their son in the form of Ṛṣabha to preach the religion of the recluses.[6] (5) A feudatory chief of the Śūdras (*vṛṣala-pati*) made an attempt to sacrifice a man as the sacrificial animal (*puruśa paśu*) to Bhadrakālī for the fulfilment of his desire for a son. This act of the feudatory chief, involving violence of man, resulted in his own death at the hands of the goddess herself.[7]

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[1] 9.1.16-18. [2] Full story—4.1.17-33abc ; esp., 4.1.17, 20, 33 abc.

[3] Full story—9.13.25-47 ; esp., 9.13. 25, 42, 47.

[4] Śrīdhara (on 4.13.25) comments :—अभाविपुत्रः काम्यकर्मणा बलादापादितो न सुखाय भवेदिति द्योतयन्नंगस्य पुत्रोत्पत्तिक्रममाह ।

[5] Full story—5.2.2-20 ; esp., the first and the last verses.

[6] Full story—5.3.1-21 ; esp., the first and the last verses.

[7] Full story—5.9.12-18 ; esp., the first and the last verses.

The five instances found in the post-Flood tradition are as follows :—(1) Vaivasvata Manu was issueless and performed the sacrifice called *putra-iṣṭi* to have a son. But, as Manu's wife had desired, instead of a son the daughter Ilā was born over whose birth the father was not happy. However, she was transformed into a male viz, Sudyumna.[1] After the departure of Sudyumna to the forest, Manu underwent penance for a long time and worshipped God with sacrifice with the same motive. The result was that he got ten sons viz, Ikṣvāku etc.[2] (2) Yuvanāśva II (no. 20[3]), the king of Ayodhyā, was childless and resorted to forest with his many barren wives. The hermits there conducted a sacrifice to Indra (*aindrī iṣṭi*) so that the king may have a son. It is said that a son was born through the belley of the king himself; and that the son was fortunately nourished by Indra as there was no mother for the purpose. The son, fabled to be born and nourished in this peculiar manner, was Māndhātṛ, the first paramount monarch of Ayodhyā.[4] (3) Hariścandra (no. 33), the famous king of Ayodhyā, took refuge under the god Varuṇa for having a son. Varuṇa assured him to grant one on the condition that the son so born shall have to be offered to him (Varuṇa) as a sacrificial animal in the *puruṣa-medha*. Hariścandra agreed; and his desire was fulfilled by the birth of Rohita as his son. The father then naturally evaded Varuṇa; and put off the execution of the vow of sacrificing the son under various pretexts till Rohita was young (*sānnāhika*). Now Rohita, afraid of his life, fled away in the forest. After roaming in the forest for six years, Rohita returned home with another boy Śunaḥ-śepha to be sacrificed in lieu of him. When the ritual of the *puruṣa-medha* was performed with the substituted sacrificial animal, Hariścandra became free from the trouble of dropsy caused by Varuṇa's curse and Rohita from the fear of the loss of his life.[5] Śunaḥ-śepha, the middle son who was sold by his hard-hearted father, was released at the request of Viśvāmitra (I) who was kind enough to adopt him as his eldermost son.[6] (4) A somewhat different but interesting story[7] describes how the feeling of fear in the Yādava king Jyāmagha (no. 38[8]) became the cause of getting a son. The king's wife Śaibyā was barren; but he could not marry again being afraid of her. Once he happened to seize and bring a girl from some enemy's camp. Śaibyā, suspecting the arrival of a rival, made enquiry about the girl from the husband. Jyāmagha, the hen-pecked husband, hastily said that the girl in question is their daughter-in-law. The answer was apparently inadmissible because Śaibyā was barren; she had no co-wife either from whom there may be a son of Jyāmagha. It is said that the gods and the forefathers, whom the king had been worshipping since long, came to his rescue; and with their grace Śaibyā became pregnant. In due course, she gave birth to Vidarbha who married the girl abducted by his father. (5) The hermit Ṛṣyaśṛṅga conducted a sacrifice so that Romapāda (no. 64[1]), the king of Aṅga, may have a son; as a result the king got Caturaṅga (no. 66). The same hermit is said to have conducted a sacrifice for the Ayodhyā king Daśaratha who then got four sons viz, Śrī-Rāma etc.[2]

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[1] Full myth—9.1.13-40; esp., the first and the last verses; For the details of the myth vide Chapter V, p. 99.

[2] 9.2.1-2.

[3] For the numbers, denoting positions, noted against the names of kings here and in succeeding instances, see their respective Dynastic Lists in Chapter VI. For Ayodhyā, see pp. 143-4.

[4] Full story—9.6.25cd-32ab.

[5] Full story—9.7.8-22ab.

[6] 9.16.30-31; For the details of the *puruṣa-medha* and Śunaḥ-śepha, see p. 247.

[7] Full story—9.23.34-38.

[8] For his this position, see *ante* p. 151.

(ii-b) *Instances of Adoption :* Besides the motivated actions conceived as a means to satisfy the desire for a son, there were other means for the same viz, adoption etc. The five instances of adoption, available only in the post-Flood tradition, are as follows :—(1) Having no perpetuator of the line being alive, Dauṣyanta-Bharata adopted a boy of the Bhāradvāja-gotra to continue his line in the Paurava dynasty.[3] (2) Romapāda, being issueless, adopted Śāntā, the daughter of Daśaratha; and married her to Ṛṣyaśṛṅga.[4] As noted above, the hermit managed sons for both the kings. (3) Yuvanāśva II adopted his grand-son Ambarīṣa as his son; and awarded him a distinguished position in the family.[5] (4) Viśvāmitra had many sons among whom the middle one was Madhucchandas. As said above, he got released Śunaḥśepha and adopted him as his seniormost son. In his kindness thus shown to the orphan boy, he went to the extent of ousting his own sons who resented the status of the adopted son.[6] (5) Adhiratha, the king of Aṅga, adopted Karṇa, the deserted son of Kuntī born before her marriage to Pāṇḍu.[7]

(ii-c) *Instances of Employment (Niyoga) :* Like motivated actions and adoption, *niyoga* was also a means to get a son. Like that of adoption, there is no instance of *niyoga* in the pre-Flood tradition. The five instances, available in the post-Flood tradition, are as follows :—[8] (1) King Rathītara, the sixth descendant of the seventh Manu, was issueless. He therefore employed the hermit, Aṅgiras (no. 6[1]) to produce sons in his wife ; and the Rathītaras were born.[2] (2) Sutapā-Bali (no. 41), the first famous king among the Eastern Ānavas, had six kṣetraja sons viz, Aṅga etc. through the employment of the hermit, Dīrghatamas.[3] (3) The Ayodhyā king Kalmāṣapāda (no. 54) was unable to produce child in his wife due to a curse. His priest Vasiṣṭha (IV) being requested and authorised for the purpose, he begot Aśmaka in his wife, Madayantī.[4] (4) The Paurava king Vicitravīrya (no. 92) died of pulmonary disease leaving behind two wives viz, Ambā and Ambālikā issueless. The mother of the deceased then employed her another son Bādarāyaṇa, the most celebrated hermit of the copper age, to raise issue on her widow daughters-in-law. The outcome of this employment were Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Pāṇḍu and Vidura.[5] (5) Pāṇḍu, like Kalmāṣapāda, was debarred from sexual intercourse through a curse ; and so it is said that the five Pāṇḍavas (no. 94) were produced in his two wives viz, Kuntī and Mādrī by Indra etc.[6]

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[1] For his fixed position, see the Dynastic List of Ānavas, East; Chapter VI, p. 147.

[2] 9.23.9.

[3] 9.20.34; for the details of this unique but reliable episode of adoption, vide Chapter VII, p 209.

[4] 9.23.7.

[5] 9.7.1; If so, Ambarīṣa, the son of Māndhātṛ, must have therefore assumed the patronymic 'Yauvanāśva' as noted before, see *ante* p. 323 and its ref. no. 9.

[6] 9.16.29-33; For the details of this adoption and the connected issues, vide Chapter VIII, p 247.

[7] 9.23.12bcd-13ab.; see also *ante* p. 104.

[8] The nos. mentioned in this context against the names of kings denote their positions as shown in the Table of Dynastic Lists given in Chapter VI.

(iii) *Desire for Riches :*

(iii-a) *Unnecessariness of Wealth :* According to the Bhāgavata, wealth (*dhana*) is not necessary for the subsistence of a person, for his family, or for religious purposes. Destiny does the needful as happens in the case of python whose apathy (*anīhā*) itself manages the food for him.[7] Like Manu,[8] the Bhāgavata[9] points to the process of mutual subsistence to show that all are bound to perish. Accordingly, livelihood is available everywhere and always. Animals are prey for men ; grass etc. are food for animals and fruits etc. for birds. Of these, the smaller ones become food for the larger ones. Thus a creature is the source of existence for others and so on. So, man gets food to be eaten (*bhojya*) without making any hard effort for it. But if he desires eatables (*bhakṣya*) he has to do extra efforts. For example, the Bhāgavata[10] recommends the worship of the goddess Aditi for the desired food ; of Vasus (a class of eight gods) for wealth and of Pracetas for amassing money. But, according to the Bhāgavata,[11] all these gains accruing from worship are trivial and useless if not able to produce devotion to God. The same destiny may manage for one's family as it does for one's self. The bare necessities of life are easily available to all without any toil or even asking for them. For example, earth can serve the purpose of bedding, the barks of clothes, the hands of pillow, the trees of food, caves etc. of shelter and so on.[1] The Bhāgavata[2] invokes the Īśa-Upaniṣad[3] when it shows the manner of living in the following vein : "Whatever is offered by God or offering to God whatever we have, one should use available things without asking or longing anymore for them." Wealth is not required for the performance of prescribed religious practices also. Like the Gītā,[4] the Bhāgavata[5] says that whatever is offered to God with pure heart satisfies Him more than anything else. "In the worship of God, the quality of the gift to God is not determined with the grandeur but with devout heart brought to bear upon it by the worshipper. It is, therefore, not necessary to reduce worship to a plea for the exhibition of one's pomp. Mere tips of grass (*dūrvā*) or water are quite adequate to incur God's pleasure.[6]" The principle involved here in the act of worship may be fitly illustrated by Śrīdāman's trivial gift of rice to Kṛṣṇa. The gift pleased him so much that he himself took the gift out from the tattered rags of the bringer and ate a fistful of rice gladly because the mind of the bringer was divested of impurities.[7]

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[1] See the Table of Hermits, p. 231.

[2] 9.6.2-3 ; For the details of the Rathītaras, see *ante* pp. 322-3.

[3] 9.23.4cd-5ab ; For the details of these *kṣetraja* sons, see *ante* p. 202.

[4] 9.9.38cd-39 ; For the details, see *ante* p. 239.

[5] 9.22.23cd-25.

[6] 9.22.27-28ab.

[7] 7.15.15.

[8] MS—5.29.

[9] 1.13.45 ; vide also 6.4.9 ;

[10] See 2.3.4a for Aditi ; 2.3.3cd for Vasus ; and, 2.3.7b for Pracetas.

[11] 2.3.11.

(iii-*b*) *Defects of Wealth :* The Bhāgavata points out manifold defects of wealth so that man may not long for it. The defects that come in the trail of wealth are : exertion (*śrama* or *āyāsa*), fear (*bhaya* or *trāsa*), anxiety (*cintā*), sorrow (*śoka*), attachment (*rāga*), greed (*lobha* or *spṛhā*), humiliation (*klaibya* or *paribhava*), thirst (*tṛṣṇā*) and delusion (*bhrama*). Wealth is thus defective in each of its states. It is laborious to obtain it and a hard task to increase it. It is embarrassing to spend it. It is alarming at the time of enjoyment and perplexing when destroyed. Property (*draviṇa*) generates fear from all quarters ; and if lost, sorrow. There is, then, again an earnest longing for it due to attachment, impelled by which one makes attempt to regain it ; and, in the process, suffers humiliation. If it is not regained, earnest longing takes the form of thirst. On the other hand, if somehow regained, the false notion of 'Mine' captures the mind.[8] So, we find a wealthy person bereft of the peace of mind and always worried about his property.[9] Besides the defects mentioned above, there are fifteen evils associated with the collection and possession of wealth. The six evils involved in the collection of wealth are : theft (*steya*), violence (*hiṁsā*), falsity (*anṛta*), deceit (*dambha*), lust (*kāma*) and anger (*krodha*).

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[1] 2.2.4-5.

[2] 8.1.10.

[3] Ī U—1.1.

[4] Gītā—9.26.

[5] 8.22.23 ; vide also 10.81.3cdef-4 ; 11.27.17ab-18.

[6] For phraseology vide PSB Vol. II., pp. 122, 196.

[7] 10.81-8-11.

[8] 3.9.6 ; 7.13.31-33 ; and 11.23.17.

[9] 7.13.31.

The nine evils that devolve upon the possessor are: arrogance (*smaya*), vanity (*mada*), dissension (*bheda*), hostility (*vaira*), suspicion (*a-viśvāsa*), emulation (*saṁ-spardhā*) as well as three types of vice (*vyasana*) concerning woman, wine and gambling. So, the Bhāgavata names wealth (*artha*) as calamity (*anartha*) which then should not be longed for by the persons desirous of spiritual welfare (*śreyas*).[1]

The Syamantaka-legend is introduced in the Bhāgavata to illustrate how the by-name given to wealth is justified..[2] The gist of this interesting and intricate legend is this: The Vṛṣṇi prince Satrājit, who got the gem called Syamantaka from the sun-god, refused to oblige Kṛṣṇa by handing it over to the Yādava king Ugrasena. Once his younger brother Prasena wore it and went for hunting in the forest. He lost the gem as well as his life at the hands of Jāmbavān there. It was then alleged that Kṛṣṇa had killed Prasena to have that gem. So, to wipe off the allegation, Kṛṣṇa brought back the gem from Jāmbavān and gave it to Satrājit. Akrūra and Kṛtavarman then instigated Śatadhanvan to kill Satrājit and have that gem. Śatadhanvan, who had a personal cause to grudge Satrājit, killed him and took the gem. But, after committing the murder, he has to flee away placing the gem with Akrūra because Kṛṣṇa, who by now had become the son-in-law of Satrājit, followed him to take revenge. Śatadhanvan was caught and killed by Kṛṣṇa in the forest near Mithilā; while both the instigators escaped from Dvārakā. Now there was a general talk that Akrūra is staying at Vārāṇasī with the said gem; and that Kṛṣṇa has sent him there. Besides this doubt lurking in the minds of the populace of Dvārakā that Kṛṣṇa has sent away Akrūra with the gem, the popular belief was that misfortunes (*ariṣṭa*) are befalling them due to the absence of that gem. In view of these rumour, doubt and belief of the people, Kṛṣṇa sent for Akrūra from Vārāṇasī; and gently asked him to show the gem to the inhabitants of Dvārakā. Akrūra did likewise; and the suspicion with regard to Kṛṣṇa's conduct was allayed. Afterwards Akrūra was allowed to keep the gem, although Kṛṣṇa was its legal proprietor, presumably to bring about disasters on its further possessors. The legend[3] thus shows how wealth brings about disaster in its wake on the possessor.

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[1] 11.23.18-19; For how wealth generates dissension, hostility and emulation vide 11.23.20-21.

[2] Śrīdhara's (*10.56*) introductory remarks on this legend:—

अर्थस्यानर्थतामाह स्यमन्तहरणादिना ।

[3] Full legend—10.56.3-45 and 10.57.3-22,29-41.

(iii-c) *Wealth of Man :* In view of the afore-said unnecessariness, defects, evils and disasters connected with wealth, thus making it apt to be called a calamity, the Bhāgavata considers virtues as wealth of man and not property etc. So it declares that a virtuous man (*guṇāḍhya*) is wealthy (*āḍhya*) and not the rich (*dhanī*).[1] Thus, according to the Bhāgavata, satisfaction in what is achieved by chance stands out as the highly coveted virtue of man, because it leads to happiness and liberation while dissatisfaction to sorrow and bondage.[2] The Bhāgavata exhorts "If nothing else is available rest content with water, the element that can sustain life. But do not act like dog for the pleasure of taste and cohabitation."[3] Let contentment (*paritoṣa*, i.e., the absence of desire for wealth etc.) take possession of the mind instead of its opposite viz, greed (*lobha*, i.e., desire for taking others' wealth etc.) or thirst (*tṛṣṇā*, i.e., insatiety with enjoyment).[4]

(iv) *Desire for Social Status :*

(iv-*a*) *Realisation of Ambitions :* Like the honey-gatherer who takes away honey accumulated by the bees, others take away the wealth of those who hoard it without using either for the personal cause or for the cause of the society.[5] So a householder, who happens to possess wealth, should utilize it properly for realizing his pragmatic ends such as religious acts (*dharma*), profitable possessions (*artha*), material pleasures (*kāma*) and fame (*yaśas*). At the same time and in the same ratio a portion of wealth must be parcelled out for the maintenance of one's family (*svajana*). In this way there are five items of expenditure of wealth (*vitta*) for a householder.[6] Of these, the best item is the first, and if the stress is laid on the next two it is sheer ignorance.[7] The first is the best in so far as it realises the fourth. For example, religious acts (the execution of sacrifices etc.) or socio-religious services (the construction of temple etc.) or other charitable deeds may raise one in the estimation of the public. Thus by wise utilisation of wealth a householder can realise his ambition of achieving fame by establishing himself before the appreciative public. Again, the first is the best if *loka-eṣaṇā* means desire for heaven etc.[8] Religious merits acquired through the performance of religious acts lead one to heaven. Darśa-pūrṇamāsa (new moon and full-moon sacrifices), for example, were recommended for heaven.[9] Similarly,

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[1] 11.19.43d. [2] 8.19.24-25 ; MS—4.12. [3] 7.15.18.

[4] 7.13.36-42 ; vide also 7.15.16-17 ; and 8.19.21-25. [5] 11.8.15.

[6] 8.19.37. [7] 11.5.12a ; vide also 11.19.39a.

[8] Śrīdhara (on 10.84.38) comments :—स्वर्गादि-लोकैषणाम् ।

[9] vide PSB Vol. II., p. 21.

Jyotiṣṭoma (Soma sacrifice) was also conceived to lead to heaven.[1] So, *loka-eṣaṇā*—either tangible (e.g., fame) or intangible (e.g., heaven)—is liable to be soothed by the performance of religious acts, the best item for the allotment of wealth.

(iv-*b*) *Abandonment of All Desires :* The Bhāgavata advises a householder to forsake three fundamental desires and three pragmatic ends as mentioned above when he had satisfied them appropriately in the second stage of his life. The wife in the house has satisfied his desire for offspring as good as she was instrumental in appeasing his desire for material pleasures. He, at this stage, earned and amassed money which soothed his desire for riches and the connected desire for earthly possessions. Finally, wise utilisation of wealth resulted in the realisation of his tangible ambition and the religious acts prepared the ground to ascend to heaven after death. Now a householder should extricate himself from the fetters of desires and enjoyments of the present life. Even the desire for heaven, which served as an impetus to religious acts, should be abandoned. The pleasures of heaven fare no better than that of the present life. And, with all assurance of permanence, one falls from heaven with the exhaustion of merits; and transmigrates in the unending process of the enjoyment of happiness and sorrow.[2]

B. *The Cause of his Family*

"The surrender of judgement to the dictates of instinct gives rise to the sense of possession (*mamatva*). Round the centre of the physical form of man is knit an immediate evironment, the family.[3] Closely connected with "I", the subtle body, this circle with gross body as the centre and worldly possessions as the circumfrence may be called "Mine". For the welfare of this "mine" Jīva resorts to all sorts of actions. As marriage is the starting point of this 'mine', it is said to be the knot of mind (*hṛdaya-granthi*)".[4] With this notion of 'mine' in view, we may look into how the centre, i.e., a householder and the circle, i.e., his family consisting mainly of the wife and her children works in the interests of its constituents.

(i) *His Duties and Manner of their Performance:* The Bhāgavata while recommending the allotment of wealth or food etc. for the personal cause of a householder[5] or for the cause of the world at large[6] does not overlook the need of his family and pointedly refers to make provision for all those who come in the circle of the family. This circle, in all probability, includes not only his wife and children but also priest, doctor, preceptor, guests, parents, elder persons, kinsmen of father's side (*jñāti*), relatives on mother's side (*bandhu*), relatives (*sambandhin*) such as sons-in-law and brothers-in-law, a class of relatives who must be fed and protected (*samśrita* or *poṣya-varga*), brothers, sisters, servants etc.[1] According to the Bhāgavata,[2] the life of that householder is useless, who does not maintain this family circle if and when he is in a position to do so. Since the Bhāgavata professes[3] to prescribe such household duties (*dharma*) for a householder as well as to show such manner of their performance that he easily attains emancipation, we may look into the same as follows :—(1) A householder should perform daily and occasional duties, purificatory rites, social ceremonies, matrimonies and entertaining acts for the members of his family especially for the wife.[4] The examples of Kṛṣṇa and Rāma may be cited here to understand how a householder should be faithful to his wife and how he should look after her cravings without being attached to her. To show how family can be maintained without attachment, Kṛṣṇa, the universal teacher, entered the second stage for the propitiation of mankind.[5] He had many wives through whom he raised a very large number of progeny.[6] He then demonstrated how three pragmatic ends (*tri-varga* viz, dharma, artha and kāma[7]) can be attained in the house while adhering to the Vedic path as well as to the ways of the world.[8] Each of his wives thought that she is the most beloved of him, although Kṛṣṇa was self-contented (*ātmā'rāma*), i.e., he did not require any extraneous condition for the realisation of any pleasure which still remains unachieved.[9] But he entertained his wives on various occasions. For example, he took Satyabhāmā with him when he went to Prāgjyotiṣapura. This he did either to appease her curiosity to witness his fight with Bhauma there or Satyabhāmā accompanied him to have that Pārijāta tree of heaven, which was already promised.[10] (2) Rāma was avowedly devoted to his wife Sītā,[11] although as an ideal king he had to desert her because of some popular censure against her conduct.[12] (3) In the capacity of an ideal king Rāma may appear to have become unsympathetic to his wife. So, the example of Pṛthu may be cited here who was both an ideal king as well as an ideal householder. He maintained consistency between the household and political duties by placing himself in the position of a witness rather than a doer.[1] (4) All types of duties whether sacred or secular should be performed with the spirit of dedication to God, always engaging one's self in His *bhajana*.[2] (5) If the surrender of actions unto God is not possible, the Bhāgavata has suggested an alternative. And that alternative is association with the good (*sat-saṁga*) which helps to remove his attachment in the self, wife and son—the three favourite gross bodies.[3] One should realise that relation with wife, son or with his own body is false and transitory.[4] Their mutual connection is like the chance meeting of travellers. In each birth all are to depart with the end of respective life-time, like dream.[5] (6) So, while maintaining a family, a householder should make required efforts. In doing so he may act like an attached person, but internally he should remain detached from the affair of the family or person concerned.[6] Thus he lives in the house and moves in the family with the same indifference as found in a guest.[7] (7) He should patronise the wishes of the family members without reservation or objection; and need not fear thereby the loss of wealth as it is arranged by destiny itself.[8] As for his behaviour with the family members, he should treat them evenly without making any distinction between kinsmen and other relatives etc.[9] (8) There is no need to make hectic attempts for the achievement of three pragmatic ends, but only as much as useful and in accordance with the suitability of time and place being satisfied in what is achieved therefrom.[10] (9) He should perform purificatory rites of wife (e.g., *puṁsavana*), of son (e.g., *jātakarma*), of ownself (e.g., *yajña-dīkṣā*) and of the dead relatives (e.g., *saṁsthā-vidhi*) at their proper times.[11] (10) The Bhāgavata has selected some specific external objects to find out the revelation of God in them, as in the mind of man; and recommends their worship. Accordingly, the objects of worship for a householder are: the Brāhmaṇas, the Vaiṣṇavas, the cows, the sun, the five elements (the fire, altar or earth, water, air and ether), all beings made of five elements, besides the mind—eleven in all. In the mind is the inward expression of God; and so it can form its own image (*pratimā*) of God.[12] (11) When a householder has won the *ṣaḍ-varga* (either the six senses, i.e., the mind and the five cognitive organs or the six feelings viz, desire, anger, greed, infatuation, pride and envy[1]), he becomes fit for entering the path of emancipation. Then faith in God (*śraddhā*), passion for God (*rati*) and devotion to God (*bhakti*) —the three landmarks in the evolution of devotion—lead him to his cherished goal.[2]

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[1] ibid., p. 230. [2] 10.84.38. [3] 10.49.20.

[4] 5.5.8; vide also 4.29.53-54; For phraseology, vide PSB p. 326.

[5] vide ref. 6 *ante* p. 351. [6] 7.15.6.

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[1] cf. MS—4.179-180.

[2] 10.45.7.

[3] 7.14.1 ; vide also 7.15.74.

[4] 10.69.19-34 ; vide also 10.70.4-13.

[5] 10.60.59 ; vide also 10.80.30.

[6] 10.61.7-19 ; vide also 10.90.31-34.

[7] 7.6.26ab.

[8] 3.3.19 ; vide also 10.90.28.

[9] 10.61.2.

[10] 11.59.2 ; The alternative reasons for taking the wife with him, as noted above, are suggested by Śrīdhara here.

[11] 9.10.54cd.

[12] 9.11.8-10.

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[1] 4.22.49-53.
[2] 4.30.19; 7.14.2-3.
[3] 7.14.4.
[4] 10.49.20.
[5] 11.17.52.
[6] 7.14.4.
[7] 11.17.53.
[8] 7.14.6-7.
[9] 10.49.19.
[10] 7.14.10.
[11] 7.14.26.
[12] 11.11.42; for phraseology, vide PSB Vol. II., pp. 198-200.

(ii) *The Points for Consideration while Living in the House:* As the second stage, i.e., the stage of the householder is bewildering and one is dound to lose sight of his cherished goal therein, the Bhāgavata has striven to coax the instinctive nature of a householder. The points, as shown by the Bhāgavata, may be, therefore, put for his consideration as follows :—

(1) The stage of the householder is the pivot of activities (*karma-kṣetra*). Actions promoted by desires never cease in the house. Even if suspended, the actions dormant in the mind as subliminal tendencies (*vāsanā*, i.e., the latent impressions of the past actions unconsciously left and stored in the subtle body) excite the constituent *guṇas* of the mind. The *guṇas* harness the organs to the object of pleasure. Impelled by this inexhaustive store, one is subjected to frantic operation of motivated actions, positively enjoined by the Scriptures for heaven etc. Thus actions are repeated again and again in uninterrupted chain.[3] (2) But a householder should understand that promise of a better life in heaven fares no better. Hierarchy of pleasures even in heaven breeds jealousy and despair.[4] The pleasures of future life are as perishable as those derived from the visible objects in the present life.[5] (3) Time destroys all that man collects for happiness here ; and his life abounding in miseries ends in imminent death.[6] "All measures to ensure pleasure and avoid pain are baffled, for reasons over which man has no control, in frustrations and pains. All his ingenuity to steer clear of pain is outwitted by the icy hand of death that shatters the sweet dream of happiness."[7] (4) Under the stress of the process of *saṁsāra*, a householder, avowedly engaged in family affairs, makes ceaseless effort of organs in chewing the chewed unnecessarily.[8] Being attached, he makes hectic attempt for maintaining his family and

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[1] See *infra* ref. no. 2 on p. 360.

[2] 7.7.33.

[3] 5.14.4,18 ; vide also 9.8.26 ; For phrases taken in fragments— vide PSB p. 262 ; vide also PSB Vol. II., p. 37.

[4] vide PSB Vol. II., p. 25.

[5] 11.10.21 ; vide also 11.17.51cd.

[6] 11.10.16-20.

[7] 3.29.2,9 ; vide also 7.13.25,29 ; For phraseology, vide PSB Vol. II., p. 25.

[8] 7.5.30.

adopts unfair means also for the purpose[1]. The result is that he suffers bitterly in the old age here[2] and in the hells hereafter.[3] (5) The turmoils of hells and pleasures of heaven may be called unseen, but the same are visible here also. The house itself becomes hell or heaven according to the actions and attitude of a householder towards it. Thus he enjoys sorrow and happiness therein.[4] (6) Wife is the cause of transmigration ; while sons and kinsmen may be understood as thieves. It is therefore mere waste of time if one maintains his family with attachment forgetting his final goal[5]. According to the Bhāgavata, the reading of the Vedas and other Scriptures is futile labour if one has love for material objects only in exclusion of love for God[6]. (7) Too much attachment in the fondling of sons, love for wife and worry for others result in the destruction of all concerned.[7] The Bhāgavata graphically displays this in a story of a pair of pigeons (*kapota*) who were destroyed with their young ones to whom they were very much attached[8]. If attachment to family was thus the cause of ruin for animals, it is much more despicable for man endowed with the human body, the primary means for the realization of one's identity with Brahman[9]. "So, one should make the best use of the human form achieved by the singular stroke of good fortune. One must not allow it to fritter away"—either in the efforts for the satisfaction of personal cravings or in attachment to wife, sons, wealth and so on.[10]

(iii) *The Points for Consideration while Leaving the House :* As we have already noted above, the Bhāgavata itself declares[11] to prescribe such religious code that leads a householder to his final goal. He attains emancipation in the house through devotion to God if only the prescribed duties are performed in the manner as shown by the Bhāgavata.[12] So, either with devotion to God or with the knowledge of the soul,[13] emancipation may be achieved in the house. But this achievement of spiritual welfare is not practicable in the house wherein the mind is dejected by the false notion of "I and Mine". This makes concentration on the Divine improbable. The house then tends to be the place of downfall and delusion. In such circumstances it is better to resort to forest with faith in God for achieving the highest welfare.[1] Besides the distraction of mind, there are physical and moral deficiencies also which haunt in the old age[2] so that leaving the house at the opportune time becomes necessary. But there are some points which require due consideration at this juncture. In other words, there are some conditions which should be fulfilled by a householder before he leaves the household to enter the further stage. They may be put as follows :—

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[1] 3.29.6-7, 10-12.

[2] 3.30.13-18.

[3] 3.30.33.

[4] 3.30.29.

[5] 8.22.9.

[6] 5.19.14.

[7] 11.7.52, 73 ; vide also 11.17.55-57.

[8] Full story—11.7.53-72.

[9] 11.7.74.

[10] 11.23.23 ; vide also PSB Vol.II., p. 25.

[11] 7.15.74.

[12] vide ref. 2 *ante* p. 355.

[13] Śrīdhara (on 3.24.35) while explaining the answer of Kapila whose permission to enter the fourth stage was sought by his father Kardama, puts Kapila's statement as follows :—अहं तावज्ज्ञानोपदेशाय त्वद्गृहेऽवत्तीर्णः अतस्तव गृहे वसतोऽपि मुक्तिः सुलभैव ।

(1) A man owes three debts by virtue of his birth ; and it is compulsory to clear them at this stage.[3] The debt to the hermits is cleared by reading the Vedas, to the gods by sacrifice, and to the forefathers by offspring.[4] So, when these debts are cleared, one may leave the house immediately after producing children.[5] The birth of a child especially a son is a pre-requisite for entering the fourth stage directly.[6] (2) The Bhāgavata considers that man to be the best who, either guided by his personal experience or by the instruction of others, develops the sense of satiety (*nirveda*) and with faith in God abdicates the house.[7] (3) One's personal experience is very helpful for achieving complete indifference to wordly objects. Personal experience makes one understand easily that wordly objects lead to misery ; and this understanding helps withdraw oneself from those objects.[8] Without having the experience of sexual pleasures (*grāmya-sukha*) one cannot generally get disgusted from them.[9] It may be doubted here that enjoyment of such pleasures may not satisfy the thirst ; on the contrary, it may increase its intensity as the fire burns ablaze when the drops of clarified butter are poured in it.[10] To exemplify this, the case of Yayāti,[11] whose thirst was not satisfied even after the long-lasting sensual gratification, may be adduced. Secondly, Saubhari

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[1] 7.5.5.

[2] A householder may not remain a desirable person in the family due to the diseases which haunt him in the old age more vigorously; and virtues like patience, pity etc. are also generally reduced to minimum in the old age (cf. 1.13.26cd).

[3] 10.84.39cdef; MS—6.35.

[4] 6.5.37.

[5] Śrīdhara (on 3.22.19) comments :—
यावदपत्योत्पत्तिस्तावद् गार्हस्थ्यम् ।

[6] 11.17.54d.

[7] 1.13.25.

[8] 5.6.5, 41.

[9] 9.18.40.

[10] 9.19.14 ; MS—2.94.

[11] 9.18.51 ; vide also 9.19.18.

was also the victim of this insatiable thirst.[1] So, it is true that "as insatiable and ever-growing lust, desire (*kāma*) robs the balance of the mind which then is enslaved to the natural propensities of the organs".[2] But, "the Bhāgavata would answer that selfishness cannot continue to be the guiding spirit of acts, although it may be conceded to be their spring-board. The continuum of enjoyment is at long last bound to produce a sense of satiety. The monotony of enjoyment is a prelude to detachment. Even a fertile piece of land, brought under the constant strain of plough, becomes completely unproductive and unfit for further cultivation. The mind wears out with ceaseless downpour of material pleasure. The result is detachment."[3] (4) Śrīdhara[4] elucidates this idea when he says that a person who is engrossed in material pleasures cannot leave them suddenly. But if he enjoys them according to the prescriptions of the Vedas observing the daily and occasional duties, his mind becomes purified and then looking at their faults he gradually detaches himself from the enjoyment of such pleasures as, according to Śrīdhara, happened in the cases of both Yayāti and Saubhari, already cited above as examples of insatiable lust. (5) The case of Saubhari was unique. He entered the third stage of life without undergoing the second ; and thus remained bereft of material pleasures. As a result, his mind was perturbed; and he entered the life of a householder leaving the life of asceticism. Eventually, he realised his downfall and with the dawning of disgust from wordly life, he resorted to forest accompanied by his numerous wives, the daughters of Māndhātṛ. After long penance, then, he attained emancipation (*ādhyātmikī gati*).[5] So, instead of renouncing the carnal pleasures in the young age, it is better to enjoy them in the house so that there may not remain the possibility of clinging to them shamelessly in the later part of life, which should be devoted to higher pursuits. (6) Yayāti, who did not disturb the order of āśrama practices like Saubhari, was similarly able to get out of the clutches of thirst when he realised the insatiability and worthlessness of material pleasures. Concentration on the Divine helped him in this direction.[6]

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[1] 9.6.48.

[2] 9.19.21-23 ; and 10.40.27 ; For phraseology, vide PSB p. 326.

[3] 7.11.33-34 ; vide PSB Vol. II., p. 23.

[4] Śrīdhara (on 7.11.34) comments :—अयं भावः—उत्कटवासनाविष्टस्य सहसैव कामत्यागासंभवाद् वेदोक्तनियमेन बहुशः कामान्भुञ्जानस्यैव नित्यनैमित्तिकैर्विशुद्धचेतसस्तद्दोषदर्शनेन ययाति-सौभरि-प्रमुखानामिव शनैर्विरागो भवति ।

[5] 9.6.39-55 ; For Saubhari's position, see *ante* p. 231 ; for the details of his marriage—p. 249.

[6] 9.19.19-20.

Free from association and attachment, he then resorted to forest and attained emancipation (*bhāgavatī gati*).[1] (7) The case of Purūravas is also citable in this context. He was engrossed in material pleasures up to the extent that he became a docile plaything of Urvaśī.[2] Fortunately, despondent with such pleasures, he developed the sense of satiety[3] and consequently wisdom[4] dawned upon him. He was then able to abstain himself from sexual pleasures.[5] Finally, through association with the good (*sat-saṁga*), he became free from wordly ties (*mukta-saṁga*) and desires (*nispṛha*) ; and wandered over the earth with his mind settled in his ownself (*ātmā'rāma*).[6] (8) The above cases were connected with the persons in whom the sense of satiety arose by personal experience. Yet there may be persons in whom this sense may not rise by itself and an instructor may be needed for the purpose. The best case in this respect is of Dhṛtarāṣṭra who did not resort to forest due to his attachment in the house till the time when death was imminent. Vidura, the wise man and his brother, then exhorted Dhṛtarāṣṭra to leave the house immediately. As a consequence of Vidura's exhortation and imparting of wisdom, the sense of satiety was roused in Dhṛtarāṣṭra and he resorted to the Himālayas accompanied by his wife Gāndhārī, including the instructor.[7] (9) Nārada in the Bhāgavata often appears as an instructor ; he is anxious to see that a man abdicates his house as quickly as possible. He instructed Prācīnabarhi and virtually propelled him from the house towards forest.[8] Again, he roused the sense of discernment in the two groups of Dakṣa's sons who were undergoing *tapas* as a preparation to enter the second stage. They, then, directly entered the fourth stage, i.e., the path of knowledge.[9] Further, Nārada and Aṅgiras made joint attempt to take out Citraketu from the dark well i.e., the house when they found him fit for the further stage.[10] Śrīdhara points to this fitness when he says that only the most steady (*ati dhīra*) man is fit for exit from the house.[11] (10) Besides this resoluteness being one of the pre-requisite qualities for exit from the house, the Bhāgavata points out that subdual of the senses is also necessary before entering the further stage. The house is the proper place for their restraint as it is equipped with the means to fulfil the carnal desires,[1] while the next stage requires their ruthless suppression. So, like the king who fights with the enemies by taking shelter in a fort, a householder should make attempt to subdue his six senses (*ṣaḍ-indriya* or *ṣaḍ-varga*[2]) also called the six enemies (*ṣaṭ-sapatna*) by satisfying their cravings in the house. Then like the king who afterwards fights elsewhere with the enemies, a householder, after subduing his senses, may resort to forest for his spiritual welfare if he feels that his mind is distracted by attachment. On the other hand, he may live in the house and concentrate on the Divine for the same purpose.[3] (11) The Bhāgavata does not advise a householder, who is devoted to God, to relinquish his affections and household in favour of barren stoicism. The same place and stituations assume a new shape when the vision of the votary is transformed by the magic wand of *dāsya* (servitude to God). The Bhāgavata voices this note when it says "Attachments act as thieves, the house acts as the prison cell, and delusion serves as fetters until one is initiated to the divine presence of Kṛṣṇa."[4] (12) Similarly, according to Manu,[5] a householder, having purified his mind with the performance of the prescribed duties and having controlled his senses thereby, may live like a *kuṭī-cara* type of recluse in or near the house under the care of his son free from attachment and anxiety about livelihood. In this way, a householder may continue to live in the house if devotion or emancipation is practicable therein ; otherwise he may enter the further stage according to his ability after fulfilling the pre-requisites mentioned above.

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[1] 9.19.23d-25.

[2] 11.26.6.

[3] Full description of satiety (*nirveda*)—11.26.7-14.

[4] Full description of wisdom (*viveka*)—11.26.15-24.

[5] 11.26.25.

[6] 11.26.35.

[7] Full exhortation—1.13.17-27 ; esp., for events—1.13.16, 27-28, 49.

[8] 4.29.55, 81.

[9] 6.5.6-10, 21, 32.

[10] 6.14.10, 61 ; vide also 6.16.15,26.

[11] Śrīdhara (on 6.16.15) comments :—

निबिड-पंक-तुल्यं-गृहं विहाय निष्क्रमणमतिधीरस्य तस्यैव योग्यं नान्यस्येति ।

(iv) *Wife:* (iv-a) *Housewife* : According to the Bhāgavata, wealth (life) of a householder is useless if his house (mind) is devoid of mother (devotion to Śrī-Kṛṣṇa) and loyal wife (religious-mindedness).[6] A housewife (*gṛhiṇī*), as she is called by virtue of her position in the house, is helpful in the accomplishment of three pragmatic ends (*traivargikī siddhi*).[7] She is also called *ardhā'ṅgiṇī* (the other half of the body) of her housband because both has equal right in performing actions and sharing their fruits. In most of the cases the husband puts the burden of his actions on her and feels himself free.[1] A wife whose mind is not diverted to sensual pleasures that shake her from the right path and who pleases the husband with her thought, speech and action is called chaste (*sādhvī*).[2] A wife, who regards her husband as God and renders service to him considering it as her foremost duty, is loyal (*pativratā*).[3] Friendship with a lover other than the husband (*aupapatya*) is defamable for a woman ; and one who does not do so is noble (*kula-strī*) .[4]

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[1] 3.14.19.

[2] Srīdhara (on 7.7.33) comments :— षण्णां काम-क्रोध-लोभ-मोह-मद-मत्सराणामिद्रियाणां वा वर्गः ।

[3] 5.1.17-18.

[4] 10.14.36 ; cf. 3.9.6 ; For phraseology PSB vide p. 116.

[5] MS—6. 95.

[6] 4.26.15.

[7] 3.14.16d.

(iv-b) *Her Duties and Manners :* The supreme duty of a wife[5] is to serve her husband faithfully. It is so because he is the giver of wealth, children and house.[6] But a wife is to serve that husband only who has not committed great sins (*mahā-pātaka*[7]) ; and such sinless husband (*a-pātakī* or *a-patita*) must be served even if he is mannerless, unfortunate, old, foolish, poor or suffering from diseases.[8] Other duties of a wife, tantamount to her characteristics, are : beneficial works for the husband and her relatives, observance of the vows and rites on behalf of the husband, bringing up offspring and looking after the household affairs.[9] A wife does not take her daily meal prior to the husband. She is afraid when he is angry and silent when he reproaches.[10] A chaste wife serves her husband in a loving manner with restraint on her senses. She satisfies him with her pleasing and true speech, and is contented, alert, attentive and affectionate.[11] Her performance is marked with regard, purity, politeness, care and love ; and is destitute of pride, passion, deceit, jealousy, greed and commission of prohibited acts[12]. Diti pleased her husband with her faithful conduct and sincere service marked with love (*anurāga*), humility (*praśraya*), restraint (*dama*) and devotion (*bhakti*) to him.[13] Sītā served her husband, to preach the religion of a chaste wife. Her performance was similarly marked with love (*preman*) courteous behaviour (*praśraya*), obedience (*anuvṛtti*) and natural inclination (*śīla*).[1] The wives of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa personally attended to his requirements and did all pieces of work connected with his daily routine such as clothing, decorating, anointing, feeding and so on, notwithstanding there were servants for each piece of work.[2]

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[1] 3.14.18 ; vide also 1.7.45c .
cf. ŚB 5.2.1.10.

[2] 9.18.47 ; MS—9.29.

[3] 6.18.33-35 ; vide also 7.11.29.

[4] 10.29.26.

[5] 10.29.24ab; vide also ref. 3 above.

[6] 3.31.40d.

[7] According to Manu, the five great sins are : Brahmanicide, the drinking of wine, theft, cohabitation with the preceptor's wife and association with the person who has committed any of the above four sins (MS 11.54). According to Yājñavalkya, a husband who has committed these great sins may be served when he has purified himself through expiatory rites (Yāj-smṛti 1.77cd.).

[8] 7.11.28d ; and 10.29.25 ; vide also MS—5.154.

[9] 7.11.25-26 ; vide also 10.29.24cd.

[10] 4.28.19.

[11] 7.11.27-28abc.

[12] 3.23.2-3.

[13] 6.18.27-28.

(iv-c) *Satī and Mumukṣu Wives :* Besides the noble, loyal and chaste, there is a category of wife, called *satī*. The term is specially applied to the woman who immolates herself on the funeral pyre with the corpse of her husband. The instances of such self-immolation, that belong to the pre-Flood tradition, are as follows :—(i) Arci, the wife (*satī*) of Pṛthu, prepared the pyre when her husband died in the forest, put his dead body on it, performed the rites of the time, lit the pyre, entered the fire and cremated herself with the husband's corpse.[3] (ii) Vaidarbhī, the wife of an imaginary king Malayadhvaja, also did likewise and followed her husband in death on the pyre.[4] (iii) When an unnamed Brāhmaṇa, the father of Jaḍa-Bharata, died, his younger co-wife (*satī*) placing her twin issue with the elder one followed the husband in death.[5] The only instance of this practice found in the post-Food tradition is connected with (iv) the wives of the Yādavas. It is said that after the Yādava-destruction at Prabhāsa, their wives (including Kṛṣṇa's) came on the spot from Dvārakā and burnt themselves with the dead bodies of their husbands.[6] Perhaps (v) Kṛpī, the wife of Droṇa, would have cremated herself with the dead husband; but she did not do so being the mother of a son (*vīra-sū* or *putra-vatī*).[7] The duties of a wife, mentioned above, are meant for one who is not devoted to God. For a wife, desirous of liberation (*mumukṣu*), the husband is delusion (Māyā) in the form of a man leading towards death.[8] According to the Bhāgavata, a wife, who considers her husband a lover (*kānta-mati*) only and at the same time is devoid of devotion to God, serves and lives with the live corpse covered with skin, hair, nails etc. externally and full of flesh, bones, blood etc. internally.[9]

(iv-d) *Her Rites and Vows :* Women in general undergo purificatory rites without the recitation of the Vedic mantras ;[10] and the upanayana is altogether dropped in their case.[1] For a woman, marriage is equivalent to upanayana, service of husband to the reading of the Vedas and household duties to the oblation on fire.[2] The daily duties (e.g., *sandhyā*) and āśrama practices (e.g., *tapas*) are not meant for women ; and so they remain bereft of internal purity (*śauca*) and erudition (*ātma-mīmāṁsā*).[3] According to the Bhāgavata, all spiritual strivings such as *yama, ni-yama, tapas, dāna, yajña, vrata* etc. are useful only when they satisfy God, otherwise their observance is mere labour.[4] With this objective in view, Kaśyapa, the progenitor, puts forth two vows viz, puṁsavana and payovrata for his two wives viz, Diti and Aditi respectively. The two wives observed their respective vows with selfish ends in view. The former wanted a son as the fruit of her vow, who may kill Indra,[5] while the latter wanted a son who may restore Indra on the throne.[6] The *puṁsavana-vrata*, recommended by Kaśyapa, consisted in thirty-one rules of pure conduct to be observed daily for one year;[7] and Diti observed these rules accurately. But once there was a flaw, and therefore she could not get the desired fruit, although the vrata cannot be said fruitless.[8] The *payovrata*, proposed by Kaśyapa for Aditi, is nothing but the worship of Viṣṇu with singular devotion ;[9] and it is declared to be the best of all because its performance satisfies God.[10] As for the details of this vow, it starts on the first day of the second half of the Phālguna month and lasting for twelve days, ends on the 13th day of the same month. The observer takes milk only during the twelve-day tenure of the vow. Besides the worship of Viṣṇu performed everyday, oblation on fire, adoration of the Brāhmaṇas, observance of *yama* and *ni-yama* are its daily features. On the final day, a grand worship of Viṣṇu is followed by liberal gifts to the priest and the Brāhmaṇas as well as feast to them and other invitees including the visitors.[11] Vāmana was born as the fruit of this vow, who fulfilled Aditi's desire.[12]

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[1] 9.10.55.

[2] 10.59.45 ; vide also 10.61.6.

[3] 4.23.21-22.

[4] 4.28.50.

[5] 5.9.7ab.

[6] 11.31.19-20.

[7] 1.7.45.

[8] 3.31.40-41.

[9] 10.60.45.

[10] MS—2.66 ; vide also MS—9.18.

(v) *Son :* (v-a) *Son and Affection to Him :* Son (*putra*) is so called because he delivers (*tārayati*) his father from the hell namely, 'Put' to which sonless persons are destined to be condemned.[13] Even fathers like

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[1] 10.23.42a.

[2] MS—2.67.

[3] 10.23.42bcd.

[4] 8.16.61.

[5] 6.18.37.

[6] 8.16.22-24.

[7] 6.18.45, 47-54.

[8] 6.18.61-62, 67 ; vide also Śrīdhara's comments (on 6.18.45) :—
वैष्णवत्वाद् व्रतस्य कथंचिद् वैगुण्येऽपि सति सर्वथा वैफल्याभावात् ।

[9] 8.16.47, 58.

[10] 8.16.24, 60, 62.

[11] 8.16.25-57.

[12] 8.17.12-19.

[13] 9.20.21ab ; MS—9.138.

Hiraṇyakaśipu and Vena, infamous for their wickedness, are said to have been exempted from the tortures of hells only on account of their good sons Prahlāda and Pṛthu respectively.[1] A son bestows happiness by his birth etc. and causes sorrow by his death etc.[2] The story[3] of Pradyumna, the first son of Kṛṣṇa, is introduced in the Bhāgavata to show sorrow and happiness of the parents and other family members with regard to sons etc.[4] Pradyumna was abducted by Śambara as soon as he was born and this caused sorrow to parents etc. After some years he reappeared suddenly with his wife Rati, and this caused happiness to all concerned. It is affection (*sneha*) to son that causes sorrow (*śoka*), delusion (*moha*), fear (*bhaya*) and affliction (*ārti*) for the parents.[5] Citraketu and his queen furnish best example in this respect. King Citraketu had many wives ; and all were barren. His ardent desire for a son was, anyhow, fulfilled by Aṅgiras ; and a son was born to one of his queens. But other co-wives hated the newly-born son as well as his mother, and therefore killed the child by poisoning.[6] Sorrow shrouded the palace as soon as his death became known. The moaning mother of the dead son challenged the very existence of God on the plea that if one's own actions are responsible for one's birth, death etc. where does God stand and why. If He exists, she charged Him to have cut the bond of affection, the pre-requisite for procreation, because observing her moanful state other mothers would be afraid of loving their sons.[7] Affection of parents to their sons is so invincible that, if possible, they like to see them even after the sons have died. So, Kṛṣṇa was asked to bring back the dead sons on three different occasions. Firstly, his preceptor, who was asked to specify his fee, liked to see his dead sons ;[8] and this fee was given.[9] Secondly and consequently, his own mother asked him to bring back the six elder brothers killed by Kaṁsa ;[10] and this was also done.[11] Finally, the ten dead sons of a Brāhmaṇa were brought back from the Vaiṣṇava-dhāman.[12]

(v-b) *Nature of Son :* To remove affection which causes sorrow etc., the Bhāgavata likes parents to see reason : The relation of the son with them is false and transitory.[1] The son's body is produced by the father's body, but the individual soul of the son is as different from that of the father as fire from wood.[2] The mother is like the receptacle of the son's body in her womb.[3] So, like a seed emerging from another seed, the body of the son is produced and maintained by the parents, but each empirical soul (*Jīva* or *Dehī*), dwelling in each of the composite bodies of the three, is eternal like earth through which the seed is grown.[4] Yet in conformity with the Vedas, the Bhāgavata[5] accepts a son as the soul of his father inasmuch as he inherits the virtues and profession of the father. That is why Ugraśravas was allowed to officiate as the spokesman of the Purāṇas when his father Romaharṣaṇa, who was expounding them, was unexpectedly killed by Balarāma.[6]

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[1] 4.21.45-46.

[2] 6.14.29.

[3] Full story—10.55.1-39.

[4] Śrīdhara's intr. to *10.55* :—
प्रद्युम्न-हानिलाभाद्यै : शंबराहरणादिना ।
कुटुम्बिनामपत्यादि-सुखदुःखमसूसुचत् ॥

[5] 6.15.23ab ; vide also 6.16.13cd.

[6] 6.14.43.

[7] 6.14.55.

[8] 10.45.36cd-37.

[9] The full legend of bringing back the sons—10.45.38-46.

[10] 10.85.32-33.

[11] Full legend—10.85.34-52.

[12] Full legend—10.89.22-63.

(v-c) *Duties of a Son towards Parents :* Failure to serve the parents is violation of duty on the part of a son, because he receives his body conducive to all objects of human life from them and they nourish him affectionately. So, a son cannot discharge his obligations completely even if he tries to do so throughout his life.[7] But an attempt should be made to serve and maintain the parents with one's wealth etc.[8] Kṛṣṇa was repentant that he could not serve his parents in the early part of his life when he was kept away from them at Vraja.[9] The execution of the father's orders (*ādeśa*) brings about good name and fame.[10] In this respect there may be three types of obedient (*ādeśa-kārin*) sons : He is the best son who does whatever his father likes him to do. He is the moderate type of the son who does whatever his father tells him to do ; and one who does without faith in the father is of low type.[11] Pūru may be called the moderate type of son as he is said to have exchanged his youth with the old age of his father when he was asked to do so.[12]

(v-d) *Right Over a Son :* If there is any dispute between the parents for the proprietary right over a son, the father who brings forth his body by his semen avails himself of the right of ownership. The mother from whom he springs is considered only to be a leathern vessel that held and supported the body.[13] If a son is begotten on the wife (*kṣetra*) of another by some one else, the husband of the mother loses claim on the son and the man who produced him avails himself of the right on the same ground. This issue may be exemplified by the myth about Budha's birth. Soma was the seducer of Tārā, the wife of his preceptor Bṛhaspati. A son viz, Budha was born through their promiscuous intercourse. Both Soma and Bṛhaspati claimed right over Budha. But Brahmā gave his verdict in favour of Soma, the virtual father, although Budha was Bṛhaspati's kṣetraja son[1].

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[1] 6.16.2-8.

[2] 12.5.3.

[3] 9.20.20a.

[4] 6.15.7 ; For the eternality of the empirical soul, vide 6.16.9-11.

[5] 10.78.35ab ; Śrīdhara here cites the Śruti statement, to which the Bhāgavata verse refers only, as follows :—अंगादंगात्सम्भवसि हृदयादधिजायसे । आत्मा वै पुत्र नामासि स जीव शरदः शतम् ॥

[6] 10.78.28, 35cd.

[7] 9.18.43 ; vide also 10.45.5.

[8] 10.45.6.

[9] 10.45.8.

[10] 4.30.11.

[11] 9.18.14.

[12] 9.18.42, 45ab.

[13] 9.20.20ab.

C. *The Causes of the Society and the World at large*

(i) *The Five Great Sacrifices:* The second stage is conceived to be a suitable shelter (*kṣemārha āśraya*) of the other stages of life.[2] So, the ideal of the fivefold great sacrifice (*pañca mahā-yājña*) was before a householder to serve the needs of the society and the world in which his own desires were also gratified. The five great sacrifices are: brahma-yajña (the reading of the Vedas), deva-yajña (sacrifice to the gods by pouring oblation on fire with the utterance of *svāhā*), pitṛ-yajña (offering to the forefathers with the exclamation *svadhā*), nṛ-yajña (providing food and shelter for the guests and other human beings, especially for the Brāhmaṇas) and bhūta-yajña (offering food to birds and animals, especially to the domestic animals before partaking one's meal).[3] Manu[4] holds these five great sacrifices compulsory for a householder and the Bhāgavata[5] contributes to the same view. Like Manu,[6] again, the Bhāgavata[7] recommends the daily performance of these sacrifices with wealth acquired legitimately and without starving the family or taxing the dependants.

(i-a) *Deva-Yajña:* "Of these, brahma-yajña started with the first stage of life and was continued in the second also. Deva-yajña included the daily and occasional duties on the one hand and motivated acts on the other. A householder was to say his prayers (*sandhyā*) thrice a day and pour oblation on fire (*agni-hotra*) twice a day. He was to perform a ceremony when there was a birth in the family (*putra-iṣṭi*); and he was to execute sacrifices like darśa and pūrṇamāsa".[8] The other sacrifices also to be executed amongst the occasional duties are: cāturmāsya (four-monthly sacrifice), paśu-yāga (animal-sacrifice) and soma-yāga (sacrifice with the juice of the Soma-plant). He was expected tc perform socio-religious services such as the digging of tanks and wells, the construction of a temple, setting up of pleasure gardens, places where water is distributed to the travellers and so on.[1]

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[1] 9.14.10-13.

[2] 3.14.17; vide also 4.25.40; MS—3.77; cf. Ch U 8.15.1.

[3] 11.17.49; cf. Gītā—3.12cd-13.

[4] MS—3.69cd, 70-71, 81.

[5] 4.25.40; vide also 7.14.25cd; 11.23.9, 24; non-performance may lead to hell—5.26.17.

[6] MS—4.21.

[7] 7.14.15; vide also 7.15.6; 11.17.50

[8] PSB Vol. II., pp. 37-38.

(i-b) *Pitṛ-Yajña :* A Snātaka should marry a suitable wife[2] and produce son in her to clear the debt which he owes to his father.[3] Thus marriage, with an eye on reproduction, formed a part of the pitṛ-yajña. Its other parts include offering holy waters to the forefathers (*tarpaṇa*),[4] offering of holy water with rice ball (*piṇḍa-dāna*), specially at Gayā,[5] and funeral rites such as śrāddhas, daily[6] and anniversary (*sāmvatsarika*).[7] The anniversary śrāddha may be preferably performed in the second half of the Bhādrapada month[8] in a simple manner.[9] Animal flesh is banned on such occasions.[10]

(i-c) *Nṛ-Yajña :* Hospitality to men (*atithi-pūjana*) is nṛ-yajña ; and a householder is expected to serve a guest daily.[11] According to the Bhāgavata, providing comfort to the visitor is compulsory,[12] to the Vaiṣṇava essential[13] and to the Brāhmaṇa mandatory.[14] A householder is asked to appoint his sole wife to attend upon the guests notwithstanding his own work may suffer for it.[15] Besides the guests, servants, mendicants etc. are not to be neglected.[16] Everybody, poor or rich, can entertain guests by showing respect and offering whatever he has .[17] A story in the Bhāgavata tells that certain Brāhmaṇas, engrossed in the execution of Āṅgirasa-sacrifice with desire for heaven, did not pay attention to the request of the cowherd boys sent by Kṛṣṇa to ask for food. Their wives, then, followed the boys and gave them all the four types of food.[18]

(i-d) *Bhūta-Yajña :* Bhūta-yajña is distribution of food etc. among all creatures according to their needs and one's ability.[19] A householder should treat the domestic animals as his own sons and feed and nourish them likewise.[1] The persons of the very low castes ((*antyā'vasāyin*) and sinners (*agha*) among men, and dogs and crows among animals deserve attention of a householder under the bhūta-yajña performance.[2] The best example of this performance in the Bhāgavata is found in Rantideva. Endowed with spontaneous mercy (*naisargikī karuṇā*) for all living beings, he was unable to endure others' sorrows. His belief was that all his pains shall come to an end if only others are relieved of them. He, therefore, liked to suffer rather than make attempt for his highest good.[3] A story[4] says that he distributed all the food and water, which he got after 48 days of restraint on hunger and thirst, to a Brāhmaṇa, a contemptible outcaste (*vṛṣala*), a man with a herd of dogs and a pulkasa—who came in succession. Thus he afforded relief to others and suffered himself bitterly under the stress of hunger and thirst.

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[1] 7.15.48-49.

[2] 11.17.38.

[3] cf. 10.84.39 ; vide also 6.5.37.

[4] MS—3.70b.

[5] cf. 1.8.1 ; vide also 10.79.11c.

[6] 7.15.3 ; MS—3.82, 83ab.

[7] 7.14.19cd.

[8] 7.14.19ab.

[9] 7.15.3-5.

[10] 7.15.7.

[11] MS—3.106 ; non-performance of hospitality leads to hell—5.26.34.

[12] 5.26.17.

[13] 4.22.11.

[14] 7.14.18.

[15] 7.14.11cd.

[16] 8.16.12.

[17] 4.22.10 ; vide also 8.16.6-7 ; MS—3.101.

[18] 10.23.3-19.

[19] 7.11.10 ; the lack of general compassion for birds ond animals may lead to hells—5.26.12, 23-24.

THE STAGE OF RESORTING TO FOREST

(i) *A Vānaprasthin:* "Having discharged obligations to all concerned, expected of him, a householder abdicates household to enter forest. The wife may accompany him, if she so desires, or she lives with her children."[5] As for his religious code, a vānaprasthin (ascetic) would perform the daily and occasional duties including the five great sacrifices as he used to do in the preceding stage. He would roam in the forest living on fruits, roots or grains ripening in natural course. The food may be cooked or begged. He would wear garments of barks, leaves etc. and never cut his hair, nails etc. He would take bath thrice daily and sleep on the open ground. He may take shelter in huts or caves for the protection of fire only. He would keep a staff, water pot (earthen or wooden), deer skin and coverings for fire. Shunning all comforts and subjecting himself to five fires in the summer, to showers in the rains and to cold water in the winter, an ascetic would undergo penance to become competent for the reflection or the knowledge of the soul.[6] The Bhāgavata[7] refers to four types of ascetics viz, vaikhānasa (subsisting on grains growing in the unploughed land), vālakhilya (giving up the procured grains when the new harvest is in), audumbara (living on the fruits brought from the very direction which first comes in sight while awakening in the morning) and phenapa (living on fruits etc. fallen down automatically).

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[1] 7.14.9.

[2] 7.14.11ab ; MS—3.92.

[3] 9.21.12-13.

[4] 9.21.3-10, 14.

[5] 11.18.1 ; MS—6.3 ; For phraseology, PSB Vol. II., p. 33.

[6] 7.12.18-21 ; and 11.18.2-8 ; vide also 4.23.4-8 ; MS—6.4—31.

[7] 3.12.43ab with Śrīdhara.

(ii) *The Tenure of the Stage:* As for the tenure of the vānaprastha-āśrama constituting the third part of man's life, the Bhāgavata[1] concedes to reduce it to half, or even agreeable to lessening it to one year only if an ascetic feels that his intellect is dejected by the austere practices of the āśrama. He, who has undergone penance (*tapas*) successfully for half of the tenure, is advised to reconsider his future course of life. There are two possibilities for him. By this time he may enter the fourth stage if detachment has dawned upon him. In case detachment or spiritual insight is lacking, he should continue *tapas* in the next half with the same end in view if he is physically fit. In the absence of both these possibilities, he is advised to resort to fasting (*anaśana*) etc. as a preparation for self-immolation in fire.[2] The ascetic, who has undergone *tapas* successfully in the second half, may then enter the fourth stage at the expiry of the tenure even if detachment is mild.[3] In case detachment is there but the spiritual insight is still lacking, he should take refuge in a spiritual teacher and serve him for the purpose,[4] as the Gītā also commends.[5]

THE STAGE OF THE RECLUSE

An ascetic, competent for the practice of the knowledge of the soul (*ānvīkṣikī*) and endowed with detachment, embraces the life of a recluse (*saṁnyāsin*).[6] Like the ascetics noted above, the Bhāgavata classifies recluses (*yati*) into four hierarchical types viz, kuṭīcaka or kuṭī-cara (a recluse living in a hut and mainly given to the observance of the prescribed code), bahvod or bahūdaka (a recluse on constant move and mainly given to the practice of knowledge), haṁsa (a recluse skilled in knowledge) and niṣkriya (one who has attained the highest knowledge).[7] A kuṭīcara, as already noticed,[8] may live in a hut near the house under the care of his son. With control over the senses and without desire for anything, he is, according to Manu, given to the sole purpose of self-realisation.[9] Of these four types of recluses, the first two fall in the category of accomplishing recluse (*sādhaka yati*) while the remaining two in that of the accomplished recluse (*siddha yati*).[1]

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[1] 7.12.22.

[2] 7.22.23, 24ff.; vide also 11.18. 11-12.

[3] Śridhara (on 11.18.11) comments :—
तृतीयभागावसाने तु मन्दविरागेऽपि
संन्यासाधिकार: ।

[4] 11.18.38-39.

[5] Gītā—4.34.

[6] 7.13.lab.

[7] 3.12.43cd; with Śrīdhara on the same; vide also Glossary in PSB Vol. II., pp. 230, 232.

[8] See *ante* p. 360.

[9] MS—6.86cd, 95-96; with Kullūka on the same.

A. *Sādhaka Yati*

As for the religious code of a sādhaka yati, he would roam on the earth with control of the mind (*śama*) and the senses (*dama*). He would wander and beg required food from the houses of the dvijas, hermitages or assembly of pilgrims. He would wear a small strip of cloth ; and keep *tri-daṇḍa* (three long staves tied together so as to form one) and begging bowl only. He would observe the fivefold restraint (*yama* e.g., non-injury) and supplementary fivefold restraint (*ni-yama* e.g., cleanliness). Unmindful of both the instable life and the unchangeable death, he would only make efforts to achieve his aim, i.e., the realisation of identity with Brahman. The actions prohibited for him are : (i) reading of the Scriptures unconcerned with the knowledge of the soul ; (ii) adopting astrology etc. as the means of subsistence ; (iii) taking part in controversial debate (*vāda*) conducive to wrangling discussion (*jalpa*), captious criticism (*vitaṇḍā*), fallacious arguments (*tarka*) etc. ; (iv) spiritual initiation of disciples with allurement or force ; (v) too much study or religious discourses ; and (vi) efforts for establishing monasteries etc.[2]

(i) *His Teachers for Non-Attachment :* Detachment is a pre-requisite for the sādhaka yatis.[3] So, five animals viz, moth, bee, elephant, deer and fish—which were destroyed due to their attachment to the five objects of sense organs viz, *rūpa*, *gandha sparśa*, *śabda* and *rasa* respectively—are the best teachers for non-attachment to the objects of senses. (i) If a yati, with the sense of beauty (*rūpa*), is tempted by the exquisite form or blandishments of a woman, he becomes addicted to pleasure and then eager for sensual enjoyment. The result is inevitable downfall like the moth (*pataṅga*) who, attracted by the form and the colour of fire, burns itself into it.[4] (ii) A yati is ruined if he takes doles from one favourite house only like the bee (*madhukara*) which, greedy of a particular smell (*gandha*), gets itself bound in the lotus when its petels are closed at sunset. So, a yati should take tiny doles of food from several houses like the bee (*madhukara* or *bhramara*) which moves from flower to flower, taking a bit of essence from each. Thus the later bee teaches him two things : to adopt house-to-house begging of the cooked food (*mādhukarī vṛtti*) and to gather knowledge from all Scriptures, great or small[1]. If a yati collects food more than necessary for a day, he is amenable to its denial like the bee (*madhu-makṣikā*) which hoards honey and is deprived of it (including its life) by others.[2] (iii) How attachment to the sense of touch (*sparśa*) leads to downfall may be learnt from the fate of the elephant (*gaja*) which is entrapped by making it fall in a concealed hallow where it approaches, eager to touch the limbs of a she-elephant tied near there as a decoy.[3] (iv) How the sense of sensuous sound (*śabda*) leads to destruction may be learnt from the fate of the deer (*hariṇa*) which, enchanted by the fowler's music, is lured into a trap and is killed. The example of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga muni is also cited in this context. He is said to have been bewitched by rural women with their indecent music and obscene songs. The muni, then, fell from his status and became their docile plaything[4]. (v) How the sense of taste (*rasa*) results in calamity is to be understood from the fate of the fish (*mīna*) which dies for its temptation of meat smeared in the fish-hook. The bait stained on the hook hides it ; and the fish, unable to notice it, dies. Similarly, a yati should note that there lurks fatal reaction behind the longing for delicious food.[5]

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[1] cf. Śrīdhara's intr. to *7.13* :—
त्रयोदशे यतेर्धर्मः साधकस्योच्यते महान् ।
अवधूतेतिहासेन सिद्धावस्था च वर्ण्यते ॥

[2] 7.13.1-8 and 11.18.13-27 ; MS—6.42-65.

[3] 11.18.12.

[4] 11.8.7-8.

B. *Siddha Yati*

Having undergone the persistent practice of knowledge with the observance of yamas and ni-yamas as well as non-attachment to the objects of senses, a sādhaka yati enters the state of a sage (*siddhā'vasthā*). When the mind of a sādhaka is completely purified by the observance of his religious code, spiritual insight dawns upon him. His mind is therefore replaced by the sense of detachment or faith in God. With detachment or spiritual faith (in case the detachment is mild) the accomplishing recluse transcends the path of action. He is now a sage (*siddha*) totally dedicated to the spiritual cause. The state of a sage, the second and final part of the stage of the recluse (*saṁnyāsa-āśrama*), is not meant for the observance of any religious code, as a general rule. A sādhaka has followed the āśrama practices up to the order of bahūdaka. But when the knowledge leading to emancipation or faith leading to devotion becomes one's innate property, the necessity for action ceases. Now desires become inert and yamas his habitude. Therefore he has nothing to do with the Vedic prescriptions and āśrama practices including its insignia (e.g., *tri-daṇḍa*) at this state of a sage.[6] A saṁnyāsin abandons both types of action viz,

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[1] 11.8.9-10. [2] 11.8.11-12 ; vide also 7.13.35. [3] 11.8.13.

[4] 11.8.17-18 ; For the *muni's* position, see *ante* p. 232 ; for his marriage, p. 341.

[5] 11.8.19. [6] 7.13.9 ; vide also 11.18.28.

iṣṭa (Vedic sacrifices done with the help of fire) and *pūrta* (quasi-religious deeds prescribed by the Smṛtis in which fire worship is not required).[1] Yet, in the absence of firmness of knowledge or devotion, there is possibility of falling from this state[2]. So, the Bhāgavata does not like a sage, who is introduced to the final part of saṁnyāsa, to renounce action completely like those liberated souls who have attained the state of enlightenment, while still living (*jīvan-muktā'vasthā*).[3] The Bhāgavata, therefore, prescribes certain standards of conduct for a sage whom it has chosen to call "parama-haṁsa".[4]

(i) *A Parama-Haṁsa :* (i-a) *Conduct :* A parama-haṁsa is neither fond of lecturing on the rituals of the Vedas nor given to logic in the sense of futile discussions. With fortitude he is non-inimical and non-injurious to all, because he knows that the same soul resides in all beings ; and all of them are made up of the same elements. He eats, wears or uses anything good or bad which is attained by chance ; and is satisfied with it. He begs and eats food to live only for attaining the highest knowledge. He may observe the āśrama practices (e.g., *ni-yama*) of his own accord without subjection to the injunctions of the Scriptures, as it is contrary to his spiritual accomplishment. But there is no binding of any practice for him, as he has discarded the sense of duality (*bheda-pratīti*).[5] A prarama-haṁsa would behave in peculiar manners so that he may not fall from conscious meditation (*yoga*).[6] Thus he would act foolishly and ignorantly like a child, although he is a man of great wisdom (*manīṣī*). He acts like a foolish man (*jaḍa*) because he is not to seek any recompense for his actions. He acts like a child unmindful of regard or disregard because he can bear the opposite duals equally without any anxiety. He would present himself before people as a mute (*mūka*) and act as an insane person (*unmatta*), although he is omniscient (*kavi*). He does so because he has to please none. His routine and conduct would always be uncertain like animals, although he is skilled in the Vedas (*naigama*). And, this he does because he has not to gain popularity.[1] The conduct of a parama-haṁsa being mysterious in this way, he cannot be recognised by his actions, expressions, speech or insignia of an āśrama.[2] His most secret behaviour, therefore, seems to us as opposite to the ways of the world and injunctions of the Vedas.[3]

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[1] vide ref. 3 on p. 370; vide also 11.18.13 ; Śrīdhara (on Gītā—6.1) comments :—निरग्निः अग्निसाध्येष्टाख्यकर्मत्यागी···अक्रियोऽनग्निसाध्यपूर्ताख्यकर्मत्यागी ।

[2] Śrīdhara (on 7.13.10) comments :—तस्यैव ज्ञान -दाढ्र्याभावे योगभ्रंशपरिहारार्थमाह।

[3] 11.28.27-28.

[4] It may be noted here that the Bhāgavata does not deal with the above-mentioned *haṁsa* and *niṣkriya* types of sages to whom it alludes but casually. Its emphasis lies on *parama-haṁsa ;* and in two different contexts, his duties are prescribed. At the beginning of the first context (7.13.9), Śrīdhara comments :—परमहंसस्य विशेषमाह । Similarly, at the beginning of the second context (11.18.28), he comments :—एवं बहूदकादि-धमानुक्त्वा परमहंस-धर्मानाह ।

[5] 11.18.30-37 ; For fortitude, see MS—6.47. [6] vide ref. 2 above.

(i-b) *Characteristics :* As for his characteristics, (i) a parama-haṁsa would adopt '*ajagara-vṛtta*', i.e., the enjoyment of matured actions, while staying at one place.[4] Like the python's mode of life (*ajagara-vṛtta*) he would accept only what comes in his way without leaving his seat in quest of food etc. Ājagara muni, as he may be then called, knows that enjoyment of matured actions is inevitable ; and so it is sheer waste of life to make attempt for ensuring happiness and avoiding sorrow which come by turns during the process of *saṁsāra*, Hence he is indifferent (*anīha* or *akriya*) towards pleasure and pain ; and patient (*sattvavān* or *diṣṭa-bhuk*) if nothing is available by itself. Although endowed with energy (*ojas*), fortitute (*sahas*) and strength (*bala*) indicating the efficiency of the organs, the mind and the body respectively, a parama-haṁsa is never inclined to perform worldly actions because he has directed all his senses to knowledge, being fully contented in what he receives by chance.[5] (ii) He knows that acceptance of things that are dearest leads to misery, as happened in the case of a bird of prey which was assaulted by other big birds when it had a piece of flesh ; and the same bird was happy when it gave up flesh. So, he keeps nothing and has no desire for anything. Thus he is not poor (*daridra*) but selfless (*a-kiñcana*).[6] (iii) Like a serpent, he would leave the company of peoples and live in seclusion without any fixed dwelling. He is alert, silent and imperceptible in movements like the same reptile.[7] The serpent enters the rat-hole or formicarium and lives there happily. Similarly, a parama-haṁsa, considering it extremely troublesome and useless to build a house for the frail body, lives anywhere without making effort for housing.[8] (iv) He roams alone leaving even the concourse of Yogins, taking this lesson from the girl who removed all her bracelets, excepting one, when they made noise undesirable on a particular occasion.[1] (v) He is placid and profound like the ocean.[2] (vi) He lives entirely for others like the earth and its mountains and trees.[3] (vii) He has cooling and purifying qualities like water.[4] (viii) He is resplendent and accepts whatever is offered at self-will like fire; and, as oblations on fire bring about the welfare of the performer, he destroys the sins of those who give him food etc.[5] (ix) He is not attached while his organs are in the contact of their respective objects, like the external air which remains unattached to any place or sort of work.[6] (x) He has attained the single-pointedness of mind, a level from which starts the sublation of mental modes, like the arrow-maker who neither saw nor felt the arrival and departure of a king and his retinue that passed by his side with the beat of drums ahead.[7]

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[1] 5.9.3 ; 7.13.10 ; 11.9.3-4 ; and, 11.18.29.

[2] 7.13.14.

[3] 7.13.45.

[4] Śridhara (on 7.13.11) comments :—अजगर-वृत्तं नाम एकत्र स्थित्या प्रारब्ध-कर्म-भोगः ।

[5] 7.13.36, 37-42 ; vide also 11.8.1-4.

[6] 11.9.1-2.

[7] 11.9.14.

[8] 11.9.15.

(ii) *The Parama-Haṁsas :* In the galaxy of the Parama-haṁsas associated with the Bhāgavata cult, Sanat-kumāra and Ṛṣabha stand out with great prominence. The spiritual hermits Sanat-kumāra etc. appeared in a giant sacrifice performed by Pṛthu to preach the *pārama-haṁsya-dharma*, i.e., the religion of the anchorites.[8] The Bhāgavata[9] considers Ṛṣabha to have incarnated to propagate this religion. Bharata, the son of Ṛṣabha, was a well-known Yogin. But, under the pressure of the matured actions that found expression in his affection for a young deer (*eṇa-kuṇaka*), he fell from *yoga*.[10] He was then reborn as a deer ; and leaving the body of the deer he was again born as the son of a learned Brāhmaṇa where his name was Jaḍa-Bharata. In this birth he behaved in peculiar manners, as described above, to avoid fall from *yoga*.[11] Jaḍa-Bharata's discourse with Rahūgaṇa on the nature of the soul, as embodied in the Bhāgavata, is meant for showing invariability (*a-vikāritva*) in the wise, common to the idiots (*a-jña*) and the omniscient (*sarva-jña*), in exclusion of the idiots.[12] Besides these parama-haṁsas of the pre-Flood tradition, one historical parama-haṁsa is also available. He appears in two legendary events (*purātana-itihāsa*) introduced by the Bhāgavata in the 7th and 11th skandhas to explain the mysterious conduct of a parama-haṁsa and basic tanets of his religion. In the first legend,[1] he is called a muni or a Brāhmaṇa and is said to have instructed Prahlāda. In the second legend,[2] an avadhūta or a Brāhmaṇa is said to have instructed Yadu, the ancestor of Kṛṣṇa. But the two instructors viz, a muni and an avadhūta, appearing in two different contexts with the common title 'Brāhmaṇa,' are, according to Śrīdhara, one and the same viz, Dattātreya.[3] The convincing proof of this identification is that the bee (*madhu-kara* or *madhu-makṣikā*) and the python (*mahā-sarpa* or *ajagara*) appear in both the legends[4] as the best teachers for detachment and contentment respectively. Dattātreya assimilated wisdom from twenty-four teachers[5] —both sentient and insentient—and roamed on the earth free from attachment and egotism.[6] Of his teachers, five have been drawn upon in similative form to explain the conduct of a sādhaka yati and ten to bring forth the characteristics of a siddha yati i.e, parama-haṁsa. The remaining throw light on the nature of the soul.

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[1] 11.9.5-10.

[2] 11.8.5-6.

[3] 11.7.37-38.

[4] 11.7.44.

[5] 11.7.45-46.

[6] 11.7.40.

[7] 11.9.11-13.

[8] 4.22.18-40.

[9] 5.3.21.

[10] 5.8.23.

[11] 5.9.2-3.

[12] Śrīdhara's intr. to *5.10* :—

एवंभूताविकारित्वमज्ञसर्वज्ञयोः समम् ।
इति सर्वज्ञता-सिद्धयै रहूगण-कथेरणम् ।।२।।

LIFE OF PEOPLE IN THE KALI AGE

(i) *A Preliminary Note :* So far the religious codes for the four stages of life have been noticed theoretically. But some direct evidences on the practice of the Varṇā'śrama-dharma are available in the Bhāgavata in its description of the defects of the kali age, appended to the account of the dynasties of the same age. This description is in the guise of prophecies that there shall be steady deterioration in the life and conduct of peoples from the beginning of the kali age (i.e., after the Great War). According to this prophetic description, the deterioration shall not be sudden but phased. Thus three phases, representing the beginning, advent and augmentation of the trends of the kali age, can be gleaned from the passages of the description. But for the reproduction of this description, its prophetic as well as phased shape has been changed so that it may give the picture of what were the conditions at a time. While going over this changed form of the description, one might think that the whole society passed through these conditions from the beginning of the kali age and onwards. So, it may be added here, as will appear, that the following is the account of the society of a particular region of the nation and of a particular period of time in the kali age. Moreover, a margin is to be allowed for poetical exaggerations. With these points about the character of the description in view, we may look into it cautiously. The description, enlarged with the help of Śrīdhara and classified into four heads, may be reproduced as follows:—

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[1] 7.13.11.

[2] 11.7.24.

[3] Śrīdhara (on 11.9.32) :—विप्रो दत्तात्रेयः—योगर्द्धिमापुरुभयीं यदुहैहयाद्याः (2.7.4)—इत्युक्तत्वात् । For the chronological position of Dattātreya, vide Chapter VIII, p. 231.

[4] In the first legend—7.13.34 ; and in the second legend—11.8.1-4,9-12.

[5] 11.7.33-34.

[6] 17.7.32 ; vide also 11.9.30.

(ii) *The Description:* (ii-a) *Family Life:* Mutual liking (*abhiruci*) and acceptance (*svīkāra*) were the criteria of marriage without considering the family (*kula*) or the sub-family (*gotra*) of the persons concerned.[1] Husbands and wives were addicted to sexual pleasures ; and so they overlooked the needs of other family members. The husbands, who were mostly hen-pecked, enjoyed in the company of wives, their sisters and brothers only.[2] Such lustful householders did not take care of their old parents and even of able sons.[3] Affinity thus came to be existed only among the matrimonially allied persons and not by way of blood-relationship.[4] Servants abandoned their best (ie., kind) masters if they were moneyless and masters ousted their faithful servants if they were unable to do their work due to diseases etc.[5] Householders quarrelled with their kinsmen for a *Kakiṇika* (a small coin, a sum of money equal to twenty *Cowries* or a quarter of a *Paṇa*, i.e., a new pice) and even risked their own lives over such a trifle dispute.[6]

(ii-b) *Social Life:* The dvijas were addicted to lust and gluttony (*śiśna-udara-para*).[7] The Śūdra caste (including the *dāsas*, *kaivartas* etc.) was in majority and so the upper three castes were reduced to minority.[8] The Śūdras acted as ascetics and earned their bread through mendicancy.[9] The celibates were devoid of the purity of conduct ; householders were begging alms rather than giving ; ascetics were living in residential places rather than roaming in the forest ; and recluses were hankering after wealth which they ought to have renounced.[10] Men in their different stages of life were, therefore, distinguished by the symbols of the āśrama to which they clung ; thus the āśrama practices were exhausted upon the externals.[11] It was no wonder then that the impious persons (*a-dharma-jña*) became preachers of religion.[12] Peoples were generally greedy, unkind, immoral, engaged in vain disputes and unfortunate[1]. Most of the men were unwise, lustful, poor and voracious while women, in addition to these, were unchaste (*svairiṇī*) and lair (*a-satī*)[2]. To take bath was one's embellishment (*prasādhana*) and hair-dressing was solely done for beautification (*lāvaṇya*)[3]. Hunger, thirst, disease, agony and worry reduced the longevity of man to an average of tewenty-five years[4]. The bodies of the human beings became lean (*kṣīṇa*)[5]. The species of animals and plants became small likewise[6]. With the augmentation of the trends of the kali age, not only the longevity (*āyus*), as noted above, but the strength (*bala*) and memory (*smṛti*) of peoples were also reduced to minimum.[7]

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[1] 12.2.3a, 5c.

[2] 12.3.37.

[3] 12.3.42.

[4] 12.2.14d.

[5] 12.3.36abc.

[6] 12.3.41. ; vide also Apte's *Skt-Eng Dictionary*.

[7] 12.3.32d.

[8] 12.2.14a ; and 12.3.25d.

[9] 12.3.38ab.

[10] 12.3.33.

[11] 12.2.3d-4ab.

[12] 12.3.38cd.

(ii-c) *Ethical Notions:* Queer ethical notions took possession of peoples' mind consequently. Too much talking came to be considered as the sign of learning (*pāṇḍitya*), deceit (*daṃbha*) of saintliness (*sādhutva*), poverty (*anāḍhyatā*) of sin (*a-sādhutva*, i.e., a poor person was charged of theft etc.) and, arrogance (*dhārṣṭya*) of truth (*satya*)[8]. Wealth determined one's status ; and might was right[9]. To maintain family (*kuṭumba-bharaṇa*) was taken as the sign of one's ability[10]. Filling one's belly (*udarambharitā*)—an act of utter selfishness[11]—was conceived to be the principal object of human life (*puruṣārtha*)[12]. Personal gain such as fame was the only motive thát led one to the performance of religious practices[13]. The general population went to far off places on the pretext of pilgrimage to show their pomp ; and did not look after holy persons such as parents or preceptors who were in or near the house[14].

(ii-d) *Religious Beliefs:* Elsewhere,[15] the Bhāgavata points out that peoples, misguided by the heretics (e.g., Bauddhas), took their cults bearing the semblance of religion (*upa-dharma*) as dharma. So, heresy (*pākhaṇḍa*) came to abound in their religious acts and they deviated from spiritual paths rooted in the Vedic past and also from the Varṇā'śrama-dharma ordained by the Dharma-śāstras[16]. The greatest evil of the kali age, according to the Bhāgavata, is that the populace, deluded by heretics, did not worship God,[1] Whose name uttered in any way brings about the final beatitude[2]. The Bhāgavata declares : "any act, defective in point of *mantra*, the order of performance (*tantra*), the appropriate time, place or material, becomes complete if the name of Viṣṇu is chanted at the end."[3] This emphasis on Lord's name, on the ground of its natural efficacy, brings into light the greatest advantage of the kali age also. It is this: All that is achieved by contemplation (*dhyāna*) of Viṣṇu in the golden age, by sacrifice (*makha*) to Him in the silver age and by worship (*paricaryā*) in the copper age is achieved by the chanting of Hari or Kṛṣṇa (*hari-kīrtana* or *kṛṣṇa-kīrtana*) in this dark iron age[4]. In fact, the chanting of Lord's name is the characteristic dharma of the kali age[5]. According to the Bhāgavata[6], listening to God (*śravaṇa*) or chanting of God (*kīrtana*) is the easiest, surest and only means—a means true in all cases without any instance to the contrary—for the highest welfare of the unfortunate peoples of this age misfit for any other religious practice.

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[1] 12.3.25abc.

[2] 12.3.31.

[3] 12.2.5d, 6b.

[4] 12.2.11.

[5] 12.2.12ab.

[6] 12.2.14b, 15ab.

[7] 12.2.1cd.

[8] 12.2.4d-5ab, 6d.

[9] 12.2.2.

[10] 12.2.7a.

[11] Gītā—3.13cd.

[12] 12.2.6c.

[13] 12.2.7c.

[14] 12.2.6a.

[15] 4.19.25.

[16] 12.2.12cd-13a ; vide also 12.3.32b.

The Gītā has already proclaimed that God incarnates Himself in different forms in different ages as the chastner of the wicked and protector of the good and their religion[7]. So, the Bhāgavata, in spite of all its gloomy forecasts, is optimistic about the future. God is to descend as 'Kalki' at the climax of this murky and hard iron age when situations become unbearable. His Descent shall mark the end of the current kali age ; and a new golden age (*kṛta-yuga*) shall start with its *sāttvika* progeny.[8]

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[1] 12.3.43.

[2] 12.3.44 ; vide also 6.2.14-19.

[3] 8.23.16 ; For phraseology, vide PSB Vol. II., p. 202.

[4] 12.3.51-52.

[5] Śrīdhara's intr. to *12.4* :—
कलि-दोष-निवर्तकं हरि-नाम-संकीर्त्तनादिकं,
स एव च कलौ परमो धर्म इति ।

[6] 1.1.10.

[7] Gītā—4.7-8.

[8] 12.2.16-17, 23.

RELIGIOUS CODES FOR THE STAGES OF LIFE (CRITICAL)

THE STAGE OF CELEBACY
THE STAGE OF THE HOUSEHOLDER
THE STAGE OF RESORTING TO FOREST
THE STAGE OF THE RECLUSE
THE FOUR STAGES OF LIFE
CONCLUSION

[XIII] RELIGIOUS CODES FOR THE STAGES OF LIFE (CRITICAL)

THE STAGE OF CELEBACY

(i) *The concept of the Āśramas:* The upanayana ceremony was in vogue in the Ṛg-Vedic period, perhaps signifying the formal reception of a youth in the society.[1] But soon this connotation of upanayana changed; and it began to mean the initiation of a boy into the educational career.[2] "The Chāndogya-Upaniṣad[3] conceives five virtues to constitute the three pillars (*skandha*) of religion—*yajña* (sacrifice), *adhyayana* (reading of the Vedas) and *dāna* (gift) the first pillar, *tapas* (austerity) the second and *brahmacarya* (continence) the third."[4] By *brahmacarya*, the Upaniṣad adds, is meant the life of a student who lives with his preceptor in the guru-kula. So, it is definite that the first āśrama was established in the silver age or the age of the later Saṁhitās, as it is called. The three virtues mentioned by the Chāndogya as constituting the first pillar of religion are the same as we find the necessary duties of the dvijas at the stage of the householder.[5] *Tapas*, the second pillar, is noted in the Dharma-śāstras[6] as the special characteristic of a vānaprasthin. So, the first and the second pillars may be taken to denote that the institutions of the second and the third stages of life were in the offing at the time of the Upaniṣads. The Jābāla-Upaniṣad,[7] which refers to the four stages of life clearly by adding the fourth stage viz, saṁ-nyāsa, confirms this. Moreover, the Dharma-sūtras, the earliest of which go back to 800 B.C.,[8] deal with the religious codes of both the four stages of life and of the four castes comprehensively.[1] All these suggest that the four āśramas were conceived in the Upaniṣadic period. But the Bhāgavata seems to suggest an earlier period for the conception by relegating the four āśramas to the Cosmic Man, similar to the four castes.[2] The assignment of the four āśramas to form part of the Cosmic Man, like the four castes, means that both the concepts emerged at one time, i.e., in the silver age. Yet in the absence of reference to the four āśramas in the Puruṣa-Sūkta,[3] in the Brāhmaṇa literature and in the early Upaniṣads, it may be said, on the basis of the Dharma-sūtras as noted above, that the concept of the four āśramas came into practice somewhat later than the four castes, perhaps in the copper age or the Upaniṣadic period as it is called, although the first āśrama was already institutionalised in the silver age.

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[1] The *upanayana* does not find mention in the Ṛg-Veda, although a brahma-cārin is referred to (RV 10.109.5). But from the closely parallel Indo-Iranian ceremony of *navajot*, it is inferred that the *upanayana* might have been in vogue from earliest times (cf. VA p. 394).

[2] The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (ŚB—11.3.3.1-7) has given a fairly detailed description of the *upanayana* as a sacrament in the same way as it is found described at length in the Gṛhya-sūtras (vide VA pp. 459, 520). An isolated and typical hymn of the Atharva-Veda (AV 11.5) is given to the mystic exaltation of a brahma-cārin (vide VA p. 419). The Taittirīya-Upaniṣad (TU 1.2) and in the same strain the Bhāgavata (11.10.12) describe in terms of a parable how knowledge dawns upon an ante-vāsin through the instuctions of his preceptor.

[3] Ch U 2.23.1.

[4] PSB Vol. II., p. 60.

[5] 7.11.13cd.

[6] MS—6.32.

[7] Jābāla-Upaniṣad—4.

[8] vide VA pp. 28, 481.

(ii) *System of Education at Guru-kula :* (ii-a) *The Guru-kula Training :* "The first āśrama (i.e., the stage of celebacy) constituted the first twenty-five years of life. It was the life's preparation, the rigorous casting of the soft clay of life into a mould that could stand the test of physical, mental and spiritual demands made upon it. Given to the earnest learning of the Vedas (*brahman*) under the loving care of a preceptor, the trainee (*brahma-cārin*) would freely imbibe knowledge as the matching reward for unstinted devotion to his spiritual father."[4] The rules and regulations of the guru-kula training[5] show how the trainee was moulded to meet the demands noted above. The physical training was implicit in the daily routines of a brahma-cārin. That sexual morality formed the back-bone of his career is clear from the vow of celebacy which a trainee had to observe as the absolute rule, avoiding all types of contact with woman whosoever she may be. Strict continence, superadded by the regulation of breath (*prāṇā'yāma*) and the recitation of the Gāyatrī[6], was the mainstay of his strength both physical and mental. Prāṇā'yāma, the great penance that adds to the glow of the mind by destroying its impurities, saved his energy for the deepening of intuition. The recitation of the Gāyatrī, the most sacred of all the Vedic mantras,[7] gives vent to the anxious yearning of the ancient seer of the Ṛg-Vedic hymn thus : "May we contemplate (*dhīmahi*) the essence (*bharga*) of the luminous

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[1] ibid., p. 552.

[2] 11.17.13.

[3] vide PSB Vol. II., p. 36.

[4] ibid., p. 33.

[5] vide Chapter XII, pp. 335-6.

[6] RV 3.62.10.

[7] Gītā—10.35b; Śrīdhara comments :—छन्दोविशिष्टानां मन्त्राणां मध्ये गायत्रीमन्त्रोऽहम्, द्विजत्वापादकत्वेन सोमाहरणेन च श्रेष्ठत्वात् ।

Deity (Savitṛ) whose sovereign (*vareṇya*) essence motivates our psychic being (*dhiyaḥ*)."[1] This expression was aimed at the motivation of intellect. So, "the luminous Deity—Savitṛ or Viṣṇu—gradually unfolded His nature in his intellect and religious imagination".[2] The worship of Agni, the important god of Vedic pantheon, and the service rendered to the preceptor, the embodiment of the Vedas, were instrumental to the attainment of sacred knowledge leading to spirituality. Thus the life of self-discipline and the earnest learning of the Vedas were the distinctive features of the guru-kula training. In view of these features and factors contributing to them, the Bhāgavata lays stress on the essentiality of the guru-kula training for all the dvijas and does not favour the education of a boy at the house even by the highly learned Brāhmaṇa father. The Bhāgavata feels[3] that self-discipline is not possible in homely environments; and so the boy, who does not stay and study at a guru-kula, shall remain bereft of erudition.

(ii-b) *The Subjects of Study :* The curriculum of a guru-kula[4] shows that all the dvija boys read the Vedas and the Upaniṣads according to their ability, although the Brāhmaṇa boys seem to have been acquiring proficiency in them. The course of study for the Kṣatriya trainees included politics, use of weapons, expedient to be employed in inter-State relations, music etc.[5] The Vaiśya trainees acquired proficiency in the art of agriculture, trade, value of commodities, cattle-rearing, wages of servants etc.[6] It may be noted here that the Śūdra boys[7] and the dvija girls[8] were not admitted to the guru-kulas as they were considered unsuitable for the purpose.[9] Since the curriculum included sixty-four types of crafts, skilled trades etc. (*kalā*),[10] it the may be said that adequate and complete education[11] was the aim of the guru-kula training so that the trainee may become competent on all sides in his life. But it may be noted that the chief subjects of study were the three Vedas (*Trayī*). For this the reading of the Brāhmaṇa texts, the Āraṇyakas, the Upaniṣads including the Vedāṅgas was subservient. By virtue of its being the direct transmission of vision to the disciples, the whole of this Vedic literature was called *Śruti*. Exclusively, "the Upaniṣads are called 'Vedārta' (the end of the Veda) not only because they came at the end of the Vedic period, or that they were taught at the end of the Vedic instruction but also because the later philosophers found in them the final aim of the Veda."[1] According to the Bhāgavata,[2] the knowledge of the Upaniṣadic Brahman, the immutable universal, removes ignorance by cutting the bonds of worldly existence.[3] The Vedāṅgas (the limb of the Veda) more particularly fall under the class of literature designated as the Sūtras, although all of them have not come down in the *sūtra* (aphoristic) style. The Vedāṅgas include number of exegetical sciences of which the six are : Śikṣā (phonetics), Kalpa (ritual), Vyākaraṇa (grammar), Nirukta (etymology), Chandas (metrics) and Jyotiṣa (astronomy). These six ancillary works, meant to help in the proper understanding of the Vedas, were called the Vedāṅgas, i.e., subservient to the Vedas.

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[1] For phraseology, vide PSB p. 1.

[2] ibid.

[3] 5.9.4-5.

[4] vide Chapter XII, p. 338.

[5] MS—7.43 ; vdie also CA p. 589.

[6] MS—9.329-332.

[7] vide Chapter X, p. 298 ; vide also pp. 312-13.

[8] vide Chapter XII, pp. 362-3 ; vide also *infra*, The Stage of the Householder—C., ii-b.

[9] The story of Satyakāma Jābāla in the Chāndogya (Ch U—4.4) indicates that men of dubious descent were not denied sacred knowledge if they proved their worth for it.

[10] 10.45.36ab.

[11] An oft-repeated list in the Chāndogya (Ch U—7.1.2 etc) mentions Veda, Itihāsa, Purāṇa, Brahma-vidyā, Rāśi (mathematics), Nidhi (chronology), Vākovākya (dialectics), Ekāyana (ethics), Dhanur-veda (military science) and few other subjects of study (vide VA p. 520). Moreover, in the conception of the fourteen branches of learning (*vidyā*), the four Vedas, the six Vedāṅgas, Dharma-śāstra, Purāṇa, Nyāya and Mīmāṁsā are found mentioned while in that of the eighteen *vidyās*—Artha-śāstra (polity) Dhanur-veda (military art), Gandharva-veda (music) and medicine are also added (vide the word *vidyā* in Apte's Dictionary).

(ii-c) *The Methods of Teaching and Learning :* Instruction (*upadeśa* or *pravacana*) was the only method of teaching.[4] The trainees committed to memory whatever their preceptor taught to them, by reciting the lessons in the same manner as he did.[5] Thus knowledge was transmitted by words of mouth ; and was received in the mind by the pupils who sat near the feet of the preceptor for the purpose.[6] So it was a perfect tutorial type of education under the vigilance of a spiritual father. The art of writing was probably known to the Vedic Aryans ; but it played no part in imparting education in ancient India.[7] The ancients felt that not only the sanctity of knowledge shall be lost if it was written down but also that, consequently, memory shall not be so assiduously cultivated. Condemnation of the study of manuscripts in later times[8] presupposes that writing was in vogue but it was not allowed for the transmission of sacred knowledge to the posterity. So, memory remained the specially valued faculty in the field of learning the Śrutis.

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[1] Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature* Vol. I., p. 234.

[2] 10.14.24 ; vide also 11.10.13.

[3] Ācārya Śaṁkara holds the same view—vide the word '*Upaniṣad*' in Apte's *Skt-Eng. Dictionary*.

[4] 11.10.12 ; vide also TU 1.2.

[5] 7.5.3ab ; vide also 10.20.9d.

[6] The term 'Upaniṣad' is derived from the root *upa-nī-sad* which means to sit down near somebody. The prefix '*upa*' may be taken to connote pupil's approach to his preceptor for receiving instruction.

[7] cf. VA p. 459.

[8] cf. AIU p. 584.

There was no State education. The guru-kulas flourished on their own account. A preceptor was as anxious to impart knowledge in his academic residence to the trainees as the latter were to acquire it; and the society looked after their needs. At the termination of the training period, which was nearly of twelve years, a trainee, who was then called Snātaka, paid tribute to his preceptor in the form of *guru-dakṣiṇā*.[1] But this may not be taken to mean that the relationship between the two was mercenary. The items of the fee,[2] given only once for the whole tenure of stay at guru-kula, clearly indicate that giving was important and not the fee itself. One, who did not wish to enter the second stage at the completion of the training, would become a confirmed trainee (*naiṣṭhika-brahmacārin*)[3] surrendering himself to the preceptor to read the Vedas further, either in the capacity of a student or as a sub-teacher (*upādhyāya*).[4]

(ii-d) *The Centres of Advanced Study :* A reference to the centres of advanced study is relevant here. The Jātakas tell that Takṣaśilā was a prominent centre of education at the time of the Buddha. Higher studies in the Vedic texts, humanities, sciences, law, medicine, warfare and so on were offered there. Kāśī, another centre of the time, was built up by the scholars of Takṣaśilā who settled there as teachers.[5] Jīvaka, the well-known physician and surgeon of Bimbisāra and the Buddha, is said to have studied at Takṣaśilā for seven years.[6] Like Takṣaśilā and Kāśī in the pre-Christian era, Nālandā in Magadha and Valabhī in Gujarat were prominent centres in 700 A.D. Nālandā attracted students from the remotest corners of the vast continent. It was thus an international centre of Indian culture of which India was then the universally acknowledged teacher.[7] Besides the guru-kulas existing in each village or town of ancient India, these centres, existing in different corners of the land in different ages for specialization in different branches of learning, awarded to India the position of the universal teacher in the field of knowledges both sacred and secular.

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[1] 11.17.36.

[2] MS—2.246 ; vide also *ante* p. 339.

[3] vide Chapter XII, ref. 2 on p, 336.

[4] MS—2.141.

[5] AIU pp. 591-93.

[6] ibid., pp. 587-88.

[7] cf. CA p. 585-86.

THE STAGE OF THE HOUSEHOLDER

A. *Marriage*

The essentiality of marriage to satisfy the desire for offspring, its criteria and traditional forms including the instances (concurring and non-concurring) have been noticed.[1] They are reviewed as follows :—

(i) *Criteria :* Marriage was a holy and lifelong bond ; and progeny was its goal.[2] Marriage had never been a contract in India as it is interpreted by the Occidentalists.[3] Marriage was performed between two persons of the same caste and of same disposition,[4] although inter-caste marriages of both the anuloma and pratiloma types were also in vogue.[5] In the marriage of the same caste pertaining to the dvijas, there was further consideration of kinship and the *gotra*. So persons within the circle of agnates (i.e., *sapiṇḍa*) and cognates (i.e., *sama-gotra*), at least up to the third or fourth generation, could not marry each other.[6] The objective of this practice, observed till to-day specially by the Brāhmaṇa caste, seems to be that the kinsmen either on the father's side or the mother's side may not go in for each other. The twin of Yama and Yamī in the Ṛg-Veda[7] and of Yajña and Dakṣiṇā in the Bhāgavata[8] might suggest conjugal relation between a brother and a sister. But, as both the pairs belong to the domain of mythology, they need not be taken to reflect the social usage. According to the Bhāgavata,[9] equality of wealth, beauty and social status serve as the best criteria of a suitable marriage. If we take the training of the first āśrama into consideration, the bridegroom was above twenty-five years at the time of his marriage, while the bride was on the brink of attaining the state of puberty.[10] To keep virginity of a maiden intact and thus save the family from defamation, the law-givers considered it extremely undesirable to let grown-up girls remain unmarried.

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[1] vide Chapter XII, pp, 339-44.

[2] MS—9.95-96.

[3] vide the word 'infidelity' in *Chambers's Dictionary*.

[4] 11.12.38abc.

[5] vide Chapter XI, p. 310 ; vide also p. 315 and refs. 1 & 2 on the same.

[6] ŚB 1.8.3.6 ; vide also MS—3.5.

[7] RV 10.10.

[8] 4.1.6ab.

[9] 10.60.15.

[10] For the marriageable age of the girls, there was tendency to lower it down since the days of the Gṛhya-sūtras (cf. Āpastamba-gṛhya-sūtra 1.3.11). In later times when the political and social disorder was prevailing (vide *ante* pp. 263, 286, 376 ; vide also *infra* Conclusion—ii, of this Chapter), it was still lowered down (MS—9.94). So, if a girl attained sexual maturity in her father's house, she was at liberty to select a suitable husband (MS—9.90-91) ; and there is general agreement on this point in the Dharma-sūtras (vide VA p. 519).

(ii) *Forms :* Of the eight traditional forms of marriage, the first four viz, *brāhma, daiva, ārṣa* and *prājāpatya* are based on the idea of suitable match making by the father of a girl. The marriages falling under these forms were preceded by religious rites and followed by wedding presents which were natural endowments bestowed upon the pair by the father of the bride and with which may be connected the modern dowries. Contrary to this natural endowment upon the pair, bride price (*śulka*) was demanded in the *āsura* form by the bride's father etc ; Ṛcīka's marriage with Gādhi's daughter is a stock example in this respect.[1] The voluntary union of Śakuntalā and Duṣyanta,[2] tantamount to marriage, is a stock example of the *gāndharva* sort. Besides these six standard forms of marriage there were the *rākṣasa* and *paiśāca* sorts that involved immoral practices. The names of these two forms suggest that they are derived from the peculiar customs of the tribes of the same names. The abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa[3] helps us infer such customs of marriage known to the Rākṣasas, a primitive tribe of which Rāvaṇa was the chief. There are three marriages[4] which *prima facie* appear to be of the *rākṣasa* sort but scrutiny has revealed that none of them comes within the purview of this sort. The most uncalled-for form is *paiśāca* in which a marriage is made legally complete and valid by subsequent sexual intercourse only. As to the question how these immoral practices like abduction and consummation respectively got recognition as forms of marriage, it may be said that the law-givers did not intend to deny the status of a wife to the girl concerned, once the regrettable occurrence had taken place and was beyond recall.[5]

(iii) *Customs :* The contrast between the Aryans of fair colour and the aborigines of black colour, i.e., Śūdras,[6] who were incorporated in the Aryan society as the fourth caste, left its mark in the shape of hypergamy whereby an Aryan, i.e., a man of the upper three castes, could marry a Śūdra woman but a Śūdra male could never marry an Aryan girl.[7] The hypergamy was extended, as a general rule, among the upper three castes also whereby a man was allowed but a woman was forbidden to marry a person of the lower caste in the hierarchy of the three[8]. Thus the *anuloma* type of marriage came into vogue and the *pratiloma* came to be considered reprehensible.

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[1] 9.15.5-7.

[2] 9.20.15.

[3] 9.10.11ab.

[4] See marriage nos. vi, vii and xvi in Chapter XII, pp. 342-3.

[5] cf. VA p. 517.

[6] vide Chapter XI, p. 308.

[7] MS—3.13 ; 9.157 ; cf. VA p. 454.

[8] MS—3.12.

Like the Sūtras, both Gṛhya and Dharma,[1] the Bhāgavata[2] sanctions the *anuloma* type for a man only as his second mariage, i.e., if he wants to have another wife in addition to the one of his own caste, to satisfy his lust. But, on the ground of colour and the characteristics of the Śūdra caste, *anuloma* marriage with a Śūdra woman was not permitted in any case.[3] As for polygamy, the Ṛg-Veda allows it, although monogamy has been the rule since its time,[4] in the ages that followed,[5] and is observed down today. Polygamy seems to have developed out of monogamy ; and may be bifurcated into polygyny and polyandry. Polygyny is implicit in the *anuloma* type of marriage that had already come in vogue, as said above. As for polyandry, there is no possibility of its being prevalent,[6] although there are two instances of it in the Bhāgavata. The first, belonging to the prehistoric age, says that ten brothers married a girl ;[7] and the second, found at the extreme end of the ancient tradition (*cir.* 1000 B.C.), concerns the five Pāṇḍavas who married Draupadī.[8] The Bhāgavata does not consider this type of polyandry objectionable in which the character and conduct of several *brothers* was not dissimilar and suited the wife who was equally devoted to all her husbands.[9] These instances, at the most, may reflect the social usage of some peoples in certain stages of civilisation in which a woman might have several husbands. But, according to the Bhāgavata, they must be brothers of similar disposition. Moreover, the instances of the Bhāgavata exhibit that a woman could be polyandrous only once. She could not repeat it, since the remarriage of a widow was never looked upon with favour by the Dharma-śāstras.[10]

B. *Fundamental Desires*

(i) *Desire for Son :* (i-a) *Inventions :* The desire for male progeny was naturally keen in the patriarchal family units of the Aryan society ;

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[1] vide VA p. 515-16.

[2] 11.17.38d.

[3] MS—3.15.

[4] cf. VA p. 393.

[5] Monogamy was an established rule in the days of the Dharma-sūtras (vide Āp-dh-sūtra 1.2.5.4-6). The hermit Śvetaketu, who flourished some four generations after the Great War, is said to have established monogamy strictly for a Brāhmaṇa woman (vide AIHT p. 328 including its notes 7 & 8, vide also ibid., p. 330).

[6] The Atharva-Veda (AV 5.17.8) refers to polyandry in the sense that a woman married many men in her life. But nothing can be inferred from this peculiar verse unsupported by tradition and grafted thereon to serve a purpose (vide VA p. 412).

[7] 4.30.48ab.

[8] 9.22.28cd.

[9] 4.30.16.

[10] MS—9.65.

and, since the days of the Ṛg-Veda or the beginning of the ancient tradition, it has remained the same so that sonlessness came to be deplored.[1] If matrimony failed to achieve this desire, various other means viz, (i) *putrikā-dharma-vivāha*, (ii) performance of motivated actions, (iii) adoption and (iv) employment (*niyoga*) were invented to satisfy it.[2] The first invention, as its instances suggest, allowed a maternal grand-father to adopt his daugher's son. Performance of motivated actions such as sacrifices, penance etc. may be called the second invention. As its instances show, they also fulfilled this desire. The only instance of failure is the fifth. It failed to achieve the desired result because violence was involved in it. The second instance of the pre-Flood tradition shows that persons, destined to be issueless, cannot derive happiness from the son acquired in this way. Of the five instances cited from the post-Flood tradition in connection with the second invention, the first and the second are wonderful so far as the transformation of Ilā and birth of Māndhātṛ from his father's belley are concerned respectively. The third points to the invincibility of this desire, the fourth is peculiar and interesting, and the fifth seems to be natural. The third invention was adoption ; and it was legally recognised.[3] Of the five instances cited in this connection, the first adoption took place to have a successor to the hereditary throne, the second points to the keen desire to become a father even of the daughter, the third and the fourth show the desire of fathers to secure the addition of another worthy son to their lineage by awarding him a position of honour among the sons they already had. The fourth also indicates compassion for the orphan child, a spirit which is involved in the last instance also. The practice of employment, which was the fourth and the last invention enumerated, has also five instances like those of adoption. Of these, the four, excepting the fourth, are concerned with the wives whose husbands, being unable to produce themselves, got the desire fulfilled through the employment of others. The fourth instance is concerned with the childless widows of Vicitravīrya whose mother-in-law sought employment for the purpose. All the five instances collectively show that the practice was adopted by the royal families to have a heir to the throne in which their fundamental desire was also soothed.

(i-b) *The Practice of Niyoga :* The practice of employment deserves explanation from two standpoints, i.e., the time of its prevalence and also from the moral point of view. The practice was more or less prevalent since the golden age of the Ṛg-Veda.[1] But it is strictly prohibited for the people of the iron age.[2] Instances, quoted from the Bhāgavata according to the order of their occurrence, fully concur with these statements in point of time. The first instance is connected with the king who flourished early in the golden age while the last with the king who flourished at the close of the copper age and the rest fall within these two time limits. Thus they suggest that the practice was prevalent in the golden, silver and copper ages but was abolished in the iron age that started after the Great War. From the moral standpoint, the practice was unblamable. The Dharma-śāstras[3] permitted a childless wife or widow to have intercourse with the brother or kinsman of the husband to raise issue under some special conditions. This practice was called *niyoga* ; and the offspring, so begotten (*jāta*) on the wife (*kṣetra*) of another by a duly appointed person, was called *kṣetraja*. The conditions laid down for the purpose show that the practice was by no means an immoral one but was intended to satisfy the desire for progeny in a befitting manner. These conditions clearly distinguish this practice of the ancient Hindus from the levirate—a custom of compulsory marriage with a brother's childless widow prevalent among the ancient Hebrews etc.,[4] on the following grounds :—(i) The *niyoga* was neither compulsory nor a marriage. (ii) It was allowed for both wife or widow ; and after conception the widow was to be treated as daughter-in-law by the man employed. (iii) The employment was subject to the approval of the husband in the case of a wife and of the preceptor (or the mother-in-law[5]) in the case of a widow. (iv) A wife may thus produce more than one son but a widow one only. (v) The man and the woman concerned were not allowed to indulge in dalliances at the appointed hour of cohabitation. These conditions of *niyoga*[6] make it explicit that it was neither the levirate nor adultery. But the law-givers were aware of the possibility of this practice degenerating into an immoral one under changing circumstances ; so, they strictly forbid it for the people of the kali age. They thought it necessary to abolish the practice because the people of this dark age are bereft of *tapas* and knowledge ; and can, therefore, neither produce the desired result nor remain unattached. On the contrary, people of the preceeding ages, endowed with *tapas* and knowledge (especially those who were employed e.g., the hermits, priests and preceptors, as all the instances cited from the Bhāgavata testify), performed their job to the best satisfaction of the person or persons concerned without any attachment to sexual pleasure.[1]

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[1] 9.1.16-18 ; vide also RV 3.16.5 ; Ai B 7.15 ; AV 6.11.13 ; and VA p. 393.

[2] For the instances of all these inventions, vide Chapter XII, pp. 345-8.

[3] MS—9.159,168.

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[1] cf. VA p. 393. [2] MS—9.68. [3] MS—9.59-60, Yāj.—1.68-69.

[4] vide the word 'levirate' in *Chambers's Dictionary*.

[5] This happened in the case of the widows of Vicitravīrya (9.22.23cd—25). For the details of this unique *niyoga*, as pointed out above (*ante* p. 389), see instance no. 4 in Chapter XII on p. 348.

[6] MS—9.59-63 ; The Dharma-sūtras had already laid down similar restrictive rules to be observed in this practice (vide VA p. 518).

(ii) *Desires for Riches and Social Status :* Abominable insignificance of wealth is noted.[2] The logical outcome of this situation is, according to the Bhāgavata, contentment—a virtue which it considers the greatest wealth of man.[3] So, the householders in ancient times seem to amass money as much as useful and not as much as desired.[4] To amass money more than what is barely necessary was considered an act of thieving the right of another and the person was therefore liable for punishment.[5] The desire for social status (*loka-eṣaṇā*), the last of the three inherent desires, was soothed by the performance of charitable deeds if it was the desire for the good opinion of the public, and by religious acts if it was the desire for heaven.[6] Both of these tangible and intangible desires served as impetus for such deeds and acts ; and it may be conveniently said that the householders, who had money, would have wisely utilised it for their fulfilment. It is already noticed that wealth is not specifically required for religious acts. So the poor were also able to satisfy this desire in its implicit sense if not in the express also. But according to the Bhāgavata,[7] detachment is the goal of performance of actions. So, when one has satisfied one's fundamental desires viz, for offspring, for riches and for social status by the achievement of three pragmatic ends viz, material pleasures (*kāma*), earthly possessions (*artha*) and religious merits (*dharma* or *puṇya*) respectively, one ought to resort to forest endowed with faith in God.[8]

Considering the eleven points noted in connection with a householder's duties and manner of their performance,[9] it seems that an ideal householder, as envisaged by the Bhāgavata, looked after the cause of his family, which was large enough in those times to be called an unit of the society, in a suitable manner with special attention to the wife, surrendering his actions unto God. He performed his household duties with sustained efforts and without attachment, keeping an eye upon his cherished goal. The seven points noted for his consideration while living in the house[1] show that the house is a place of downfall. So, detachment from all that come in the circle of 'mine' is necessary to attain one's highest welfare. With detachment, the human form should be utilised in striving for the realisation of one's identity with Brahman. The twelve points noted for his consideration while leaving the house[2] show that after the dawning of the sense of satiety and consequent subdual of the senses, the householder in ancient India used to retire from active worldly life and tried to pursue the path of his highest welfare. In pursuit of this spiritual welfare (*mokṣa*) or devotion to God, as the Bhāgavata prefers, he either lived like a *kuṭīcara* type of recluse in the house or resorted to forest most probably with his wife.

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[1] vide ref. 2 *ante* p. 390 where Kullūka cites Bṛhaspati to show the reasons, as noted above, for the total abolition of the practice in the kali age.

[2] vide Chapter XII, pp. 348-50.

[3] 7.13.36-42 ; vide also 7.15.16-17 ; as well as 8.19.21-25.

[4] 8.19.27d.

[5] 7.14.8.

[6] vide Chapter XII, pp. 351-2.

[7] 2.2.14 ; vide also 11.20.9.

[8] 10.84.38-39.

[9] For the details of these eleven points, vide Chapter XII, pp. 352-5.

C. *Woman* (*Wife*) *and Son*

(i) *Wife* (*ardhāṅginī*) (i-*a*) *Position* :—The girls in ancient India were well-educated in the sense that they were brought up well and instructed properly. This education at the father's house strengthened the powers of their body and mind so that they became good wives. The Bhāgavata refers to three types of housewife (*gṛhiṇī*), viz, chaste wife (*sādhvī*), loyal wife (*pativratā*) and noble wife (*kula-strī*). All these types are helpful in the attainment of three pragmatic ends (*tri-varga*) for man with whom they live.[3] As the other half of the husband (*ardhāṅginī*), the wife in the ancient family unit (*kula*) enjoyed exalted position. As a fellow-worker (*saha-dharmiṇī*), she stood on par with the husband in all spheres of his life and activities. Both executed actions jointly and enjoyed their fruits equally. A housewife was the mistress of the house first and partner afterwards. In the role of an economiser or a female domestic manager, she exercised authority in her functions by the rule of love. The house, the children and wealth in the form of ornaments etc., all provided by the husband, gave her the life of attachment and merriment. The sacrifices, sacraments, vows and other religious rites too often or rather daily performed in an ancient family unit, engrossed full attention of the housewife who was in sole charge of their operation and whose presence was necessary at each step of the ritual. There was reciprocal entertainment in these domestic ceremonies. She entertained others while the ceremonies entertained her. This enhanced her status in the family and she became worthy of respect and care. Considering the qualities of a good wife, she came to be understood as the symbol of prosperity (*gṛha-lakṣmī*) and the glory of the family (*gṛheśvarī*). As a partner taking part in the out-door activities, a wife publicly attended feasts, flocked to festive gatherings, witnessed and participated in processions (e.g., *deva-yātrā*) and accompanied her husband on pilgrimages (*tīrtha-yātrā*) etc. That the high altitude of intellectualism a woman can rise to, is exemplified by the famous dialogue of Maitreyī and Gārgī with their husband Yājñavalkya.[1] The zenith of spiritual attainment for which she can aspire is illustrated by Devahūti, the wife of the progenitor Kardama, who lived in the state of enlightenment.[2]

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[1] For the details of these seven points, see *ante* pp. 355-6.

[2] For the details of these twelve points, sec *ante* pp. 356-60.

[3] For the definition of these wives and their duties etc., vide pp. 360-2.

(i-*b*) *Hall-marks* : The duties and manners of a wife, as described by the Bhāgavata[3], show that high standard of morality and fidelity was maintained by the wives of the types noted above. It may be said here that men perhaps could not or would not maintain the equally high standard of morality on account of the privilege of polygyny granted to them by the Hindu law. But women had to observe monogamy as well as hypergamy, as a rule. Therefore, in general recognition of the wife's profound love for husband, the progenitor Kaśyapa reveals his sense of gratitude towards his wife Aditi as follows :—"O housewife ! If I strive to offer something in exchange of your love, service etc., I just cannot do it in this life or another ".[4] Dutiful to all—the husband, family members, guests, visitors and so on—and carrying on and through family affairs with love and self-restraint, women have always remained the repository of good qualities, the hall-marks of the Hindu wives from the very beginning down to this day.

(i-*c*) *Satī :* A *satī* (highly virtuous) woman constitutes the highest category of wife. Such a woman preferred self-immolation with the dead husband (*saha-maraṇa*)[5] or followed him in death (*anu-maraṇa*) if he died elsewhere. But the general prevalence of the custom of *satī* (self-immolation) is ruled out, especially because we know that the Vedic texts[6] and the Dharma-sūtras[7] discuss the questions of widow-remarriage and her right to the property of the deceased husband, although the Dharma-śāstras[8] do not favour remarriage of a widow and lay stress on the life of renunciation for her. From this attitude of the law-givers, it is clear that the *satī* custom, if prevalent, was gradually abolished. According to the

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[1] BU 3.6-8 ; vide also BU 4.5.

[2] 3.13.12, 26.

[3] For detail, vide Chapter XII, p. 361.

[4] 3.14.20.

[5] For the instances, vide c. XII, p. 362.

[6] vide VA p. 458.

[7] ibid., p. 518.

[8] MS—5.157-160.

Bhāgavata, love for husband in exclusion of love for God is worthless ;[1] and the wife who is striving for liberation (*mumukṣu*) may discard her husband as delusion (Māyā), taking him detrimental to her spiritual goal.[2]

(ii) *Woman :* (ii-*a*) *Qualities :*—In contrast with three hierarchical types of good women viz, the noble, the loyal and the chaste noted above, there are three hierarchical types of bad women viz, the fond (*kāminī*), the wanton (*svairiṇī*) and the harlot (*puṁścalī*) who are not worthy of trust or friendship.[3] Such adult females of the human race are characteristically unkind, unreliable and treacherous, because they are habitually merciless (*a-karuṇā*), cruel (*krūrā*), obstinate (*dur-marṣā*) and desperate for the sake of their lovers (*priya-sāhasā*).[4] A fond or loving woman (*kāminī*) was so infamous for deception (*vañcana*) and infatuation (*mohana*) that, according to Śrīdhara,[5] God assumed the form of 'Mohinī' to deceive the demons and favour the gods only because He thought no other form so appropriate for stepmotherly treatment. Cruelty of the stepmothers, specially when barren, is well-known.[6] Envy of the stepmothers, even when not barren, is also famous.[7] To show the vileness (*durā'tmatā*) of womankind, the Bhāgavata cites the example of a gopī who had the privilege of accompanying Kṛṣṇa to a lonely place in exclusion of all other gopīs that assembled on the bank of the Yamunā on the occasion of "*rāsa-līlā*" (the Divine Fiesta). The gopī became proud of her privileged position and, pretending to be tired of walking, asked Kṛṣṇa to carry her on his back wherever he likes.[8] Such qualities of womankind, which were by no means praiseworthy, seem to haunt women in the era that followed the Great War. So, the Bhāgavata says that women of the kali age are tiny, voracious, immodest, excessively courageous, mothers of numerous children, always uttering harsh words and having habits of concealment (*caurya*) and fraud (*kapaṭatā*).[1] It is in this light, that we should look to woman's identifications with evil (*nirṛti*)[2] and falsity (*anṛta*),[3] her classification with the vices (*vyasana*)[4] such as wine, dice etc., and the declaration of Yogins that woman is the 'gateway of hell' (*niraya-dvāra*).[5] To use euphemistic term instead, she is frail and fickle and therefore untrustworthy.

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[1] 10.60.65.

[2] 3.31.40-41.

[3] 8.9.9-10 ; vide also 9.14.36, 38.

[4] 6.18.41-42 ; vide also 5.6.4cd and 9.14.37.

[5] 8.12.15 ; Śrīdhara here explains the import of God's statement :— अयं भावः—अवश्यं तावदुन्मत्तान् दैत्यान् वञ्चयित्वा देवेभ्योऽमृतं देयम्, न चैवं वैषम्यं रूपान्तरेण कर्त्तुमुचितम्, अतो वञ्चन-मोहनादि-सारं कामिनी-रूपं मया धृतमिति ।

[6] The envious and barren wives of Citraketu killed his son by poisoning when he was born (6.14.13). Sagara, the Ayodhyā king, was also the victim of his stepmothers' cruelty. His stepmothers poisoned his own mother when he was in her womb (9.8.4). Besides the stepmethers, even one's own mother may also be cruel in a given circumstance. It is said that the three wives of Bharata-Dauṣyanta killed their sons when the husband told them that the sons do not resemble him (9.20.23).

[7] In the famous story of Dhruva, narrated in five chapters by the Bhāgavata (*4. 8-12*) we find Uttama's mother Suruci, the dear wife of his father Uttānapāda, behaving as a niggard, objected on the loving attitude of the father towards him only because he was the son of a co-wife viz, Sunīti (4.8.8-13).

[8] 10.30.34-37.

(ii-*b*) *Degeneration* :—Woman's tendency to depart from the good qualities of the race in the iron age after successful career in three ages may be traced to the idea of her lower position than that of man. Keen desire for male progeny since the beginning of ancient tradition[6] shows that woman stood a step below man in the Aryan society. Performance of purificatory rites, initiated in the Gṛhya-sūtras[7] and reaffirmed in the Dharma-śāstras,[8] by her without the recitation of the Vedic *mantras* (excepting in the case of her marriage, probably because a man was involved in it) the total prohibition of the upanayana,[9] the daily duties and the āśrama practices[10]—all may be taken as both the cause and the effect of her lower position in the same way as is obtainable in the case of the Śūdra caste.[11] These restrictions, apparently imposed in view of her lower position than man, mean that she remained bereft of purity and learning. The result was that faminine culture deteriorated further.[12] Among other reasons that may have contributed to this deterioration, the polygyny (especially the *anuloma* type of marriage that was permissible for men) may be one. The custom, in its trail, brought the lower caste women in the houses of the refined dvija families as co-wives. Their presence and consequent contact with the noble ladies might have adversely affected the refinement of manners and instincts of the latter. Meeting with paramour in violation of the marriage-bed was not unknown in the Ṛg-Vedic period ;[13] and it was common in the Gupta period when adultery came to be ranked as one of the minor sins (*upa-pātaka*).[1] Manu,[2] laying emphasis on chastity, strictly warns such women against the dangers in this and the next births ; and, the Bhāgavata[3] censures friendship with a lover other than the husband (*aupapatya*). It seems that wanton type of women was not wanting in the centuries round about the Christian era, although infidelity to the marriage bond by the Hindu wives in general may not be deduced from the above warning and censorious statement.

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[1] 12.3.34.

[2] Maitrāyaṇī-Saṁhitā—1.10.11.

[3] ŚB 14.1.1.31 ; vide also MS—9.18d.

[4] 11.23.9 ; vide also Maitrāyaṇī-Saṁhitā—3.6.3.

[5] 3.31.38d.

[6] vide *ante* ref. I on p. 389; vide also pp. 344-5.

[7] vide VA pp. 478, 518.

[8] MS—2.26-27.

[9] 10.23.42a ; MS—2.66-67 and 9.18.

[10] 10.23.42bcd ; For details, see *ante* p. 363.

[11] vide c. XI, pp. 312-3. ; women are classified with Śūdras in the Gītā (9.32cd).

[12] Deprivation of mother's right over a son, in case there was a dispute between the parents for him (9.20.20ab), may be taken as one of the repercussions of her lower position. For the details of this disputed issue, see Chapter—XII, pp. 365-6.

[13] vide VA p. 394.

(ii-c) *Reforms* :—Degeneration of womanly culture demanded reforms or amendments in the existing laws and customs. The notion that the males are the masters of the females was already conceived from the beginning of the ancient tradition.[4] Later on it found expression in the Dharma-sūtras[5] and was reiterated with greater emphasis in the Smṛti manuals.[6] Accordingly, women were not thought fit for independence ; and vigilance was suggested on their movements in successive stages of their life by the father, the husband and the son respectively. Naturally the husband was to be most vigilant towards the conduct of his young wife so that she may not indulge in the acts that blemish her character, bringing about defamation for the family.[7] This limiting of a woman's freedom of movement and vigilance on her conduct to maintain chastity, as recommended by the Hindu law-books, were perhaps necessitated by the political instability[8] and the social disorder[9] prevailing in India particularly in the north-west direction in the third century and the early part of the fourth century A.D. The next reformatory step in the field of existing customs was that the privileges implicit in the practices of *niyoga*[10] and widow-remarriage[11] were withdrawn. These customs, as we have seen,[12] were more or less prevalent in ancient ages ; but they came to be strictly forbidden in the present age—the age in which their objective was not found feasible. Thus need for emphasis on chastity, consequent upon the degeneration of womanly culture, may be said to have curbed the desire for offspring (in the absence of a natural one) both of a wife and of a widow.[13] No doubt, the law-givers in the Dharma-śāstras thus seem to adopt more orthodox attitude than those in the Dharma-sūtras towards women in general.[1] But the existing conditions—political and social—were responsible for this attitude. Yet, it may be noted that in spite of this stern attitude, they, in no way, relegated women to the position of inferiority. The restriction on movements does not mean that a woman lost her freedom of expression or actions. She was free to select her husband at mature age ;[2] and there is no suggestion that the consent of father or brother was essential.[3] The custom of the self-choice of her husband (*svayam-vara*) furnishes an additional proof that a girl (especially a princess) enjoyed considerable freedom in her father's house. When a girl entered the stage of the house-wife, a well-attended-upon husband was not expected to deprive her chaste wife of freedom of actions. On the contrary, as we have seen,[4] she exercised authority in functions and carried weight in household affairs. The law-giver, who restricted woman's out-door activities so that she may concentrate on the household duties as a noble lady, as mentioned above, was sympathetic enough to advise[5] her husband to deal with her wisely so that she may lose inclination towards unwarranted activities. Woman in all her states—daughter, sister, wife or mother—was the object of adoration, respect and care.[6] Woman as a wife was, as it were, the house. When she became mother—the most glorious state of a woman's life—there is no evidence whatsoever to show that sons disobeyed her.

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[1] vide CA p. 571.

[2] MS—5.164-165 ; vide the same verses repeated again, MS—9.29-30.

[3] 10.29.26.

[4] vide VA p. 394.

[5] ibid., p. 519.

[6] MS—5.147-149 ; vide also 9.2-3.

[7] MS—9.5-9.

[8] For the details of the political instability, vide Chapter IX, pp. 262-3, 286.

[9] For the details of the social disorder, see Chapter XII, pp. 376-7, vide also *infra* pp. 409-10.

[10] MS—9.68.

[11] MS—5.158.

[12] See *ante* pp. 347-8, for the instances of *niyoga* and pp. 389-90 for its practice ; See *ante* p. 388 for the custom of widow-remarriage and p. 393 for widow's life.

[13] MS—5.160.

(iii) *Son :* The ardent desire for son finds expression in the etymology of the word, *putra*. A son is said to deliver his father from the hell, *Put*.[7] Therefore, in spite of himself, a father has always the feeling of affection for his son.[8] The three legends,[9] which describe the fetching back of dead sons by Kṛṣṇa, point to the invincibility of the feeling of affection in the parents for their sons on the one hand and divinity of Kṛṣṇa on the other. At the most, a father would revile his stubborn son, but never assail him maliciously.[1] So, to overcome this invincible feeling of affection for a son which generates sorrow etc.,[2] the Bhāgavata draws the attention of the parents on the falsity and transitoriness of relationship among the three[3] on the one hand and eternality of the soul abiding in each of them[4] on the other. As for the duties of a son towards his parents, they are nothing but an attempt to discharge the debt of gratitude; and this attempt finds expression in his service to them.[5] In the production of a son, the semen of man is considered more important than the womb of woman. So proprietary right over the product was enjoyed by the father rather than the mother.[6] On the same ground, the husband of a son's mother was deprived of the right, if there was another producer as a claimant. But the husband, i.e., the virtual father, lost right over his legitimate (*kṣetraja*) son only when the producer, i.e., the actual father, laid a specific claim on him; otherwise the objective of *niyoga* would have fallen flat.[7]

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[1] cf. VA p. 518.
[2] MS—9.90.
[3] It is said that a father, as a rule, did not arrange the marriage of his daughter or son in the Brāhmaṇa-period (VA p. 453). Similarly, the Bhāgavata says that a father should ascertain the positive consent of his daughter before marrying her to somebody (3.22.22ab).
[4] See *ante* pp. 392-3.
[5] MS—9.10-12.
[6] MS—3.55-59.
[7] 9.20.21ab ; MS—9.138.
[8] The story of the sale of Śunaḥ-śepha by his father, having rudiments even in the Ṛg-Veda (for the references in RV and AiB, vide VA p. 512 ; for the details of the story, vide Chapter VIII, pp. 233, 247 ; vide also c. XII, pp. 346-7), does not nullify the statement. It is only an exceptional case that took place accidentally ; and, at the most, may represent the hard-heartedness of a father.
[9] For these legends, vide Chapter XII, p. 364.

D. *The Concept of the Five Great Sacrifices*

At least from the financial point of view the householder is the foundation and support of other stages of life;[8] and from this viewpoint the stage of the householder is the best.[9] Men in other stages of life were not given to earnings or savings; and so they depended on the householder for food etc. The idea of debts, developing into the concept of five great sacrifices, fulfilled the needs of the society as well as of the world at large. "According to the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa,[10] everybody is born with four kinds of debts: debt to the gods, that to the hermits, that to the forefathers and that to men. By sacrifice one clears debt to the gods; by reading the Vedas, to the hermits; by offspring, to the forefathers; and by hospitality, to men. Gradually...the sense of universal pity[11] carried the idea of debt to men to its widest expansion viz, pity to all living beings, men or not. This enlarged the idea of four debts into the concept of five great sacrifices (*pañca mahā-yajña*)."[12] In other words, sacrifices to the gods for personal gains, rites for the satisfaction of the forefathers, hospitality to worthy guests and general compassion for living beings including animals—all these were knit into the general pattern of sacrifice prefaced by the supremacy of the Vedas. This gave rise to the concept of fivefold great sacrifice.[1] Thus a householder was to read the Vedas (*brahma-yajña*), provide for offering to the gods (*deva-yajña*), forefathers (*pitṛ-yajña*), human beings (*nṛ-yajña*) and domestic animals (*bhūta-yajña*).[2] Of these, the first, the foremost yajña, that already started with the first āśrama, was indispensable in the second stage also.

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[1] 7.4.15.

[2] 6.15.23ab; 6.16.13cd.

[3] 6.16.2-8.

[4] 6.15.7; vide also 6.16.9-11.

[5] 9.18.43; vide also 10.45.5-6; The Dharma-sūtras describe in some detail the acts of courtesy that a son owes to his father (vide VA p. 512).

[6] 9.20.20ab.

[7] 9.14.10-13; See for detail pp. 365-6.

[8] 3.14.17; vide also 4.25.40; MS—3.77; cf. Ch U 8.15.1.

[9] MS—3.78; vide also MS—6.89.

[10] ŚB 1.7.2.1-5; cf. BU 1.4.16.

[11] 7.14.11ab; vide also 11.17.20cd.

[12] PSB Vol. II., p. 37.

Deva-yajña included *iṣṭa* and *pūtra* types of karman.[3] Therefore a word on the classification of karman is relevant here. Manu has classified deeds (*karman*) prescribed by the Vedas into *pravṛtta* and *nivṛtta ;* and has defined the former as *kāmya* (motivated) that leads to material welfare while the later as *niṣkāma* (selfless) that leads to spiritual welfare.[4] "The Bhāgavata faithfully contributes to the view of Manu, and likewise it has divided Vedic prescriptions into *pravṛtta* and *nivṛtta* and has recognised the presence or absence of selfish motive to determine the category of action."[5] Thus the distinction of *pravṛtta* and *nivṛtta* is based on whether selfish motive is allowed to work as the secret spring or not. The same action is *kāmya* or *pravṛtta* if the motive is there and *niṣkāma* or *nivṛtta* if the motive is absent. The Bhāgavata has further classified *pravṛtta* into *iṣṭa* and *pūrta*. "By *iṣṭa*, the Bhāgavata understands the traditional kinds of sacrifices (viz, *darśa*, *pūrṇamāsa*, *cāturmāsya*, *paśu-yāga* and *soma-yāga*) and also *huta* as well as *prahuta ;* by *pūrta*, the extra-traditional social services like the digging of tanks etc."[6] Thus "karman" came to be conceived under two well-defined categories—Vedic and secular or quasi-religious deeds enjoined by the Smṛtis ; and they may be conveniently called

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[1] ibid., p. 199.

[2] 11.17.49.

[3] vide Chapter XII, pp. 366-7.

[4] MS—12.88-89.

[5] 7.15.47. ; For phraseology, vide PSB Vol. II., p. 21.

[6] 7.15.48-49 ; For phraseology, vide PSB Vol. II., p. 22 ; The terms *huta* and *prahuta*, meaning oblations to the gods and offering of food to living beings other than men (हुतं वैश्वदेवं, प्रहुतं बलि-हरणम्—Śrīdhara on 7.15.49) respectively, may be taken to mean manuṣya-yajña (*brāhmya huta*, according to Manu, means hospitality to men, see MS—3.74) and bhūta-yajña (प्रहुतो भौतिको बलि:—MS—3.74b) respectively (cf. PSB Vol. II., its refs. 34 and 35 on p. 22). The sacrifices mentioned above under *iṣṭa* were the householder's occasional duties while these two yajñas, also falling under *iṣṭa*, were his daily duties. Besides these, oblation on fire (*agni-hotra*) was also a compulsory daily duty. Even a wife was to perform it in the absence of her husband (cf. 8.16.8 & VA p. 518).

iṣṭa and *pūrta* respectively.[1] "Like Manu,[2] the Bhāgavata[3] understands *nivṛtta* to consist in the redirection of all senses to knowledge. With this end in view, the Bhāgavata[4] pleads for the pursuit of the daily and occasional duties which are professedly purificatory in character, although they may also sink to the worst forms of selfish acts, if invaded by selfish ends".[5] So, the daily (*nitya*) and occasional (*naimittika*) duties should be performed in exclusion of selfish deeds (*pravṛtta-karman*) or motivated actions (*kāmya-karman*).[6] All selfish rites should be discarded. One need not fear thereby the violation of the Vedas. For ,all selfish rites are optional and not mandatory.[7]

The spirit of benevolence underwent steady enlargement in rites for the satisfaction of the forefathers. At first the debt to the fathers was cleared by offspring; but later on pitṛ-yajña included *tarpaṇa* and *śrāddhas*, noted by the Smṛtis.[8] These rites in honour of the departed ones and the sacrifices to the gods, as noted above, were generally aimed at personal gains both here and hereafter. So, philanthropy in dual forms—to human beings and also to birds and animals—was introduced to counterbalance the selfish motive. In the earlier thought debt to men was cleared by hospitality to worthy guests, especially to the Brāhmaṇas; but later on nṛ-yajña included all those who need food and shelter. The Bhāgavata[9] holds this type of nṛ-yajña in higher estimation than deva-yajña, if it means the performance of Vedic sacrifices with selfish motive.[10] The feeling of mercy underwent largest possible expansion so that degraded human beings and beings even below the human level may enjoy the benefits of man's generosity. Thus emerged bhūta-yajña from *prahuta*.[11] The bhūta-yajña, as deducible from the Bhāgavata,[12] shows that the fallen people and the sinners (among men) as well as birds and animals—all deserve their shares in householder's daily meal. Among domestic animals, the cow used to receive respectful attention, although the dog was not overlooked, as the same story of Rantideva points out. So, pity (*dayā*) may be considered as a deduction from the doctrine of the fivefold sacrifice and gift (*dāna*) is obviously a legacy from it.[1]

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[1] Śrīdhara (on 2.8.21):—इष्टं वैदिकं कर्म; पूर्तं स्मार्तम् ।

[2] MS—4.22.

[3] 7.15.32cd, 53-54.

[4] 11.3.46.

[5] vide PSB Vol. II., pp. 22-23.

[6] 11.10.4.

[7] PSB Vol. II., p. 10.

[8] vide Chapter XII, p. 367.

[9] vide ibid.

[10] Hospitality to the guests was the notable feature of a householder's life since the Ṛg-Vedic age (vide VA p. 387). It continued likewise even afterwards (vide VA p. 453) and seems to be so down to this day.

[11] vide ref. 6, *ante* p. 399.

[12] For the exemplification of *bhūta-yajña*, see the story of Rantideva in Chapter XII, p. 368; For Rantideva's position, kingdom etc., see Chapter VII, pp. 209-10.

"The ideal of the fivefold sacrifice was set before the householder. This means that the householder could have a religious partner from the opposite sex, accumulate riches for giving effect to the rituals, and also realize his ambition for tangible gains by establishing himself before the appreciative public, and intangible gains by securing the abodes of the gods and the Fathers after his death. Natural propensities to satisfy sex, to acquire property and by all these to realize the ideal self with family as its centre, thus sought to utilize the fivefold sacrifice as their instrument, in which an element of selflessness (visible in the *nṛ-yajña* and *bhūta-yajña*) was thought to subscribe to the making of the ideal man".[2] In this way while discharging the obligations of the five great sacrifices, the householder gratified his fundamental desires on the one hand and served the needs of the society on the other. The ideal, thus put into practice, achieved a unique harmony between individual needs and the needs of the world at large.

"The assignments of a householder thus range from acts for personal satisfaction to the strivings for the realization of universal virtues. He is expected to strike a unique balance between hedonism and altruism. The individual, the society and the world are all represented in his activities. His is the life of progressive journey from the low level of instincts to the high altitude of universalism".[3]

THE STAGE OF RESORTING TO FOREST

(i) *Tapas and its Objective :*—Ancient householders resorted to forest (*vana*) in the third part of their life in pursuit of emancipation.[4] The religious code prescribed for the ascetics (*vānaprasthin*)[5] indicates that this is the stage of self-chastisement. The ascetics, shunning all comforts and subduing desires, underwent *tapas* so that detachment, which sheds the light of the soul, may dawn upon them. "*Tapas* (which originally meant the simple act of contemplation for the people of the golden age beyond the sway of customary morality[6]) re-asserted itself (in the era of the Brāhmaṇas), and became associated with the third stage of life viz, *vāna-prastha* as its special characteristic. *Tapas*, in this stage, was thus meant to indicate austerity in general. A vānaprasthin would adopt it for self-mortification so that the residue of his material thirst might languish, preparing the way for the awakening of spiritual insight".[1] The reference to the ascetics such as the vaikhānas etc.[2] shows that there were many types of vānaprasthin who were distinguished on the basis of their means of subsistence, although all of them lived on the products of forest. Generally the tenure of the third āśrama was of twenty-five years. But alive to the rigour of this āśrama, the Bhāgavata concedes to lessen the tenure according to one's capacity. So it allows one to enter the fourth stage as soon as the objective viz, dawning of detachment and consequent spiritual conviction (*parokṣa-jñāna*) are achieved.[3] In case detachment, mild or intense, was there but spiritual conviction was lacking, the ascetics took refuge under a spiritual teacher (*guru*) for the purpose.[4] In the strain of the Muṇḍaka-Upaniṣad[5] as well as the Gītā,[6] the Bhāgavata[7] recommends to approach him for religious instruction, who might then initiate the disciple to the rites for embracing saṁ-nyāsa.

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[1] vide PSB Vol. II., pp. 84, 85.

[2] ibid., p. 57.

[3] ibid., p. 38.

[4] 11.18.1.

[5] 7.12.18-21 ; vide also 11.18.2-8 ; Fo details, vide Chapter XII, p. 368.

[6] cf. RV 10.190.1.

THE STAGE OF THE RECLUSE

The fourth stage, i.e., the saṁ-nyāsa āśrama may be understood to have two parts viz, probational and final, meant for the recluses (e.g., *kuṭīcara*, *bahūdaka* etc.) and the sages (e.g., *haṁsa*, *niṣkriya* etc.) respectively. The recluses striving for accomplishing knowledge under the probational part were called sādhaka yatis while those who attained knowledge were known as siddha yatis.[8] The persistent practice of *yama* and *ni-yama*[9] brings about complete purification of the mind and enables a recluse on probation (*sādhaka*) to withdraw himself from worldly affairs, by overcoming distraction. The mind so detached from worldly trifles centres upon the discovery of truth. Detachment heralds the path of knowledge with which ceases the necessity for observing the religious code and Vedic prescriptions.[1] According to the Bhāgavata,[2] prescribed duties should be continued till one becomes detached from worldly life or develops taste for listening to God. As soon as detachment or love for God is there, the mind is purified and knowledge dawns upon the votary.[3] Hence there remains no need for performing religious practices.[4] The path of knowledge is meant for such pure souls who have entered the final part of saṁ-nyāsa, i.e., the state of a sage (*siddhā'vasthā*).[5] The path ultimately leads to the settlement of the siddha's mind on Brahman, the Infinite.[6]

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[1] PSB Vol. II., p. 59.

[2] 3.12.43ab; For their details, vide Chapter XII, pp. 368-9.

[3] 7.12.22.

[4] 11.18.38-39.

[5] Mun. U 1.2.12.

[6] Gītā—4.34.

[7] 11.3.21; vide also 11.10.5cd.

[8] vide Chapter XII, pp. 369-70.

[9] The five virtues or the five great vows (*mahā-vrata*) known as yamas i.e., the essentials of self-control are : non-violence (*a-hiṁsā*), truth (*satya*), non-stealing (*a-steya*), continence (*brahmacarya*) and subsistence with the minimum or non-acceptance of more than what is barely necessary (*a-parigraha*). Like yamas, ni-yamas, i.e., the supplementary to the five essential virtues are also five in number in the list of Patañjali. They are : cleanliness (*śauca*), satisfaction (*santoṣa*), penance or austerity (*tapas*), reading of Scriptures (*svādhyāya*) and meditation of God or dedication of all actions to God (*īśvara-praṇidhāna*); Yoga-sūtra—*2.30-32*; For phraseology, vide PSB vol. II., pp. 62-63, 78-79.

(i) *The Probational Part:* To strive for non-attachment to the objects of senses is very important in the probational part.[7] The five teachers of Datta serve as the exemplars for the downfall of a recluse (*yati* or *muni*) if he is attached to sensual gratification. Accordingly, attachment to a single sense (e.g., *rūpa*) is disastrous; and if deluded by all the five, the result is obvious destruction of the person concerned, man or *muni* whosoever he may be.[8] Of the five senses, the sense of taste (*rasa*) is invincible. If a man does not take food for a long time, it is likely that he may overcome the senses of sound (*śabda*) and touch (*sparśa*) which generally do not agitate the mind of a hungry man. But the liking for palatable food increasingly agitates the person who is fasting or bereft of food. It is therefore necessary for a recluse to start the control of the five senses from the sense of taste. For this, to check the mental liking for food pleasant to the taste rather than going on fasting is suggested as the best method. The secret of success is to take food as medicine, only to live. The vital air (*prāṇa-vāyu*) subsists on minimum food and provides life and energy.[1]

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[1] Gītā—3.4; Śrīdhara comments:—सम्यक् चित्तशुद्धयर्थं ज्ञानोत्पत्ति-पर्यन्तं वर्णाश्रमोचितानि कर्माणि कर्त्तव्यानि ।

[2] 10.29.9.

[3] Śrīdhara (on Gītā—3.4) comments: —चित्तशुद्धयभावेन ज्ञानानुत्पत्तेः... ।

[4] 2.2.14; vide also Gītā—3.17 where Śrīdhara elucidates this principle as follows:—अज्ञस्यान्तःकरण-शुद्धयर्थं कर्मयोगमुक्त्वा ज्ञानिनः कर्मानुपयोगमाह ।

[5] The Bhāgavata, through the autobiography of an Avadhūta gives the glimpse of the final part of saṁ-nyāsa in its 13th Chapter of the 7th skandha which Śrīdhara introduces as follows:—अवधूतेतिहासेन सिद्धावस्था च वर्ण्यते ।

[6] MS—6.81.

[7] Gītā—2.60; Śrīdhara here comments:—साधकावस्थायां तत्र महान् प्रयत्नः कर्त्तव्यः ।

[8] Śrīdhara (on 11.8.7) cites a Smṛti:—

तदुक्तम्— पतंग-मातंग-कुरंग-भृंग-मीना हताः पंचभिरेव पंच ।
एकः प्रमादी स कथं न हन्यते यः सेवते पचभिरेव पंच ॥

For the details of exemplars, vide Chapter XII, pp. 370-1.

(ii) *The Final Part* (*The Path of Knowledge*) *:* With detachment or faith in God, a sādhaka becomes a siddha. A detached siddha or sage is intent upon knowledge for his emancipation while the devotee siddha, having faith in God, is indifferent to it.[2] But both types of siddha stop action, as they have attained the goal of their strivings. Yet the Bhāgavata has prescribed some peculiar manners or behaviour for a siddha or parama-haṁsa, as it likes to call him, because in the absence of these, there is possibility of falling from the high status until he reaches the state of enlightenment (*jīvan-muktā'vasthā*).[3] The predominant characteristics of a siddha appear to be non-association (*a-saṁga*), pleasure in the self (*ātma-rati*) and invariability (*a-vikāritva*).[4] One may doubt here that if there is a code for both—sādhaka and siddha—how they can be mutually differentiated, considering that the sādhaka labours under the path of action and the siddha is introduced to the path of knowledge. The answer is that the code is mandatory for the former while optional for the later. The siddha is not a slave of code or Vedic injunctions. He may act suitably at will, leaving the indicatory marks (e.g., *tri-daṇḍa*) of the āśrama.[5] But the Gītā[6] counsels a siddha to act for the maintenance of mankind although there is no use of action for a person who has attained the knowledge of the soul.[7] So, a saṁ-nyāsin, who has entered the path of knowledge, may observe the code of good conduct so that others may not leave their āśrama practices.[8] As for the insignia, the code may not be necessarily physical. Like Manu,[9] the Bhāgavata[10] considers the control of thought, speech and deeds through the regulation of breath (*anilā'yāma*), observance of silence (*mauna*) and renunciation of motivated actions (*anīhā*) respectively, as the best *tri-daṇḍa*.

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[1] 11.8.21-22; and Gītā—2.59 with Śrīdhara on both; vide also 11.7.39.

[2] 11.18.28.

[3] vide Chapter XII, pp. 372-3.

[4] ibid., pp. 373-4.

[5] 7.13.9; vide also 11.18.28, 36.

[6] Gītā—3.17-18.

[7] Gītā—3.25.

[8] Otherwise taking him as an ideal, others shall stop action and thus fail to achieve their highest welfare. Śrīdhara (on Gītā—3.20) comments on this issue as follows:—अन्यथा ज्ञानिदृष्टान्तेनाज्ञः कर्म त्यजन् पतेदित्येवं लोकरक्षणमपि तावत्प्रयोजनं सम्पश्यन् कर्म कर्त्तुमेवार्हसि । Further (on Gītā—3.26) Śrīdhara summarises:—बुद्धिचालने कृते सति कर्मसु श्रद्धा-निवृत्तेर्ज्ञानस्य चानुत्पत्तेस्तेषामुभयभ्रंशः स्यादिति भावः ।

[9] MS—12.10.

[10] 11.18.17.

(ii-a) *The Parama-haṁsas and their Religion:* The Parama-haṁsas (great spiritual swans to the lotus-feet of God), taken into account,[1] had their existence in the pre-historic age as well as in the post-Flood era. The historical parama-haṁsa viz, Datta[2] had twenty-four teachers.[3] Datta took them as his gurus in the sense that he derived knowledge from them on two topics viz, the nature of the soul and the conduct of a *muni*, by observing their mode of life (*vṛtti*).[4] These silent gurus did not instruct; but knowledge, gathered from them, is useful. Worthy men are capable of delivering themselves by acting up to suggestions.[5] Datta, who was a truly discerning man, arrived at some universal propositions on the above-mentioned two topics, by his observation; and thus attaining knowledge, he became a parama-haṁsa.[6] It may be noted here that the spiritual teacher (*jñāna-prada-guru*), as mentioned above in the case of an ascetic on the verge of entering the fourth stage, is always one. He imparts the highest knowledge that leads to the cherished goal. But in other departments of knowledge plurality of teachers is proper, as numerous gurus supply ever-lasting (*su-sthira*) and copious (*su-puṣkala*) knowledge.[7] "The organic unity of devotion, detachment and knowledge is designated by the Bhāgavata[8] as the *pārama-haṁsya-dharma*, i.e., the religion of the parama-haṁsas or recluses. And as the discipline of devotion (*bhakti-yoga*) of the Bhāgavata stands for this organic unity...such discipline of the Bhāgavata is none else than the *pārama-haṁsya-dharma*. Again, as the Bhāgavata is fundamentally concerned with the exposition of the *parama-dharma* which is the discipline of devotion amounting to the *pārama-haṁsya-dharma*, the Bhāgavata would naturally recognise this fact wherever it has opportunity to do so. This explains why the Bhāgavata at the colophon of each chapter would describe itself as the *pārama-haṁsya-saṁhitā*. It is so because it professes to be a work on the religion of the great spiritual swans (*haṁsa*) who have chosen once for all to abide by the lotus-feet of the Lord."[9]

THE FOUR STAGES OF LIFE

(i) *Cardinal Virtues:* The cardinal virtues of the four stages of life are: celebacy and reading of the Vedas of the first, sacrifices and charity of the second, austerity and awakening to the light of the soul of the third and non-injury and control of the mind of the fourth.[1] Other virtues expected at all the four stages of life are : continence (*brahmacarya*[2]) religious penance (*tapas*), non-attachment etc. (*śauca*[3]), satisfaction (*santoṣa*), friendliness to all (*bhūta-sauhṛda*) and devotion to God (*mad-upāsanā*).[4] According to the Bhāgavata,[5] devotion to God (*kṛṣṇa-bhakti*) removes the difficulties that come in the way of the four *āśramins*. For examples of each, a brahma-cārin, devoted to Kṛṣṇa, may not be asked to procure fuel etc. by his preceptor considering it useless for him. The blame of promiscuity (*sāṁkarya*) arising from some inter-caste marriage etc. in the family may not befall the house-holder, devoted to Kṛṣṇa, because he develops the liking for living in seclusion detaching himself from such affairs. The devoted ascetic becomes free from the trouble of bearing dust or mire (*mala-dhāraṇa*), it being unnecessary for him. Finally, the recluse becomes free from the clutches of subliminal tendencies (*vāsanā*) such as desire etc. (*kāmādi*), if devoted to Kṛṣṇa.[6]

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[1] vide Chapter XII, p. 374. [2] vide *ante* pp. 231, 244, 374-5. [3] 11.7.33-34.

[4] 11.7.32, 35. [5] 11.7.19. [6] 11.9.30.

[7] 11.9.31; Śrīdhara comments :—ननु किं बहुभिर्गुरुभिः···नह्येकस्मादिति···अयं भावः नैते परमार्थोंपदेश-गुरवः···तेषां बहुत्वं युक्तमेवेति···ज्ञानप्रदं गुरुमेकमेव वक्ष्यति मदभिज्ञं शान्तमुपासीतेति (11.10.5 cd) उक्तं च तस्माद् गुरुं प्रपद्येत जिज्ञासुः श्रेय उत्तममिति (11.3.21 ab).

[8] 5.5.28.

[9] PSB Vol. II., p. 113.

(ii) *Order of the Āśramas :* "The four stages of life...fall in easy and natural succession...(The order is easy and natural because) in the recommendation of practices to be adopted for each stage, due consideration was given by the Dharma-śāstras to the natural propensities that asserted themselves with biological changes...The Jābāla-śruti[7] recommends that this order need not be disturbed, as a rule. Both Manu[8] and the Bhāgavata[9] accept it as a guiding formula. But the same Śruti does not wish to make it an absolute rule. Fully alive to the objective of the āśrama practices, the Śruti[10] concedes to their abandonment by a person with whom detachment has become a reality. Such a person should at once court the path of knowledge, no matter in what stage of life he is, at the time."[11] The Bhāgavata, bringing out the implications of the Jābāla-śruti from the practical point of view, allows choice and supersession of the āśrama steps according to one's capacity and inclination. Accordingly, it places four alternatives before a trainee who has completed his tenure of stay and course of study at a guru-kula. He may enter the householder's stage if he has thirst for it ; he may resort to forest if he is capable of undergoing its rigour; he may enter the fourth stage if he is competent to practise the knowledge of the soul; and lastly, he is free to lead the life of a confirmed brahma-cārin.[1] "Similarly, a householder may continue as a householder, if he feels that such stay will not impede his spiritual interests; on the other hand, he may directly enter the life of a recluse without going to forest at all.[2] A forester may likewise supersede the life of the recluse to enter directly the path of knowledge.[3] According to the Bhāgavata[4], steps may thus be superseded, although the order can by no means be changed."[5]

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[1] 7.15.38 ; vide also 11.18.42 ; cf. 10.80.34.

[2] Even a householder can observe continence by having intercourse with his wife at times favourable for conception (गृहस्थस्याप्यृतौगन्तुः —11.18.43c); For such timings (*ṛtu-kāla*), see MS—3.45-48.

[3] Śrīdhara (11.18.43) :— शौचं रागादि-राहित्यम् ।

[4] 11.18.43ab, d.

[5] 10.20.34cd.

[6] vide Śrīdhara on 10.20.34.

[7] Jābāla-Upaniṣad—4.

[8] MS—6.34, 88.

[9] 3.14.18 ; vide also 11.17.37.

[10] Jābāla-Upaniṣad—4.

[11] PSB Vol. II., pp. 33-34.

CONCLUSION

(i) *Theory:* The four stages of life correspond to man's life divided into four equal parts. According to the practices to be adopted in each part, a person was to study the Vedas in the first stage of his life. The guru-kula training strengthened the powers of his body and mind so that he could enter life with well-built personality. One, whose spiritual power excelled the above powers, stayed in the guru-kula for his whole life and accelerated Vedic learning. The second stage of the family man was considered the best if he possessed the philanthropic outlook. But both entry into and exit from the second stage were desirable at opportune times. Its supersession was not thought proper in view of both the fundamental desires of man as well as his social obligations. The house provided full opportunity to satisfy one's natural propensities legitimately. But the satisfaction of three desires corresponding to the achievement of three pragmatic ends was not the final goal of human life. Partly with satisfaction and partly with self-control, the householder was thought to get out of the clutches of insatiable lust. Non-attachment to the performance of actions, consequent upon their surrender unto God, helped much in this direction. Meanwhile, by hospitality and other charitable deeds he discharged his social obligations. Selflessness involved in such acts obtained for him the dignity of an ideal man in the society. From these two standpoints, the stage remained unavoidable. An ordinay man cannot be expected to look after others' needs or even after his highest welfare unless his material desires are fulfilled. That is why the heterodox sects, that preached early renunciation of action and supersession of family life, failed to achieve long-lasting effect for their doctrine, although for the time being they disturbed the practice of Varṇā'śrama-dharma. So, according to the Hindu Scriptures, when a man has served the personal cause, the cause of his family and that of the society, he was to dedicate himself to the spiritual cause. For this, it was not necessary to abdicate the household if the vision of the votary is transformed by the *bhajana* of God. Yet there were certain practical difficulties that were liable to impede his spiritual interests in the house. For example, after the age of 50 years the organs as well as virtues like patience etc. begin to decay; and this may irritate the family members. Secondly, the old and the young generations do not see eye to eye. Thirdly, both the son's wife and mother may compete for the position of the house-mistress. To avoid these situations causing distraction of the mind, the law-givers conceived the stage of resorting to forest. So, if one is unable to concentrate on the Divine in the house, the Bhāgavata approves entry into the third stage with two reservations : Firstly, the sense of satiety must take possession of the mind. Secondly and consequeutly, the subdual of the six enemies of mankind (the five senses and the mind) was necessary prior to the resorting to forest. In the forest, a man performed daily and occasional duties according to the efficacy of time and place, and underwent *tapas* to prepare his body and mind anew for higher pursuit. With the dawning of detachment and competence for reflection, the ascetic entered the life of a recluse (*saṁ-nyāsin*). As the Bhāgavata has offered considerable concession to an ascetic with regard to the tenure of the third āśrama, it bifurcated the fourth stage into the probational and final parts. A recluse on probation (*sādhaka yati*) observes the religious code for complete purification of his mind. This results in his awakening to the light of the soul with the grace of God. In this way the residue of his desires, brought under constant pressure from the time of his abdication of the house, is now replaced by the sense of detachment or faith in God. With detachment or faith in God, he enters the final part of saṁ-nyāsa, i.e., the path of knowledge and then becomes totally dedicated to the spiritual cause. The path of knowledge is beyond the purview of Varṇā'śrama-dharma (customary morality). "The Bhāgavata envisages its operation till one is awakened to detachment or faith in God. As long as one would care for ego-centric deeds, customary morality would have its day."[1]

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[1] 7.12.14. [2] 11.17.54. [3] 11.18.9, 12.

[4] 7.15.36; vide also 11.17.37. [5] PSB Vol. II., p. 34.

The practices, recommended for adoption for each part of life, were designed to strike harmony between the claims of man's immediate needs and spirituality. The four stages of life through which this objective was sought tö be realised came to be known as āśramas.[2] The first two āśramas were, by and large, given to the material good of man, while the latter two were meant for his spiritual welfare ; and both the pairs had a precedent to prepare to shoulder the greater responsibility of the householder and the higher pursuit of the recluse respectively. Thus "of the four stages of life, the first and the second are marked by self-interest, while the third and the fourth by selflessness. The first, again, is a preparation for the second, in the same way as the third is for the fourth."[1]

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[1] PSB Vol. II., p. 31.

[2] vide ibid., p. 33.

Like the Gītā,[2] the Bhāgavata[3] embraces Varṇā'śrama-dharma in its fold. It is primarily based upon the orthodox practice of what is called *sva-dharma* or religious code according to one's caste and stage of life. It is meant for the development of the human personality. The *varṇa-dharma* or religious code for a caste makes one an useful member of the society ; and the *āśrama-dharma* or religious code for a stage of life helps one grow to the full stature of humanity. "Society being made up of individuals, growth of the individual is reflected in the growth of the society. The individual, the society and the universal are, therefore, not three realities but represent three landmarks in the process of human growth that starts at the particular and ends in the universal."[4]

(ii) *Practice :* Life of people in the kali age, as described by the Bhāgavata,[5] shows that the practice of *varṇa-dharma* and *āśrama-dharma* was on the decline resulting in the gradual degeneration of family life, social life, ethical notions and religious beliefs of the people. But two points, i.e., when and where this state of degeneration occurred, are noteworthy. As for the time, the Bhāgavata and other Purāṇas, in which this description is commonly found under the title 'the defects or evils (*doṣa*) of the kali age',[6] seem to say that such state of affairs started since the beginning of the kali age (i.e., from *cir.* 950 B.C.). But the subject-matter of the Gṛhya-sūtras and the Dharma-sūtras[7] (800 B.C.—300 B.C.[8]), which deals with the Varṇā'śrama-dharma in detail, does not refer to this decline. On the contrary, it proves the observance of this *dharma* in their times ; and so it may be said that the phenomenon was later. In fact, the description was incorporated in the Purāṇas in 320 A.D.[9], as an appendix to the account of the dynasties of the kali age. After having given the account of these dynasties down to the early part of the 4th century A.D., the Bhāgavata as well as other Purāṇas launch upon a prophetic description of the defects of the kali age. The above time of its incorporation in the Purāṇas suggests that it concerns the society of the same time or of that which preceded immediately. The historical value of this description, embodying gloomy forecasts, cannot be ruled out as it finds support in the Buddhist literature also.[1] The portrayal of peoples' degeneration at a given time is, therefore, trustworthy. The post-War historical tradition reveals that after Nanda (402 B.C.) political and social conditions had begun to deteriorate and the process reached its climax in the early part of the fourth century A.D.[2] During these eight centuries, the Śūdra-like Indian kings and barbarious foreign tribes ruled predominantly in different regions. At the same time, heretical sects influenced the people in general. This type of political and social supremacy was highly detrimental to the Vedic path and its offshoot, the Varṇā'śrama-dharma. So, it may be said that decline in the practice of the Varṇā'śrama-dharma during these centuries brought about gradual degeneration of the people ; and it culminated in the lawless times of the third century and the early part of the fourth century A.D. Thus, in spite of exaggerations, the description may be taken to depict precisely the life of people of these two lawless centuries.

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[1] PSB. Vol. 11., p. 36.

[2] Gītā—18.47.

[3] 7.11.31.

[4] PSB Vol. II., p. 31.

[5] vide Chapter XII, pp. 375-8

[6] vide DKA p. 55.

[7] vide VA pp. 478-9.

[8] ibid., pp. 28, 481.

[9] DKA p. xxvii.

The description of social disorder in relation to a particular period on the basis of known facts, may be confined to a particular region also on the same basis. Again, historical tradition reveals that it was the western direction of India, especially the north-west, where political and social anarchy was spreading during the above-mentioned two centuries. The kings, including the subjects of these directions, are unsparingly reprobated as the Śūdras, Mlecchas or Vrātyas. It seems that conditions have grown worst in Gāndhāra and Kāmboja at this juncture. This explains why the two realms, being abominable, are not at all referred to in the historical narrative of the kali age. According to this perspective, the fatidical description may be understood to reflect the deteriorating conditions of the people of only these two realms.

In this way, it can be conveniently said that degeneration concerns the people of the afore-said two centuries and of the two realms. It need not be, therefore, ascribed to the full span of the kali age or to the entire nation.

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[1] cf. Hazra—*Studies in the Paurāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*—pp. 206-8.

[2] For this and also for such other events of the post-War historical tradition mentioned in the present context, vide Chapter IX, pp. 286-7.

CONCLUSION

The Elemental or gross creation of physical planes of existence, three or fourteen, collectively known as the cosmic egg (*brahmāṇḍa*) includes our earth. Under the stress of the evolutionary process, life manifests on the earth in three well-defined stages viz, (i) vegetation, (ii) animals and (iii) human beings. Endowed with intellect, man is the fulfilment of this process. The mammals had much to do with the development of human body (*kāyā*) while the co-operation of opposite sexes was indispensable for the expansion of human progeny. Men, especially those who were recognised as progenitors and their successors, acquired dexerity in procreation by the power of *tapas ;* as a result, large progeny of high quality poured in the Pre-historic Age.

Pre-Historic Tradition : In those days of the most primitive past when the human brute had been maturing into the civilised man, anarchy gave rise to kingship. Cultivation of land immediately followed by the construction of fixed dwelling places, wars for building kingdoms, efforts for eradicating miscreants and propagation of moral and spiritual order with emphasis on *catuṣ-pāda-dharma* [truth (*satya*), contemplation (*tapas*), pity (*dayā*) and purity (*śauca*)]—are the distinctive features of Pre-historic civilisation and religion established and propounded by the kings like Pṛthu etc. and ruler-*cum*-hermits like Ṛṣabha etc. respectively. Speculations on political geography of the globe at this stage lead us to a focal point, i.e., Brahmāvarta (Kuru-kṣetra), where human civilisation seems to have dawned. Thus life gained a new significance at this stage when man began to feel the need for adjusting between his physical demands on the one hand and moral and spiritual demands on the other.

Post-Flood Tradition : The Pre-historic civilisation of nearly two thousand years was, however, washed away by the Great Flood. Then begins the Post-Flood Traditional History divided into four successive periods. The *first* period, called *kṛta* (the golden age), saw the rise of the Aryan society—whose first ancestors descended from the mid-Himālayas more particularly from modern Tibet—in North India, well organised in political units, called realms or kingdoms, built by the Early Aila kings viz, Purūravas etc. and consolidated by the five famous clans viz, Pauravas etc. through wars and conquests. The Aryans now founded cities and colonies and renamed rivers and mountains in the regions they acquired. After the political and cultural subjugation of the aboriginals in North India, the Aryans crossed over to Iran with the same aim, before the end of the ***first*** period.

During the *second* period, called *tretā* (the silver age), already developed kingdoms changed hands and status. The kingdom of Pratiṣṭhāna (Prayāga), founded by the early Ailas and enlarged by the Pauravas and that had gone into eclipse in the second phase of the golden age, was revived by Duṣyanta and his son Bharata at the beginning of this era ; and in the process the capital (as well as the Paurava realm) shifted to Hastināpura. Ayodhyā empire, for another example, which was built in the first phase of the golden age by the kings from Ikṣvāku to Māndhātṛ ; and which enjoyed glory and power from Sagara to Śrī-Rāma throughout this period with certain setbacks, sank into insignificance at its end. But colonisation of South India, including Ceylon, was a legacy of this period.

During the *third* period, called *dvāpara* (the copper age), the centre of the political scene gradually shifted from Hastināpura in the middle of the era, when the Bārhadratha dynasty, the offspring of the Bhāratas, was brought to prominence by Jarā-sandha. Power-politics was at its zenith on the eve of the Great War. The centre therefore shifted from Magadha to Dvārakā where Śrī-Kṛṣṇa stayed, at the close of the era. The Yādavas, who had outnumbered all the clans of the Aryan race that descended from five sons of Yayāti, held sway from Mathurā to Kuṇḍinapura, the then capital of Vidarbha. Collateral with the Yādavas, the Bhāratas (the offshoots of the Pauravas) survived down to the end of this period in the Gangetic doab. With the destruction of the Yādavas and the Bhāratas at Prabhāsa-kṣetra and Kuru-kṣetra respectively, ends the political history of the first three periods of the Post-Flood Tradition ; or of the Ancient Tradition thus abruptly brought to the end by the fratricidal fights at these two places.

Throughout the above three periods, hermits or sages (*ṛṣi* or *muni*) co-operated with the kings, including the rulers and chiefs of the different clans, for bringing about the material and spiritual welfares of the society, as in the Pre-historic Age. During the ***first*** period (*kṛta*) three Brāhmaṇa families (*vaṁśas*) viz, the Bhārgava, the Vasiṣṭha and the Āṅgirasa allied themselves with three royal families viz, the Śāryāta, the Ikṣvāku and the Vaiśāla respectively. These three dynasties belonged to the Solar race traced to Vivasvān (identified with the physical sun), the father of Śrāddhadeva, the seventh Manu. At the close of the era, Viśvāmitra, the great ruler-*cum*-hermit, established his reputation in the royal houses of Kānyakubja and Ayodhyā by virtue of his *tapas* and founded a Brāhmaṇa family which became very influential in the times that followed. During the *second* period (*tretā*), the Āṅgirasas—intimately related to and therefore patronised by the Bhāratas—flourished at Vaiśālī; and gradually spread in the doab of Gaṅgā and Yamunā where their patrons had been ruling from Indraprastha to Gayā. In the uniterrupted chain of pious persons, rulers and hermits, appears Dvaipāyana-Vyāsa just before the close of the *third* period (*dvāpara*) at the crest of Vedic and Paurāṇic traditions. Vyāsa's disciples handed them over to the *fourth* period.

Post-War-Tradition: Great War is the virtual end of Ancient Tradition extending into three periods, noted above. The fourth and the last period called *kali* (the iron age), of political history, greater in size than the three preceding ones put together, begins with the departure of Śri-Kṛṣṇa, the universal teacher, from the land of mortals, a few years after the Great War. The remnants of the ancient and celebrated Pauravas (now called Kauravas), Ikṣvākus (now called Bārhadbalas) and Bārhadrathas passed away without prominence after a few centuries' rule in Vatsa, Kośala and Magadha respectively. Magadha, which had lost its paramount position after Jarāsandha, again rose to imperial power under Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, But under Nanda, a paramount monarch of post-War India, Indian culture degenerated to be revived soon under Candragupta Maurya, the disciple of Cāṇakya.

Northern India has always remained vulnerable to alien tribes. As early as the time of Sagara, foreign invasion brought about transition from the golden age to the silver age. Alien invaders disturbed peace and lowered the standard of purity of the Northern people; and Buddhism gave a jolt to the Hindu society. While foreign invasion may be said to have caused political disorder, the internal revolt, through Buddhism, gave rise to social anarchy. This situation, starting from the time of Nanda and lasting for nearly eight centuries, reached its climax in the time that preceded the Gupta kings. Like the Maurya kings, the Guptas forged cultural unity at a critical point with the difference that the first renaissance was Brahmaṇical while the second had predominantly Vaiṣṇava strain.

Social History: The *first* period, the golden age of the Ṛg-Veda (*kṛta*), had classless society of pious human beings given to spiritual welfare. The *second* period, the age of the three Vedas (*tretā*), witnessed the organisation of the society in terms of customary morality (*varṇāśrama-dharma*) in which natural aptitudes of the individuals played the vital role. Thus four castes came into being. The Brāhmaṇa, the Kṣatriya and the Vaiśya—concerned with the preservation and propagation of the Vedic knowledge—

constituted the upper three castes. In the *third* period, the age of the compromise of the Nigamas (entire Vedic literature down to the Upaniṣads) and the Āgamas (new Scriptures called Tantras) and hence called *dvā-para*, the fourth caste, constituted by the Śūdras mostly recruited from the non-Aryans, seems to have gained bulk in the society. It could have only indirect access to Aryan culture.

From the beginning of the *fourth* period (*kali*), the age of the Śrīmad-Bhagavad-Gītā, the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata and other Mahā-Purāṇas including the Epics, there was downward trend in the physical, mental and spiritual powers of man. Marital relations among the four castes brought into existence hybrid castes. With the fourth caste, the hybrids outnumbered the upper three castes in the middle of this period. At the same time, the invaders and heterodox sects posed challenge to the Aryan culture, i.e, Vedic religion and Varṇāśrama-dharma. The Dharma-śāstras met this challenge by absorbing them all in the Aryan society, now called the Hindus—the name given to the Vedic Aryans by the Persians, now called the Iranians.

Yet what was described in the garb of prophesies in the Purāṇas—the situation of anarchy, especially in North India—could not be checked until the rise of the Guptas who, with unique catholicity, reorganised all the hybrids, heretics and aliens under *sva-dharma* already formulated in the Smṛtis, i.e., the Dharma-sūtras and the Dharma-śātras—the manuals of laws and customs guiding personal conduct and mutual behaviour. So, all individuals became useful. Everybody pursued his *varṇa-dharma* and *āśrama-dharma* according to his capacity and inclination ; and as a result, grew to the full stature of humanity within this new social framework.

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"The history of man is thus the unending story of stress and strain". Since the dawn of civilisation, the 'society'—the totality of individuals—has tried to devise certain norms of conduct. These norms or values, serving as models of human conduct, have lent colour to human history—the appearance of man on the earth and his steady evoluton through trials and errors. Such evolution or process of human growth involved the basic need of maintaining law and order so that a harmonious society may grow, under the auspices of the wise, into set patterns of human behaviour, according to one's natural aptitudes and adherence to human values. From the beginning of the Elemental creation down to the Flood, this process was at work.

The process—intended to benefit every member of the society and thereby the society as a whole, free from undue competetions and conflicts, where assignments are well-defined and areas of activities are evenly distributed so that every member of the society can contribute his share in building up a new world, the mosaic of multipurpose society moving with aim and vision to the Ultimate goal, the realisation of perfection of man—was all geared up again under administrative and enlightened control, after the Flood. The chequered career of Ancient Tradition ended with the Great War. Soon Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva departed after realising the main purpose of his incarnation—the destruction of the evil forces—partially at Kuru-kṣetra and fully at Prabhāsa-kṣetra.

The departure of Kṛṣṇa, the Ideal person, meant decline in the process. But Kṛṣṇa's teachings, embodied in the Bhagavad-Gītā and enlarged in the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa,[1] instilled into the minds of the commoners of post-War India the ideals Kṛṣṇa stood for. Vaiṣṇavism—which had established in India by fourth century B. C. ; which has the quality of universal religion since it recognised the right of everybody to gain access to God ; and which possesses unique vitality that satisfies the deep-seated spiritual hunger in man[2]—rose, as reinforced by the *parama-bhāgavata* Guptas, to face heretical sects. This revived the declining process and helped the Hindu society, groping in the dark iron age, to resume its march to the ultimate goal. Resurgent Hinduism under the auspices of the Gupta kings fourteen centuries after the War may therefore be traced to the impact of the Kṛṣṇa-cult or Vāsudeva-cult, as it was originally called, or the Bhāgavata-cult as it came to be called later on.

Thus the Great Flood, the Great War and the rise of the Imperial Guptas are the three successive landmarks in what is generally known as the Ancient Indian Historical Tradition.

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[1] कृष्णे स्व-धामोपगते धर्म-ज्ञानादिभिः सह ।
कलौ नष्ट-दृशामेष पुराणार्कोऽधुनोदितः ॥ 1.3.43. ॥

[2] cf. PSB Vol. II., intr. pp. IX-X.

APPENDIX I (TO POLITICAL HISTORY)

1. KINGSHIP
2. KINGDOM
3. A KING

APPENDIX I (TO POLITICAL HISTORY)

To complete the political history of the three traditions viz, the Pre-Flood, the Post-Flood and the Post-War expounded in Chapters three to nine, it is desirable to add what the Bhāgavata has to say about kingship, kingdom and the king with special emphasis on the last, the pivot of politics.

1. KINGSHIP

Expository : According to the Bhāgavata, a king is necessary[1] to rule and administer peoples. In the absence of a king, chaos prevails and peoples are deprived of safety and welfare. On the other hand, if a righteous ruler is there, peoples live without fear under his protection. Further, a king is also necessary[2] to execute the Varṇā'śrama-dharma in the absence of which peoples become addicted to material pleasures, like dogs and monkeys. With these purposes in view, Vena was enthroned by the hermits. But when he proved unfit, his son Pṛthu, who is said to have been produced from the dead Vena's hand, was enthroned.[3] Besides these instances from the Pre-Flood tradition, a similar instance is available at the beginning of the Post-Flood tradition, when Janaka, the king of Videha, is said to have been produced by the hermits from the dead body of his father who died issueless, so that a king of the same line may be installed on the throne.[4] As for the inheritance of kingdom, pedigrees of kings and their genealogies show that the elder son undisputedly succeeded his father on the throne. Yet there are instances when the younger ones were enthroned if the elder ones declined. In the Pre-Flood tradition, Utkala[5] and Vijitāśva,[6] the elder sons of Dhruva and Pṛthu respectively, did not accept the throne ; so their younger brothers were installed on it. In the Post-Flood tradition, the same happened in the cases of Yayāti[7] and Śantanu[8] when their elder brothers Yati and Devāpi respectively declined to accept the throne.[9]

Critical : The theory that the 'state of nature' resulting in anarchy and confusion led to the foundation of State and monarchy was already promulgated by the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa[1] ; and the Bhāgavata[2] proclaims the same. It was only to avert this anarchy that Vena was installed on the throne by the hermits.[3] Thus kingly power evolved out of the necessity of peoples' welfare ; and derived its validity from the consent of hermits, the custodians of the Sacred Law (*dharma*). As to the necessity of a king, the Bhāgavata has advanced another theory. A king is required to execute customary morality also.[4] This means that the office of a king is conceived not only for the material welfare of peoples but for their spiritual welfare also. Dharma worked as the constitutional check on the wilful acts of a king as well as his subjects. It is because of this dharma (morality) that we do not hear any dispute over peoples' right or find any king tyrant with the exceptions of Vena in the Pre-Flood tradition and Kaṁsa in the Post-Flood one, both of whom were assassinated, as will appear. Turmoils of hells also deterred the kings[5] and the peoples[6] as well from performing the prohibited actions and thus reduced the need of other deterrents, although punishment was there for the devils. The penal powers (*daṇḍa*) were vested in a king but he was to utilize them according to dharma,[7] i.e., judiciously. Although a king was the wielder of the rod of punishment, the administration of subjects (*rāja-dharma*) was regulated by the injunctions of the Scriptures as interpreted by the learned Brāhmaṇas, preceptors etc. The usages and customs (or precedents and conventions) also guided a king in judicial matter. As to who should succeed a king on the throne, the Bhāgavata approves the rule of primogeniture. All the three traditions show that the elder son of a king succeeded him ; and it was only when the elder son declined that his younger brother inherited the throne. The instances of inheritance to throne, as noted above, fully testify that the first born son of a king was the heir-apparent, no matter who may subsequently be born. Thus monarchical form of government is visible right from the Pre-historic Age. All the States or kingdoms had their own hereditary heads, whether ruling or titular.

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[1] 1.18. 42-44 ; vide also 4.14. 1-3.

[2] 1.18.45 ; vide also 3.21.54.

[3] 4.14. 1-2, 42.

[4] 9.13.12 ; For details, see *ante* p. 169.

[5] 4.13.11 ; For details, see *ante* p. 50.

[6] 4.24. 1-2 ; For details, see *ante* p. 53.

[7] 9.18. 3-4ab.

[8] 9.22. 12cd-13a.

[9] For details, see *ante* pp. 250-1.

2. KINGDOM

Expository : A kingdom is dependent on its seven constituent elements (*prakṛti*) viz, preceptor (*svāmin*), ministers (*amātya*), territory (*janapada* or *rāṣṭra*), fortresses (*durga*), treasury (*kośa* or *draviṇa-saṁcaya*), army

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[1] ŚB 11.1.6.24 ; vide also VA p. 430.

[2] 1.18.42-44.

[3] 4.14.1-3 ; For details, see *ante* pp. 50-1.

[4] 1.18.45 ; vide also 3.21.54.

[5] 5.26.15, 21.

[6] 5.26.7-8, 16, 18, 26-27.

[7] MS—7.18, 28.

(*daṇḍa* or *bala*) and allies (*mitra* or *suhṛd*).[1] This sevenfold body maintains the dignity of a king who should, in his turn, make direct contact with these elements for the purposes of political affairs and administration and act especially according to the advice and guidance of his preceptor and ministers.[2] The first functionary of this body, called ***svāmin***, may be understood to mean a *purohita* or *upādhyāya*[3] (preceptor) who is indispensable for the religious as well as the political affairs of a king. The gods and their king Indra were defeated by the demons only because their preceptor Bṛhaspati quit them. The gods, then, had to select another sub-preceptor (*upādhyāya*) viz, Viśvarūpa who did his duty assiduously,[4] and they won the battle. There are numerous instances in the Post-Flood tradition to confirm that preceptors or priests (*guru*) advised and guided kings on their multifarious affairs.

Critical : A kingdom or State was originally the unit of a single tribe or clan subject to a single chieftain, all supposed to have a common ancestor. Warfare of the Aryans with the aborigines might have necessitated the organisation of such monarchical States in which the hereditary chief of the Aryan clans ruled. It is therefore that the five clans emerging from Yayāti's five sons distributed themselves in different political units, where kings belonging to the lineage of Yayāti's sons came in succession. Later on, fixed territory, the priest, ministers, adequate means of defence, economic self-sufficiency and recognition by other kings—all in succession—became the requisites of a State.[5] As to the priest, he was *alter ego* of a king and wielded the sceptre over all constituents of the State including the king himself. Thus the royal authority and autocratic zeal of a monarch was moderated and curbed at desirable points. There are abundant examples in the Ancient Tradition of such priests who guided the kings not only in their religious affairs but were indispensable to gain victories in the battles also.[6] Since the inception of kingship, the preceptors and the priests come in picture, irrevocably attached to the dynasties ; and the generic names of Vasiṣṭha and of the great Viśvāmitra are enough to show the influence and control over the kings and their affairs by the priests in general.

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[1] 6.14.17 ; Here Śrīdhara defines '*sapta-prakṛti*' as follows :—स्वाम्यमात्यौ जनपदा दुर्ग-द्रविण-संचयाः। दण्डो मित्रं च तस्यैताः सप्त प्रकृतयो मताः ॥ The *Amarakośa* defines it as follows :—स्वाम्यमात्यसुहृत्-कोश-राष्ट्र-दुर्ग-बलानि—vide Apte's *Skt-Eng. Dictionary*.

[2] 6.14.18.

[3] cf. 6.6.43 ; vide also 6.7.32 ;—The term '*svāmin*' may mean either a king himself or his preceptor ;—Śrīdhara (on 6.14.18) comments :—स्वामी गुरुः स्वयं वा ।

[4] 6.7.38 ; For details, see *ante* p. 58.

[5] 6.4. 17-18 ; vide also MS—9.294-295.

[6] vide AV 3.19.1, 4.

3. A KING

Expository : (i) *Inter-State Affairs :* In his inter-State affairs, a king is advised to make treaty of peace (*sandhi*) with enemy kings on required occasions. The experts of peace and war opine that such treaty may be broken when he finds himself out of danger. He may then attack the same enemies with whom he was bound by truce, if he is in a position to do so.[1] The policy of appeasement (*sāma-mārga*) is worth adopting because it serves the purpose more easily than any action hastily caused through anger. There is also probability that conciliatory means will pacify the violent mood of the aggressor and so there may remain no need for further warfare.[2] To start some great enterprise beneficial to peoples, two kings may make agreement (*saṁvidā*) for joint venture as the king of the demons and that of the gods did to produce the nectar.[3]

(ii) *Sacrifices and Ceremonies :* The great conquerors and paramount monarchs used to perform the Aśva-medha (horse-sacrifice) and Rāja-sūya sacrifices respectively. It was customary to perform horse-sacrifice a hundred times. In the Pre-Flood tradition, Ṛṣabha,[4] Bali[5] and Pṛthu[6] were three great conquerors who performed one hundred horse-sacrifices, although it is said that Pṛthu could not perform the 100th one due to obstruction by Indra.[7] In the Post-Flood tradition, there were two conquerors viz, the Yādava king Uśanas[8] and Ayodhyā king Sagara[9] who completed the canon of performing one hundred horse-sacrifices, although Indra is said to have obstructed the final sacrifice of the latter,[10] as happened in the case of Pṛthu. The next conqueror who completed the highest number of the canon, was Bharata-Dauṣyanta[11] as he had fifty-five horse-sacrifices to his credit. Ambarīṣa-Nābhāgi,[12] the great-grand-son of Manu, and Vaiśāla king Somadatta[1] had also many horse-sacrifices to their credit. Parīkṣit II,[2] the last notable emperor of Ancient Tradition, performed three horse-sacrifices on the bank of the Gaṅgā.

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[1] 8.6.20 ; cf. MS—7.169-70.

[2] 8.6.24 ; cf. MS—7.109.

[3] 8.6.32.

[4] 5.6.10 ; vide also 5.15.1.

[5] 8.15.33-36 ; For details of Bali's raid on Triviṣṭapa, see *ante* pp. 58-59.

[6] 4.19.1.

[7] 4.19.11.

[8] 9.23.33ab ; For details, see *ante* p. 127.

[9] 9.8.7-30.

[10] 9.8.7cd-8ab ; For details, see *ante* pp. 95-6.

[11] 9.20.22 ; For details, see *ante* p. 105.

[12] 9.4.22. ; For details, see *ante* p. 91.

Although it is said that Hariścandra[3] performed a Rāja-sūya sacrifice, it is only Yudhiṣṭhira's Rāja-sūya which finds mention in the Bhāgavata, and in some detail. The Rāja-sūya was considered as the greatest sacrifice (*kratu-rāja*[4] or *mahā-kratu*[5]) leading to majesty (*pārameṣṭhya*).[6] So Yudhiṣṭhira performed it with tremendous zeal, especially to worship Kṛṣṇa with it.[7] His Rāja-sūya was preceded by world-wide victory for which his four brothers went to four directions. Bhīma with the army, comprising of the Matsyas, went to the east; Arjuna with the Madrakas went to the north; Nakula with the Kaikeyas to the west and Sahadeva with the Sṛñjayas to the south directions respectively.[8] After the conquest of directions, in which Jarā-sandha[9] was also killed, started the preparations[10] for the performance of this giant and unique sacrifice. All the kings, who were won over and also those who were invited, came with their armies to attend it.[11] Kṛṣṇa was duly worshiped during this sacrifice[12] and Śiśupāla, who opposed the practice, was killed.[13] After the sacrificial ablution (*avabhṛtha*), Yudhiṣṭhira attained the dignity of 'the king of kings' (*sura-rāja*).[14] The ceremony of ablution (*avabhṛtha-utsava*), which immediately followed the Rāja-sūya, is also largely described. Accordingly, all the kings who attended the sacrifice, Kṛṣṇa and his huge family, the Brāhmaṇas, the priests and all other invitees followed the *yajamāna* who went to take holy bath in the Gaṅgā. The procession reached its bank where all took bath ceremoniously. The *yajamāma* then adorned the priests etc. and gave plenty of gifts to all others.[15] This marked the end of his Rāja-sūya which brought about for him the greatness and glory of a paramount monarch.[16] The same type of ablution ceremony marked the end of a great sacrifice performed by Vasudeva at Kurukṣetra.[17] A particular rite viz, *patnī-saṁyāja* was also observed in both the ablution ceremonies.[18] Balarāma, at the completion of his last sacrifice at Naimiṣa, also performed ablution ceremony in the company of his wife, relatives etc. .[1]

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[1] 9.2.35.; For details, see *ante* p. 93.

[2] 1.16.3; For details, see *ante* p. 113.

[3] Śrīdhara says so on 9.7.7.

[4] 10.72.8d.

[5] 10.72.9d.

[6] 10.69.41.

[7] 10.72.3.

[8] 10.17.13.

[9] 10.72.47.

[10] 10.75.3-7.

[11] 10.74.15.

[12] 10.74.27-29.

[13] 10.74.43.

[14] 10.74.51.

[15] 10.75.9-26.

[16] 10.75.27.

[17] 10.84.53-56.

[18] '*Patnī-saṁyājā*'—10.75.19 in Yudhiṣṭhira's *rāja-sūya-kratu*; 10.84.53 in Vasudeva's great sacrifice.

(iii) *Conduct and Behaviour :* A king (*rājan*) is so called because he entertains (*rañjayati*) people with his pleasing efforts..[2] An ideal king, therefore, is always attentive, righteous, detached from trivial objects, possesses feeling of sameness in opposite duals and is contented with what is destined for him.[3] Above all, the performance of his manifold duties is marked with the spirit of surrender to God.[4] As to the additional good qualities of a king, his character is morally high and he is humble, modest, learned, resourceful and versed in Economics (*vārtā*).[5] A king is exhorted not to break the moral laws (*dharma-setu*), otherwise the Vaitaraṇī river awaits him in the hell of the same name.[6] With control over the senses, he behaves equally in adverse circumstances[7] and deals politely with his peoples whom he loves.[8] He is free from favouritism in his dealings[9] and pays equal respect to all at all times.[10] He deals respectfully with kings if and when he happens to imprison them.[11] A king must have reverential attitude towards the Brāhmaṇas.[12] Besides Brāhmaṇas being the specific object of his respect, a king pays due regards to his priest, ministers, citizens, dependants (*niyogin*), officers (*jānapada*), servants (*bhṛtya*), traders and artisans (*śreṇī*) etc. as Pṛthu did.[13] The wise opine that a king, while seated on the throne, may not rise in honour of anybody coming in his presence. But this is a heterodox doctrine (*ku-patha*) and may lend support to a bad custom. So, according to the Bhāgavata,[14] an ideal king is expected to rise from his throne if some great man (e.g., the preceptor or a learned Brāhmaṇa) happens to come there. This custom helps in not allowing the feeling of pride to dominate his mind. To extricate himself from this invincible feeling, it is also desirable that a king may not ask or allow the bards etc. to sing his praise or eulogy, especially when they are in advance.[1]

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[1] 10.79.30, 32.

[2] 4.16.15.

[3] 10.73.21-22

[4] 4.22.51 ; vide also 5.15.6.

[5] MS—7.37-43

[6] 5.26.21.

[7] 4.20.13.

[8] 4.21.49.

[9] 4.16.13.

[10] 5.5.26.

[11] 10.73.25, 28.

[12] 10.64.41-42 ; cf. MS—7.37.

[13] ब्राह्मण-प्रमुखान् वर्णान् भृत्यामात्य-पुरोधसः ।
पौरान् जानपदान् श्रेणीः प्रकृतीः समपूजयत् ॥ 4.17.2 ॥
Śrīdhara on the same :—भृत्यानमात्यान्, पुरोधसः पुरोहितांश्च, श्रेणीः तैलिक-ताम्बूलकादीन् पौर-विशेषान्, प्रकृतीः नियोगिनः । For Pṛthu's conduct, see *ante* p. 52.

[14] 6.7.13-14.

(iv) *Duties and Functions :* Protection of people is the specific commitment (*para dharma*) of a king.[2] As protection is his supreme duty, (the king) is conceived to be the assembly of parts (*mātrā*) of the eight protectors of directions (*loka-pāla*) viz, Sūrya, Candra, Agni, Indra, Vāyu, Yama, Varuṇa and Kubera.[3] It is therefore his primary duty to arrange for the safety of the good and supress the wicked who disturb law and order.[4] A king should see that the good are not tormented by the wicked.[5] For this, knavery and immorality should be nipped in the bud by the suppression of the swindlers and the sinners in time.[6] Although one's own actions are responsible for one's sorrows etc., a king is liable to be made responsible for the public weal ;[7] as such be should be prepared to avert them. A king delivers his subjects from their woes and difficulties like a father ; and uplifts them by eradicating their grief, suffering etc..[8] To guard the property of the Brāhmaṇas (*brahma-sva*) with utmost care is a special duty of the king. He should therefore declare its taking away etc. as the gravest crime fraught with disastrous result.[9] To exercise effective control over the wife, subjects (*prajā*), sons, servants, counsellors (*mantrin*), ministers (*amātya*), guilds of traders and artisans (*śreṇī*), citizens (*paura*), officers of different realms (*jānapada*) and tributory kings (*bhūpa*)[10]—may also be considered as a functionary duty attached to the king's office.

(v) *Privileges :* A king is not allowed to be insulted or punished abruptly, if found guilty of a crime. The prosecutors are asked to frame their charges properly and bring a suit against him in the court of justice (*rāja-sabhā*).[11] A king is not liable to be killed even in an open war, as regicide was considered more heinous crime than brahmanicide.[12] It was for this reason that Jamadagni took the killing of the Haihaya king Arjuna by his son as a great sin, and prescribed expiatory rites for its atonement.[13] A king is free from the charge of murder if he kills mean and cruel persons—men, women or eunuchs.[1] He is allowed to hunt as his pastime, if he so chooses. But the sin of violence being involved in hunting, he is bound to expiate it.[2] The subjects are enjoined to obey a king for their own welfare.[3] Similarly, the royal scions, princes etc. should be obedient to a king who is duly coronated on the throne. They need not worry for the welfare of their families or the subjects, as it can be achieved by loyalty to the throne.[4] A king is entitled to collect one-sixth of the produce of his subjects for his treasury, and it should be utilised for the people, especially in times of distress.[5]

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[1] 4.15.22, 26. [2] References arranged according to their order in the Bhāgavata :—(*a*) 3.13.12 ; (*b*) 4.14.17 ; (*c*) 4.16.5 ; (*d*) 4.20.13 ; (*e*) 9.22.16b.

[3] 3.21.51 ; vide also MS—7.3-4. [4] 1.17.15 ; vide also 3.21.50. [5] 1.17.10.

[6] 3.21.55. [7] 10.89.24-25. [8] 11.17.44ab-45. [9] 10.64.32-40, 43.

[10] अपि दाराप्रजामात्या भृत्याः श्रेण्योऽथ मन्त्रिणः ।
पौराजानपदाभूपाआत्मजा वशवर्तिनः ॥ 6.14.19 ॥
Śridhara on the same :—प्रजाश्च, अमात्याश्च, श्रेण्यश्च समयविशेषेण संघशो वर्तमाना वणिक्-प्रभृतयः, पौराः पुरवासिनः, जानपदास्तत्तद्-देशाधिकारिणः ।

[11] 4.13.23. [12] 9.15.38, [13] 9.15.41.

Critical: Of the six expedients of inter-State policy [viz, alliance (*sandhi*), enmity (*vigraha*), advance towards enemy camp (*yāna*), neutrality (*āsana*), bifurcation of one's army for some selfish end (*dvaidhī-bhāva*) and seeking refuge under another king when defeated (*saṁśraya*)[6]], the first is recognised by the Bhāgavata as the best in the context of wars between the demons and the gods.[7] Similarly, of the four expedients [viz, pacific measures (*sāma*), bribery for overcoming one's enemy (*dāna*), sowing dissension (*bheda*) and open attack (*daṇḍa*)], the first is recognised by the Bhāgavata as the most useful.[8] All these and such other strategic means formed the part of political wisdom or statesmanship, and had little to do with the morality which concerns an individual. Welfare of the State was the guiding formula that prompted the practice of these contrivances. So all or any of them would be considered worthy in inter-State affairs.

The instances of the performance of great sacrifices and ceremonies[9] show the existence of ambitious conquerors and paramount monarchs enjoying sovereignty over large kingdoms that may legitimately be called empires. Both the horse-sacrifice and the Rāja-sūya sacrifice were preceded by the conquest of the surrounding kingdoms, usually called the conquest of the world or directions (*dig-vijaya*). In the horse-sacrifice, a horse was let loose by the king ambitious to conquer other kings ; and after the safe return of the animal the *aśva-medha* was performed. Its performance was thought to confer the title of sovereignty on him. He was now entitled to be called an emperor (*samrāj*). The kings were prone to perform horse-sacrifices amidst great rejoicings, because it was believed that the performance of 100 such sacrifices would lead to the heavenly throne of Indra.[1] Indra is, therefore, always represented as trying to prevent the completion of the hundredth sacrifice, as we have seen in the cases of Pṛthu[2] and Sagara.[3] But the Bhāgavata offers a different explanation for the stealing of the horse by Indra. Accordingly, this act of Indra is stated to be the beginning of heterodoxy (*pāṣaṇḍa-patha*) propagated by the Jainas, Bauddhas, Kāpālikas, Pāśupatas etc. Their cults, bearing the semblance of religion (*upa-dharma*), are not acceptable to the Vedic tradition.[4] To win over these heretics, who gave rise to beliefs contrary to the authorised teachings of the Vedas, the Bhāgavata suggests their assimilation in the Vedic tradition, by giving some concessions to their notions.[5] It is therefore that both Pṛthu and Sagara dropped the last sacrifice. This is the echo of that unique technique of the Vedic Aryans who, in the process of assimilation, absorbed even the foreigners and aborigines in their fold.

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[1] 4.17.26. [2] 10.51.63. [3] 10.43.33. [4] 5.5.20.

[5] 4.16.6 ; vide also 4.20.14 ; cf. Bau. dh.sūtra—1.10.18.19 ; and Vas.dh. sūtra—1.42. [6] MS—7.160

[7] vide ref. 1 at p. 422. [8] vide ref. 2 at p. ibid.

[9] vide refs. from 4 to 12 at p. ibid.; and from I to 18 at p. 423.

The Rāja-sūya, the greatest sacrifice, was performed by the paramount monarchs (*cakravartin*) as a mark of their undisputed sovereignty and majesty.[6] But only Yudhiṣṭhira's Rāja-sūya, as already noticed, finds mention in the Bhāgavata.[7] Similarly, Vasudeva performed a great sacrifice at Kurukṣetra,[8] and this is also largely described. The Bhāgavata has transformed both these sacrifices, as it does in the case of all other rituals, into the worship of Kṛṣṇa[9] and Viṣṇu[10] respectively—both being the same for the Bhāgavata. "Mechanical rituals assume a new colour if only they are flanked by the idea of the worship of God".[11]

The qualities,[12] conduct and behaviour,[13] as well as duties and functions[14] of a king, as envisaged by the Bhāgavata, present the picture of an ideal monarch who is a benevolent ruler given to the material and moral welfares of his subjects who, in turn, are loyal to his majesty. As protection is his supreme duty (*para dharma*), the king is thought to represent the powers of the protecting gods[1] (e.g., Sūrya), and so his divinity came to be enunciated in the Śrutis[2] and the Smṛtis.[3] In view of his exalted position, a king enjoys certain privileges.[4] A remarkable advantage granted to him is exemption from fatal attack even in an open battle.[5] But a tyrant could never avail himself of this advantage. Vena had to die at the hands of the same hermits who installed him on the throne ;[6] and Kaṁsa died at the hands of his nephew, i.e., Śrī-Kṛṣṇa.[7]

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[1] cf. the explanation for *aśvamedha* in Apte's *Skt-Eng. Dictionary*.

[2] vide ref. 7 at p. 422.

[3] vide ref. 10 at p. ibid.

[4] 4.19.24-25.

[5] 4.19.35-38.

[6] vide refs. 4-6 at p. 423.

[7] vide refs. 7-16 at p. ibid.

[8] vide ref. 17 at p. ibid.

[9] vide refs. 7 & 12 at p. ibid.

[10] 10.84.35.

[11] PSB Vol. II., p. 38.

[12] vide refs. 2-8 at p. 424.

[13] vide refs. 9-14 at p. ibid.

[14] vide refs. esp. 2 at p. 425 ; and from 3 to 10 at p. ibid.

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[1] vide ref. 3 at 425.
[2] vide VA p. 430.
[3] e.g., MS—7.3-8.
[4] vide refs. from 11 to 13 at p. 425 ; and 1 to 5 at p. 426.
[5] vide refs. 12-13 at p. 425,
[6] 4.14.34.
[7] 10.44.37-38.

APPENDIX II (TO SOCIAL HISTORY)

1. SINS AND EXPIATORY RITES
2. CRIMES AND PUNISHMENT
3. DEFECTS OF CONTACT WITH WOMAN
4. PILGRIMAGES AND HOLY REGIONS
5. OBEISANCE, ETIQUETTE AND USAGES
6. FOOD, DRINKS, DRESSES AND ORNAMENTS

APPENDIX II (TO SOCIAL HISTORY)

1. SINS AND EXPIATORY RITES

Expository: Performance of actions prescribed by the Vedas (including the Smṛtis) is dharma and a-dharma is its reverse.[1] "A-dharma is fivefold : vi-dharma, para-dharma (duty of others), upa-dharma (spurious duty), chala (travesty of a duty) and ābhāsa (imaginary duty).[2] Vi-dharma is the negation of dharma ;[3] and, as dharma can be negatived either by omission of a prescribed duty or by the commission of a prohibited act,[4] vi-dharma may be sub-divided as vi-karman and a-karman respectively."[5] Nimitta-dharma arises from both these types of vi-dharma ; and it consists in the performance of expiatory rites (*prāyaścitta*).[6]

There are various means such as concentration of the mind (*tapas*), absolute continence (*brahmacarya*), control of the mind (*śama*), restraint of the senses (*dama*), gift (*tyāga*), purity (*śauca*), truth (*satya*), study of the Scriptures (*śruta-adhyayana*), daily and occasional duties (*kriyā*) and vows (*vrata*) including *yama* (e.g., non-violence) and *ni-yama* (e.g., muttering of the mantras) to make atonement for sins.[7] The instances of atonement for a-karmans (i.e., sins) are as follows :—

(i) Yudhiṣṭhira worshipped God with three horse-sacrifices to atone for the sin of malice he had towards his cousin brothers after their slaughter in the Great War.[8] (ii) To make atonement for the commital of the murder of the demon Vṛtra, taken equivalent to brahmanicide, Indra left the heavenly throne to live in seclusion in the Mānasa-lake for one thousand years. Afterwards he worshipped God with one thousand horse-sacrifices also.[9] (iii) Paraśurāma killed the Haihaya king Arjuna in an open and armed conflict. But the killing of the duly coronated king was considered as a more grievous sin than brahmanicide ; and Paraśurāma's father asked his son to atone for the sin. So, he underwent pilgrimage for one year observing *yama* and *niyama* including devotion to God as ordained by Jamadagni.[10] (iv) Balarāma killed Romaharṣaṇa at Naimiṣa. The hermits of Naimṣa viz, Śaunaka etc. treated the murder as brahmanicide, although Romaharṣaṇa was a *sūta* (i.e., a person of the cross breeds of the castes) ; and prescribed circumambient pilgrimage of India lasting for one year, including the observance of the same rites etc. as mentioned above in the case of Paraśurāma, to make atonement for the sin. Balarāma did likewise.[1] (v) Pṛṣadhra, the son of Manu, killed a cow and he was cursed by his preceptor to lead the life a Śūdra, although he attained emancipation with devotion to God.[2] (vi) Ajāmila had a fall, having had the misfortune of witnessing a highly amorous scene. Consequently he abstained from the righteous path till the end of his life.[3] He was, according to the moral law of the universe, liable to punishment hereafter. The messengers of Yama came to take him for that.[4] At their sight Ajāmila called his son bearing the name Nārāyaṇa ; and due to this single and unintentional utterance of the name of Viṣṇu (i.e., Nārāyaṇa), the messengers of Viṣṇu immediately stepped in to save him from the noose of Yama (*yāmya pāśa*). They delivered him of his sins and prolonged his life.[5] Ajāmila, thereafter, realised the gravity of his sins and was repentant for them. So, thenceforward he strove for desisting from any fresh a-karman. Disgusted with worldly affairs and winning over distraction, he centred his mind upon God, always chanting His names etc. Thus he purged himself of sins through devotion and attained a place in the Vaikuṇṭha-dhāman.[6]

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[1] वेद-प्रणिहितो धर्मो ह्यधर्मस्तद्-विपर्ययः (6.1.40 ab).

[2] 7.15.12.

[3] 7.15.13a.

[4] Śrīdhara on 11.3.43 :—*karman* = prescribed action ; *vi-karman* = omission of a prescribed act ; and, *a-karman* = commital of a prohibited act.

[5] PSB Vol. II., p. 39.

[6] vide ibid., p. 35.

[7] 6.1.13 ; 11.5.9 ; 6.2.11.

[8] 1.12.32ab, 34 ; vide also 1.8.48-51.

[9] 6.13.15, 18-21 ; For details of war with Vṛtra, see *ante* p. 58.

[10] 9.15.38, 41 ; vide also 9.16.1. For details of war with Arjuna etc., see *ante* pp. 115, 235 ; vide also *ante* p. 425.

Critical: Of the six instances of expiatory rites noted above, the first four are concerned with the traditional methods for the mitigation of sins while the last two with pure devotion propagated by the Bhāgavata, although the first four have also been transformed by the Bhāgavata into the worship of God, mixed with devotion. The Bhāgavata has done so because all other methods of expiation are difficult to perform while pure and simple devotion is the easiest and the surest means for the complete purification of mind.[7] Of the first four, again, the first two mainly refer to horse-sacrifices as expiatory rite for the sin of violence of man and demon respectively. The rite seems to be specially meant for kings. But, since the Bhāgavata[8] considers that the sin of killing a being (*bhūta-hatyā*) negligently cannot be mitigated by the sacrifice in which violence of a living being (animal) is done knowingly, its typical attitude has tinctured the horse-sacrifices with devotion to God. It is therefore that Yudhiṣṭhira's horse-sacrifices are specifically meant for the abandonment of malice (*droha*) only, which he had towards his cousin brothers ;[1] and not exclusively for the atonement of man-slaughter done in the Great War—an act for which he was mainly responsible. The a-karmans in the next three instances to the first, are the murders of a demon, a king and a sūta respectively. All the three murders were treated as great sins (*mahāpātaka*[2]—e.g., brahmanicide) because of the position held by the victims due to their conduct (in the case of Vṛtra) and the high posts (in the cases of Arjuna and Romaharṣaṇa) at the time of their murders. In the next two instances to the first two, the rite of expiation is mainly a pilgrimage which is to last for one year in both the cases. Manu recommends to lead the life of asceticism for twelve years in the forest as a method of atonement for brahmanicide.[3] But Paraśurāma and Balarāma were pilgrims for one year only, to make atonement for the equivalent sin they committed. This change in method and shortening of its duration may apparently seem contrary to the Smṛti injunction. But the change in method may not be contrary to the said injunction because the victims were not born Brāhmaṇas. It seems that their murders are treated as brahmanicide to enhance the gravity of the sin involved. Similarly, the lessening of the tenure may not be contrary because the virtues prescribed therein purify the mind through its restraint, and thus achieve the objective of expiatory rites more quickly than other methods.[4]

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[1] 10.78.20cd-32, 39 ; 10.79.9-21 ; For details of the murder, see *ante* p. 133.

[2] 9.2.9, 10-14 ; For the anecdote of this cow-slaughter, see *ante* p. 91.

[3] 6.1.21-23, 59-67.

[4] 6.1.28, 45, 68.

[5] 6.1.29-30 ; 6.2.7-8, 20.

[6] 6.2.24-44.

[7] 6.1.15-16 ; 6.2.11-12.

[8] 1.8.52.

"Like Manu[5] the Bhāgavata[6] considers knowledge (*vimarśana* or *jñāna*, i.e., the destruction of the force of bondage by the knowledge of the soul) much better than the traditional rites of expiation. But the best,[7] according to the Bhāgavata, is devotion that converts all defective acts into the worship of God."[8] "The traditional methods for the mitigation of sins lag far behind the listening to God (*śravaṇa*), which eradicates the core of all sins."[9] The reception of God through the mind and the senses, which *śravaṇa* represents, matures into *kīrtana*, i.e., chanting of God.[1] According to the Bhāgavata, *śravaṇa*, *kīrtana* etc. are consummation of all spiritual aspirations.[2] Continuous practice of these first two steps of ninefold devotion helps in attaining the complacency of mind and thus purify it speedily. "When God's name is chanted, He Himself enters through the ears into the heart of the votary (sinner). Seated on the lotus of devotional fervour, God undoes all impurities. With a pure mind the votary adheres to the lotus feet of the Lord."[3] So, the efficacy of God's name has led the Bhāgavata to allot it an important place in its scheme of ninefold devotion.[4]

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[1] 1.22.32ab.

[2] For the five great sins pointed out by Manu (MS—11.54), see Chapter XII, ref. no 7 at p. 361 ; for these five and other sins falling in the same category—cf. 6.2.9.

[3] MS—11.72.

[4] Śrīdhara (on 10.78.39) comments :- सुसमाधानादि-गुणविशेषादेकाब्दमात्रमुक्तमित्यविरोधः ।

[5] MS—11.247.

[6] 6.1.11 ; vide also Gītā—4.36-38.

[7] (*a*) 6.1.15-16; (*b*) 6.2.11-12; (*c*) 6.3.32.

[8] PSB Vol. II, p. 35.

[9] 11.6.9 ; For phraseology, PSB Vol. II, p. 189.

The last instance is important to understand the sympathetic attitude of the Bhāgavata towards the problem of sin (*pāpa*) which a man is bound or rather forced to commit.[5] According to the Bhāgavata,[6] only devotion to God can purify a sinner so completely as all other expiatory rites cannot do collectively. A devotee of God is not bound to undergo expiatory rites either for vi-karman or for a-karman, if ever committed by him.[7] To show that neither expiatory rite nor punishment is necessary for a sinner devotee,[8] the Bhāgavata describes the episode of Ajāmila.[9] "In the episode of Ajāmila who was delivered of his sins by a single utterance of the name of Viṣṇu although he intended to call his son bearing that name at the sight of the messengers of death, the Bhāgavata brings out the intrinsic glory of God's name. ...But the emphasis[10] on the natural potency of God's name on the ground of its natural efficacy...may appear an open invitation to do wrongs. Is the Bhāgavata out to promulgate the novel theory that man can do any wrong; the magic of Lord's name will come to his rescue? A scrutiny of the episode will help throw light on this issue. Ajāmila was initially an example of good behaviour. He possessed all the qualities of a good man including the spirit of friendliness to all.[11] Ajāmila's spirit of friendliness to all suggests that he was well grounded in the conviction of universalism. ...But his spiritual advancement received temporary setback from the more forceful *prārabdha-karman*. ...Though grounded in spiritual life, more forceful *prārabdha* took possession of his mind, so that he abstained from righteous path till the end of his life. ...As *prārabdha-karman* brings into existence a particular life, the end of that life is the last limit of *prārabdha-karman*. That is why (Ajāmila) was awakened to spirituality while he was breathing his last breath. ...Death betokened the end of his *prārabdha* and so his original spirituality found articulation in the utterance of the name of Viṣṇu although he is said to have called his son bearing the name, Nārāyaṇa.[1] So, God's name is efficacious; but it shows its quality only in favourable circumstances. One has to deserve that name. The Divine is always within us. What we need is its awakening. The prerequisite for receiving God's name is the spirit of dedication of all acts unto God so that the sense of universalism becomes a part of unshakable conviction"[2] "The spirit of dedication is but the recognition of God's benign presence in the innermost chamber of man. ...(Then) God's radiance shines upon man's imperfections, lending significance to his spiritual strivings. His benign presence transforms darkness into light. Sincerity of purpose makes for man's elevation that transcends the bickerings of baser feelings. From theistic standpoint, man is forgiven the moment he asks for God's pardon. ...God's forgiveness follows atonement. It does not offer license to commit wrongs. If one does wrong in anticipation of God's pardon, such pardon will never come. God does not aid and abet in man's misdoings; He only gives man the chance to rectify himself provided man wants it, and sincerely."[3] So, Ajāmila was released on bail of the unqualified and liberal *bhāgavata-dharma*;[4] and we know he utilised the opportunity to purify himself through the phenomenon of *bhajana* or *saṁ-kīrtana*.[5]

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[1] 6.3.31.
[2] 1.5.22; 6.3.22
[3] PSB Vol. II., p. 202; 2.8.5; cf. 6.2.10.

[4] For the nine elements of ninefold devotion, see Chapter X, p. 294.

[5] Gītā—3.36.
[6] vide ref. 7 at p. 432.

[7] 11.5.41-42; Śrīdhara (on 11.5.41) comments :—भक्तस्य विधि-निषेध-निवृत्तेः कृतकृत्यतामाह । Further (on 11.5.42) he remarks :—विहित-कर्म-निवृत्तिमुक्त्वा निषेध-निमित्त-प्रायश्चित्त-निवृत्तिमाह ।

[8] 6.1.19-20.
[10] 6.1.14-19; 8.23.16.

[9] *6.1, 2*
[11] 6.1.56-57.

2. CRIMES AND PUNISHMENT

Expository: In the absence of expiation, punishment becomes necessary for the sinner so that purged of sins he may follow the righteous path. So, like heaven meant for the enjoyment of happiness hereafter on the basis of dharma observed here, there are hells where punishment is inflicted after one's death on the basis of a-dharma committed by one's self here.[6]

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[1] 6.1.29.

[2] For phraseology, PSB Vol. II., pp. 201-4.

[3] ibid., p. 185.

[4] 6.2.20, 24.

[5] 6.2.25-40.

[6] vide ref. 4 at p. 432; vide also 5.26.6; For how a sinner is taken to different hells and how punishment is inflicted there, see —3.30.19-33; Śrīdhara (on 3.30.19) introduces this description as follows:—
मृतस्य पुण्यपापाभ्यां द्वे गती ; तत्र पापगतिमाह यमदूतावित्यादि ।

The hells (*sṛti* or *naraka*) are said to exist in the Yamā'laya—i.e., the abode of the god of death viz, Yama-Vaivasvata—situated within the three worlds, in the southern direction, below the earth and above water. The same god of death is the king of this region. Of the innumerable hells, twenty-one or twenty-eight types of hell are named,[1] of which each is destined for a separate sort of crime ; so there emerge twenty-eight types of crime also. Of these crimes, one comes under the category of *upa-dharma*, three fall in the category of *vi-karman* and the rest in that of *a-karman*. The crimes, thus categorised, are noticed here with their respective hells :—

The only instance of *upa-dharma*, found in the context of hells, says that (i) one, who abandons the Vedic tradition including the Varṇā'śrama-dharma on the one hand and joins the heterodox cults and follows their spurious duties on the other, suffers in the hell viz, Asipatra-vana.[2] For *vi-karmans* such as (ii) not respecting others senior in age, knowledge, caste etc., (iii) non-performance of the five great sacrifices, (iv) especially neglect in hospitality to the guests, one suffers in the hells viz, Kṣāra-kardama,[3] Kṛmi-bhojana[4] and Paryā-vartana[5] respectively. The respective hells destined for different *a-karmans* are as follows :—(v) For maintaining one's family with affection for 'I and Mine' and envy for others, one suffers in the hell viz, Raurava ;[6] (vi) for feeding one's belly in exclusion of all others, in Mahā-raurava ;[7] (vii) for the drinking of wine (especially by the Brāhmaṇas) and *soma-rasa* (by the Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas), in Rayaḥ-pāna ;[8] (viii) for pride of one's wealth, doubt about its theft, worry about its expense etc. as well as for its hoarding, in Sūcī-mukha ;[9] (ix) for abducting others' wives, sons or wealth, in Tāmisra ;[10] (x) for seducing others wives by deceiving their husbands, in Andha-tāmisra ;[11] (xi) for practising illicit intercourse, in Tapta-sūrmi ;[12] (xii) for cohabitation with animals, in Vajra-kaṇṭaka-śālmalī ;[13] (xiii) for marrying a Śūdra woman and thus being devoid of purity, in Pūyoda ;[14] (xiv) for compelling the wife of the same caste (*savarṇā*) to drink one's semen (*retas*), in Lālābhakṣa ;[1] (xv) for breaking the rules of good conduct (especially by the kings and their men), in Vaitaraṇī ;[2] (xvi) for causing agony to others, in Andha-kūpa ;[3] (xvii) for terrifying others by dreadful contrivances, in Danda-śūka ;[4] (xviii) for piercing spear (*śūla*) or transfixing thread (*sūta*) in others' body as a part of jestful contrivances, in Śūla-prota ;[5] (xix) for confining or imprisoning others in dark cavity, in Avaṭa-nirodhana ;[6] (xx) for having malice towards father, learned Brāhmaṇas etc., in Kāla-sūtra ;[7] (xxi) for punishing a person who is not guilty or corporal punishment to a Brāhmaṇa, in Sūkara-mukha ;[8] (xxii) for burning or poisoning others and plundering villages or caravans, in Sārameyādana ;[9] (xxiii) for making false statement in evidence, money transaction or gift, in Avīci ;[10] (xxiv) for stealing others' property especially of a Brāhmaṇa, in Saṁ-daṁśa ;[11] (xxv) for sacrificing man to Bhairava etc. or eating the flesh of man or animal, in Rakṣogaṇa-bhojana ;[12] (xxvi) for locking up animals or birds, in Kumbhī-pāka ;[13] (xxvii) for piercing animals etc. while hunting especially at the place not prescribed, in Prāṇa-nirodha ;[14] and (xxviii) for killing animals in sacrifices, in Vaiśasa.[15]

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[1] 5.26.2-5, 36 ; Yama is said to be the son of Vivasvān and uterine brother of Śrāddhadeva, see *ante* p. 56.

[2] 5.26.14.

[3] 5.26.29.

[4] 5.26.17.

[5] 5.26.34.

[6] 5.26.9 ; cf. 3.30.30-32 ;

[7] 5.26.11.

[8] 5.26.28.

[9] 5.26.35.

[10] 5.26.7.

[11] 5.26.8 ; Andha-tāmisra is also destined for those who maintain family with foul means (3.30.33).

[12] 5.26.19.

[13] 5.26.20.

[14] 5.26.22 ; cf. MS—3.155.

Critical: There are two extreme courses (*gati*) for a dead man. "The possessor of the highest knowledge attended with supreme detachment courts disembodied release just after his death. He does not transmigrate at all. ...Immediately after his gross body has gone, he attains final beatitude. At the other extreme, the devil has to enter any or all of the twenty-one or twenty-eight types of hell as retributive measures."[16] In between these two, there may be a person who has attained the knowledge on earth but he may possess the curiosity of tasting divine pleasures and may accordingly defer release for sometime. Such a person goes to heaven and the devil to hell respectively.[17] These possibilities of heaven and hell cannot be ruled out, as happiness and sorrow found there are experienced by us here also.[18] If a person has neither atoned for his sins (*akṛta-nirveśa*)[19] nor was he punished suitably by the kings etc.,[20] the moral law of the universe requires that punishment should be inflicted on him for his misdoings. The hells are, therefore, custodians of this law in so far as one is caused to suffer therein only to make requital of one's evil.[1] After retribution, the devil will undergo on the earth the cycles of births (not necessarily human) and deaths. Finally when the sins are exhausted by the sufferings in low births, the empirical ego comes to attain the human form again.[2]

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[1] 5.26.25.
[2] 5.26.21.
[3] 5.26.16.
[4] 5.26.32.
[5] 5.26.31.
[6] 5.26.33.
[7] 5.26.15.
[8] 5.26.15.
[9] 5.26.26.
[10] 5.26.27.
[11] 5.26.18.
[12] 5.26.30.
[13] 5.26.12.
[14] 5.26.23.
[15] 5.26.24.
[16] PSB p. 268.
[17] 6.1.45.
[18] 3.30.29.
[19] 6,1,68,
[20] cf.—1.7.37 ; Śrīdhara here cites the following Smṛti statement :—
राजभिर्धृतदण्डास्तु कृत्वा पापानि मानवाः । विधूत-कल्मषा यान्ति स्वर्गं सुकृतिनो यथा ॥

The crimes punishable by the tortures of hells, as recorded by the Bhāgavata, include many such offences of unsocial (from no. ii to viii), immoral (from no. ix to xv) and injurious (from no. xvi to xxviii) nature that lie beyond the imagination of the modern criminologists, punishable by law. As to the unsocial acts, the crime-sheet includes not only the drinking of wine but also the maintenance of family with attachment or foul means, lack of respect to the elders etc., neglect in hospitality and pride of wealth. In immoral acts, not only adultery, incest and abduction of woman or wealth but also marriage with the low caste woman, lack of purity, good behaviour etc. are included. In the acts gravely wrong morally as well as injurious to others, not only falsity, theft, assault, poisoning and killing but also causing agony, terrifying or even being malicious to other beings are included. Imbued with the sense of universal pity, the Bhāgavata enlists injury to living beings, below the human level, as a serious crime. Thus locking up, hunting, piercing or making sacrifice of animals or eating their flesh came to be considered as punishable by the tortures of hells.

3. DEFECTS OF CONTACT WITH WOMAN

Expository : One of the greatest *a-karman* is contact with woman. The Bhāgavata emphatically denounces the erotic practices expounded by Vātsyāyana[3] etc. and implores to abandon the company (*saṁga*) of woman (*strī*) and her compainon (*tat-saṁgin*).[4] According to the Bhāgavata,[5] no company is as bad as that of a woman and her companion. The company of the former is the greatest cause of bondage (*bandha*) while that of the latter, of pain (*kleśa*). It is so because woman, a creation for procreation, has become the most alluring object for man, for reasons over which man has no control.[1] This allurement leads to downfall of man. So, persons who are awakened to the realization of the Supreme Soul (*ātma-lābha*) and therefore striving for their final emancipation (*mumukṣu*) should never associate themselves with handsome women (*pramadā*) whom Yogins call the door of hell (*niraya-dvāra*).[2] A *mumukṣu* householder should consider that his young wife (*yoṣit*) whose company and service he enjoys is unfavourable to the purpose he is striving for.[3] Separation of Sītā made Rāmacandra appear miserable (*kṛpaṇavat*). He wandered in the forest in pitiable condition to show the sorrowful state of those who are associated with women.[4] An emperor of the stature of Purūravas lost his power, influence, independence etc. and became the toy animal (*krīḍā-mṛga*) of his wife because he was attached to licentious pleasures.[5] A lustful man does whatever his wife likes him to do like a tame animal (*krīḍā-mṛga*).[6] If a *mumukṣu* keeps the company of men practising cohabitation (*mithuna-vratin*), his fall is inevitable like that of the ascetic Saubhari who was perturbed to see the sexual union of the fishes in the Yamunā; and consequently fell back upon the stage of the householder.[7] The desire for sensual enjoyment brought about the fall of Nahuṣa from heavenly throne which he had captured by the power of his penance etc. He reverted from the high station when he attempted to outrage Indra's wife, Śacī.[8] Vicitravīrya died of pulmonic disease (*yakṣmā*) caused by the excess of cohabitation.[9]

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[1] The Brāhmaṇa texts clearly mention the doctrine of reward and retribution after death for good and evil done during the life time (Keith—*The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, p. 474)

[2] 3.30.34 ; cf. 2.10.40-41.

[3] For the other synonyms of Vātsyāyana, see *ante* ref. 1. at p. 261.

[4] 11.14.29 ; Śrīdhara introduces the verse as follows :—
विशेषतो वात्स्यायनाद्युक्त काम-मार्गाः परित्याज्या इत्याह स्त्रीणामिति ।

[5] 11.14.30 ; vide also 3.31.34.

Besides company, the vicinity (*sannidhāna*) of woman is also to be abandoned totally because restive organs are liable to mislead even intelligent men. For this, sitting closely with one's mother, sister or daughter should be avoided as far as possible.[10] A woman is like fire while man like the jar of clarified butter. So the latter is bound to lose control over his senses when he comes near the former as the butter melts away near fire.[11] Even chattering (*gāthā*) with woman is restricted for all others excepting the householders, on the same ground.[12] Merely the sight (*darśana*) of a loving woman (*kāminī*) causes infatuation. The demons were enraptured at the sight of Mohinī (the illusory form of Viṣṇu) and were then deprived of the nectar. She took away the jar (*bhājana*) of nectar from them and gave it to the gods for drinking.[1] To show that the infatuation (*moha*) of demons at the sight of Mohinī was not surprising, the same of Mahādeva is described.[2] Mahādeva lost the faculty of discernment when he saw Mohinī; and devoid of modesty, he ran after her leaving his wife on the spot.[3] But soon he realised his stupefaction (*jaḍīkaraṇa*) by the illusive power of Viṣṇu ; and, being detached, he was settled in his own nature (*sva-niṣṭhā*).[4] Likewise, Brahmā is said to have pursued his own daughter shamelessly, enchanted by her beauty.[5]

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[1] 6.18.30.
[2] 3.31.38.
[3] 3.31.39.
[4] 9.10.11.
[5] 11.26.9-11.
[6] 4.25.56-62.
[7] 9.6.51-52.
[8] 6.13.16; vide also 9.18.3.
[9] 9.22.24.
[10] 9.19.17—Śrīdhara comments here:—स्त्री-सन्निधानं तु सर्वथा त्याज्यमित्याह मात्रेति। vide also 7.12.6cd.
[11] नन्वग्निः प्रमदा नाम घृत-कुंभ-मयः पुमान्। सुतामपि रहो जह्यादन्यदा यावदर्थकृत् ॥ 7.12.9. ॥
[12] 7.12.7.

Critical : In view of the above examples of the kings, hermits and gods who lost power, position and repute by the force of woman's contact, the Bhāgavata declares that excepting the hermit Nārāyaṇa there is none on the earth who can remain unattracted towards woman (*yoṣit*), the frankenstein creation.[6] All the inhibitory statements with regard to woman's contact and illustrations of downfall thereby can hardly hold in a man steeped in carnal pleasures due to his ignorance. So, the Bhāgavata devotes five chapters[7] to present the allegory of Purañjana (Jīva), which describes how he, being addicted to his wife (Buddhi), forgot his friend (Īśvara) with whom he really had identity. The message given indirectly but clearly through this allegory is this : Association with woman causes transmigration while realisation of one's identity with Brahman leads to emancipation.[8]

Woman (*strī*) possesses sex-appeal.[9] The bodily beauty of a young woman has the power of exciting desire (*kāma*) in the other sex ; and this desire disturbs the balance of man's mind.[10] The mind is then enslaved to the natural propensities of the organs.[11] The Bhāgavata, therefore, likes man to be away from her so that he may look after his spiritual welfare.[1] All the spiritual strivings such as wisdom (*vidyā*), penance (*tapas*), renunciation (*tyāga*), Scriptural erudition (*śruta*), living in seclusion (*vivikta-vāsa*) and reticence (*mauna*) have no meaning for a man if his mind is captivated by woman.[2] That any type of contact with woman (*pramadā* or *yoṣit*), such as her company or association (*saṁga*), proximity in place (*sannidhāna*), sight (*darśana*) and so on, results in the fall of man is amply and aptly illustrated by the Bhāgavata through the examples of both mortals and immortals. As Jīvas, both Brahmā (Hiraṇya-garbha) and Mahādeva (Rudra) were liable to human frailities,[3] although as gods they rose above Māyā.[4]

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[1] For Mohinī's beauty etc :—8.8.41-46 and also 8.12.18-24 ; For the infatuation of demons :—8.9.1-7 ; For giving of nectar to the gods after befooling the demons—8.9.11-28 ; vide also 8.10.2.

[2] Śrīdhara's intr. to *8.12* :—
अमुह्यन्नसुरा विष्णुमायया न तदद्भुतम् ।
इति वक्तुं महादेव-मोहोऽयमुपवर्ण्यते ।।
also cf. 8.12.36.

[3] 8.12.25-34 ; esp. the first and the last verses.

[4] 8.12.35, 38 ; Śrīdhara (8.12.38) :—
स्वां निष्ठां=प्रकृतिम् ।

[5] 3.31.35.

[6] 3.31.36.

[7] *4.25-29.*

[8] Śrīdhara's intr. to *4.29* :—
ऊनत्रिंशे परोक्षार्थ-व्याख्यानेनोपसंहृतम् ।
स्त्री-संगतो भवस्त्वीश-संगान्मुक्तिरिति स्फुटम् ।।
vide also 4.29.2-3, 5.

[9] 3.31.39.

[10] 8.8.46 ; vide also 8.12.16.

[11] 10.40.27.

But the ways of flesh are so insistent that human beings cannot rid themselves easily of moral weaknesses. The allegory of Purañjana points out that these weaknesses suspend one's awakening to the light of the soul. So, as a preliminary step in this direction, all types of contact with women are to be discarded to achieve the tranquillity of mind for concentration on the Divine. According to the Bhāgavata, the mind is agitated only when the organs come in contact with their objects and not otherwise. The mental modes are effected by the impact of external objects through the organs. This means that they cannot originate if the objects are unseen and unheard of. So, when the organs are kept away and restrained, it is likely that even the excited mind, in the absence of provocative causes, may become still (*sthira*) and gradually tranquil (*niścala*).[5] But the mind is too fickle to be relied upon even after it is brought under control by the restraint of the senses. If one, relying upon it, comes in contact with woman one is bound to lose one's exalted position (*aiśvara*) like Mahādeva etc. or *tapas* like Saubhari etc.[6] This is so because the mind is the store-house of six enemies viz, desire etc.; and instigated by them even the Yogins fall.[7] Lastly, it may be added, that woman is not to be blamed if man falls due to her company etc. In fact, man is in fault for his fall. Having no control over the senses, he takes woman as the object of sensual enjoyment ignorantly like a person who wrongly takes a rope for snake and is killed. As we cannot find fault with rope for one's annoyance or death, in the same way a woman cannot be censured if man, deluded by her apparent beauty etc., falls.[8]

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[1] 11.14.29.

[2] 11.26.12.

[3] cf. PSB p. 208.

[4] For Mahādeva, see—8.12.39-40.

[5] 11.26.22-23.

[6] 5.6.2-3.

[7] 5.6.4-5 ; vide also 11.26.24.

[8] किमेतथा नोपकृतं रज्वा वा सर्पचेतसः।
रज्जु-स्वरूपाविदुषो योऽहं यदजितेन्द्रियः ॥ 11.26.17.

4. PILGRIMAGES AND HOLY REGIONS

A. The Pilgrimages

Expository : Five instances of pilgrimage (*tīrtha-caryā*) available in the Bhāgavata are as follows :—

1. Vidura, when insulted by his nephews Duryodhana etc., started on pilgrimage from Hastināpura ; and visiting the holy places, crossing the mountains and taking bath in rivers and lakes like a pilgrim, he reached Prabhāsa on the western sea shore. *At Prabhāsa,* he came to know that the Great War had ended in the destruction of his relatives and friends. Full of grief for their death, he proceeded upward to his pilgrimage. He then visited eleven places situated on the bank of the *Sarasvatī* existing in the names of Trita, Uśanas, Maru, Pṛthu, Agni, Asita, Vāyu, Sudāsa, Gava, Guha and Śrāddhadeva. Finally he came on the bank of the Yamunā, where his pilgrimage ended in meeting with Uddhava.[1] Uddhava informed him about the destruction of the Yādavas and departure of Kṛṣṇa.[2] As told by Uddhava, Vidura approached Maitreya to receive instruction on the knowledge of the soul,[3] for which the latter was already directed by Kṛṣṇa[4]

2. When Balarāma came to know that the Great War is imminent, he, on the pretext of pilgrimage (*tīrthā'bhiṣeka-vyāja*), left Dvārakā and accompained by the Brāhamaṇas came down to Prabhāsa. *From Prabhāsa,* the actual starting point of his pilgrimage, he journeyed upward and visited Pṛthūdaka, Bindusara, Trita, Kūpa, Sudarśana-tīrtha, Viśāla, Brahma-tīrtha, Cakra-tīrtha—all existing on the bank of the *Prācī-Sarasvatī* (i.e., the Sarasvatī flowing to the east). Then he reached Naimiṣa, the site of sanctity on the river Gomatī in the Ayodhyā kingdom.[5] As already noticed,[6] Balarāma killed Romaharṣaṇa at Naimiṣa and consequently had to undergo pilgrimage lasting for one year as the expiatory rite for murder.[7] So, from Naimiṣa he went to the east, south and west directions respectively visiting holy places therein, taking bath in the rivers and observing the rites of a pilgrim at the sites prescribed for the purpose. In the route traversed by Balarāma in the east, the following places etc. were visited in succession :—the lake from which the Sarayū rises, Prayāga, Pulhā'śrama (Hari-kṣetra), the rivers Gomatī, Gaṇḍakī, Vipāśā and Kauśikī, Gayā, the river Śoṇa and Gaṅgā-sāgara (the confluence of the Gaṅgā and

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[1] 3.1.16-24.

[2] 3.4.1-22.

[3] 3.4.26-27.

[4] 3.5.21.

[5] 10.78.17-20.

[6] See *ante* pp. 133, 431-2.

[7] 10.78.20-32, 39.

the sea). From here he went to far south en route the eastern coastal strip. He visited or crossed the following in succession :—the Mahendra mountain, the Mahā-nadī, Godāvarī, Veṇā (Kṛṣṇā) and Bhīmarathī rivers, the Paṁpā lake, the Śrī-śaila, the Veñkaṭa-giri, Kāmakoṣṇī-purī, Kāñcī-purī, the Kāverī river, Śrī-Raṅga-purī, the Ṛṣabha mountain, southern Mathurā, the Kṛtamālā and Tāmraparṇī rivers, the Malaya-giri, the abode of the godess Kanyā or Durgā on the southern sea-shore and Setu-Bandha (the bridge of rocks said to have been built by Rāmacandra's army of the *Vānaras*), the terminus of pilgrimage in the southern direction.[1] From Setu he journeyed upward en route the western coastal strip. He visited the following in succession :—Phālguna (Ananta-pura), the pool Pañcā'psaras, Kerala and Trigarta regions, Go-karṇa (Śiva-kṣetra), Śūrpāraka, the rivers Tāpī, Payoṣṇī, Nirvindhyā and Revā. Then he again came to *Prabhāsa*, the starting point of his ostentatious and the closing point of his expiatory pilgrimage.[2] *At Prabhāsa*, he heard the news of all round destruction in the Great War, which he had fervently intended to prevent.[3]

3. When the curse for the destruction of the Yādavas was imprecated, calamities befell Dvārakā ; and the residents experienced unusual phenomena in the high heaven (*Dyau*, e.g., eclipse of the sun etc.) in the intermediate region (*Antarikṣa*, e.g., conflagration, huricane etc.) and on the earth (*Bhuva*, e.g., earthquakes etc.). Kṛṣṇa advised the residents to go to Prabhāsa to take bath in the *Pratyak-Sarasvatī* (i.e., the Sarasvatī flowing to the west) and to observe religious rites there in order to counteract the evil portents. The Yādavas did likewise for their own welfare. They crossed the sea, separating Dvārakā from the main land, in boats and journeyed to *Prabhāsa* on the chariots. *At Prabhāsa*, they took bath in the river, worshipped different gods with sacrifices and gave gifts to the Brāhmaṇas with the motive of self-safety.[4]

4. On the eve of the full eclipse of the sun (*sūryoparāga*) all the inhabitants of Dvārakā assembled at Syamanta-pañcaka in Kurukṣetra to take bath in the deep and large lakes called Rāma-hradas.[5] On the occasion of this grand pilgrimage (*mahatī tīrtha-yātrā*) there was a great assemb-

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[1] 10.79.9-17.

[2] 10.79.18-21.

[3] 10.79.22.

[4] 11.30.4-11.

[5] 10.82.1-2 ;—The lakes numbering nine are so called because they are fabled to be formed by Paraśurāma with the blood of the kings etc. when he was bent upon making the earth Kṣatriyaless (10.82.3 ; vide also 9.16.19).

lage of Indian population (*Bhāratī prajā*).[1] To mention the notable communities, there were kings (with their retinues) of different regions from Kāmboja in the North to Kerala in the far South ;[2] Nanda of Vraja and his family including the cowherd men and the gopīs ;[3] Kṛṣṇa and his Vṛṣṇi family including princes and chiefs ;[4] the warriors especially those who later on became famous in the Great War, viz, Bhīṣma etc.,[5] The main activities at Syamanta-pañcaka were :—(i) All took bath in the Rāma-hradas twice on the day of eclipse and gave gifts of cows, clothes etc. to the Brāhmaṇas.[6] (ii) Kṛṣṇa's family greeted Nanda's family and expressed gratitude for the upbringing of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa in their childhood at Vṛndāvana. Yaśodā fondled Kṛṣṇa and relieved herself of the sorrow of his long separation.[7] (iii) Kṛṣṇa met the gopīs in seclusion and for the first time revealed his true nature, the all-pervasive Reality, before them. Kṛṣṇa's instruction (*adhyātma śikṣā*) to the gopīs on his identity with *Bhagavat* awakened them to spirituality ; and all of them prayed for the everlasting rememberance of his lotus-feet which they might forget in homely attachment.[8] (iv) The wives of Kṛṣṇa narrated their marriage incidents with great zeal when asked to do so by Draupadī.[9] She as well as other prominent women like Pṛthā, Gāndhārī, Subhadrā, other queens and the gopīs, the unique devotees of Kṛṣṇa, were wonder-struck and pleased to hear the incidents of Kṛṣṇa's marriages.[10] (v) Lastly, a great sacrifice was performed by Vasudeva ; and after its completion fees to the priests and gifts of cows, land, wealth etc. were given to the Brāhmaṇas, while the relatives and friends were adorned suitably.[11]

5. Once on the occasion of the *Śiva-rātri* vow, Nanda organised a *deva-yātrā*. So he, younger brother Sunanda and residents of Vraja, all proceeded in procession to Ambikā-vana by bullock-carts. There they took bath in the *Sarasvatī*, worshipped Paśupati and Ambikā and presented gifts to the Brāhmaṇas. It being the day of rigorous fasting, all of them ate nothing excepting that they tasted (*prāśya*) water. Intending to stay there, they awoke up to the midnight and then fell into sound sleep as they were all wearied by the journey, fasting and awakening.[12]

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[1] 10.82.4ab.

[2] 10.82.12-13 abcd.

[3] 10.82.13 ef.

[4] 10.82.5cd-7.

[5] 10.82.23-26.

[6] 10.82.9-10.

[7] 10.82.31-38.

[8] 10.82.39-48.

[9] 10.83.6-43.

[10] 10.84.1.

[11] 10.84.43, 52.

[12] 10.38.1-4.

Critical: In point of time, the last instance stands as the first, the fourth as the second, first two as contemporaneous and the third as the last. The first two instances of pilgrimage show that the two pilgrims viz, Vidura and Balarāma had started at the same time (although from the different places) because both received the news of total destruction in the Great War at Prabhāsa, on the culmination of their respective pilgrimages.

The pilgrimage of Balarāma, that was to end at Naimiṣa but was extended due to a mysterious cause, gives us the idea on what succession holy places etc. should be visited and what rites are to be performed at particular places, if one likes to make a circumambient pilgrimage of India (excepting far North). The third instance points to the motive of pilgrimage. People in ancient India took to pilgrimage and observed religious rites at holy places to counteract evil portents and thus bring about their safety and welfare. The fourth instance, which presents the picture of the grandest pilgrimage, also confirms the above viewpoint. The general advantages of pilgrimage, pointed out by the Bhāgavata in this context, are: (a) the pleasure of meeting relatives and friends; (b) the good fortune of seeing the hermits, saints etc. who purify merely by their sight; (c) the assembly of kings and their paraphernalia to appease one's curiosity of witnessing such equipments and accessories; (d) the galaxy of the warriors rousing thrill and the spirit of valour; (e) the performance of sacrifices etc. that bring about religious merits for the patrons; and (f) gifts or donations, given generously on such occasions, material help to the priests and other recipients.[1] The fifth instance, when read with the third, shows that the people of villages and towns undertook journey in procession by bullock-carts and chariots respectively to a specific place on particular occasions (e.g., vow, eclipse of the sun etc.). All the instances of pilgrimage reveal that mostly holy places exist on the banks of the rivers and lakes, especially where water was tasteful, nourishing and purifying.[2] When the Bhāgavata[3] declares that region (*deśa*) as the most sacred (*puṇyatma*) where the worthy recipient (*sat-pātra*) is available, it is thereby making it clear that gift is the main rite for a pilgrim. Thus the Bhāgavata has sought to utilise pilgrimage as an instrument for fair distribution of wealth.

B. *The Holy Regions*

Expository: In the descriptions of pilgrimage above, we have seen that some specific regions (*deśa*) such as places (*kṣetra*), hermitages (*āśrama*), mountains, rivers etc. are considered holy for the purpose.[1] Being holy, such regions are utilised for purposes other than piligrimage also. Kings and hermits are described to utilize these regions for receiving knowledge, undergoing *tapas*, performing sacrifices, staying there calmly and so on. The references available in the Bhāgavata in this respect or some other incidents connected with these places etc. are as follows :—

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[1] 10.84.71. [2] 3.21.39. [3] 7.14.27 cd.

(a) *Places :* (i) Dakṣa-Prācetasa underwent *tapas* for procreation at Aghamarṣaṇa-tīrtha situated at the foot of the Vindhya mountain.[2] (ii) His two groups of sons viz, Haryaśvas and Sabalāśvas underwent *tapas* with the same end in view at Nārāyaṇa-saras-tīrtha located at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the sea.[3] (iii) Devahūti, the mother of Kapila and wife of Kardama, attained *jīvan-mukti* (the state of enlightenment) at Siddha-pada or Sidha-pura.[4] (iv) Bali, the king of demons, performed a horse-sacrifice at Bhṛgu-kaccha situated on the northern bank of the Narmadā[5] (v) Naimiṣa, the forest-*cum*-residence of the hermits Śaunaka etc. was situated on the left bank of the river Gomatī and the hermits performed *satra* lasting for one thousand years there.[6] (vi) Other hermits used to perform *satras* at Śamyāprāśa situated on the western bank of the Sarasvatī.[7] (vii) Piṇḍāraka-tīrtha seems to have existed near Dvārakā as the hermits and priests who had been to see Kṛṣṇa at the latter's residence were hurriedly sent there when the destined annihilation of the Yādavas was in the offing.[8] (viii) Hari-dvāra and (ix) Prayāga exist respectively at the points where the Gaṅgā enters the plains and meets the Yamunā. The former is also called Gaṅgā-dvāra while the later Tīrtha-rāja.[9]

(b) *Hermitages :* (i) Badrī or Viśālā is famous as the abode of the two eternal hermits viz, Nara and Nārāyaṇa who are said to have been undergoing *tapas* there for this kalpa just for the welfare of mankind.[10] Viśālā is also called Badarikā'śrama,[11] Badaryā'śrama, Nara-Nārāyaṇā'laya[12] or simply

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[1] In a list of the holy regions given by the Bhāgavata (7.14.29cd-32), the places such as Kuśasthalī, Vārāṇasī, Madhu-purī etc., the hermitages such as Sītā-Rāmā'śrama etc., the mountains such as Mahendra, Malaya etc., the rivers such as Gaṅgā etc., and the lakes (*saras*) such as Puṣkara etc. appear prominently.

[2] 6.4.20-21 ; vide also *ante* pp. 53-4.

[3] 6.5.3, 25 ; vide also *ante* p. 54.

[4] 3.33.31.

[5] 8.18.21.

[6] 1.1.4.

[7] 1.7.2.

[8] 11.1.11.

[9] 12.1.35.

[10] 3.4.22 ; 10.87.6, vide also 11.4.7.

[11] Śrīdhara (on 4.12.16 and 11.29.4) :—
विशालाम्=बदरिकाश्रमम् ।

[12] 10.52.4.

Nārāyaṇā'śrama.[1] (i-a) Nārāyaṇa here enlightened Nārada on the nature of the Supreme Reality and approach of the Vedas to It.[2] (i-b) Nābhi, after coronating his son Ṛṣabha, resorted to Viśālā with his wife Merudevī; served Nara and Nārāyaṇa there and attained *jīvan-mukti* by their grace.[3] (i-c) With the dawning of detachment, Dhruva resorted to Viśālā in his old age and practised eightfold *yoga* there with devotion to God.[4] As he had already satisfied Viṣṇu by his *tapas* at the age of five, Sunanda and Nanda—the two attendants (*pārṣada*) of Viṣṇu—came to fetch him to *Bhagavat-pada*, i.e., the *parama pada* of Viṣṇu.[5] (i-d) Mucukunda, the son of Māndhātṛ, reached Badaryā'śrama after the circumambulation of earth and worshipped God Hari there with *tapas*.[6] (i-e) Uddhava was directed by Kṛṣṇa to go to Badarī to ponder over the teachings imparted by him at that calm place in seclusion. Uddhava obeyed the Master and attained emancipation (*Hari-gati*)[7] there. (ii) Prācīnabarhi underwent *tapas* at Kapilā'śrama situated at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the sea.[8] (ii-a) The mythical king Rahūgaṇa was on his way to Kapilā'śrama in quest of knowledge; but Jaḍa-Bharata who met him, fully satified him in the mid-way.[9] (iii) Bharata Jāyanteya resorted to Pulhā'śrama, also called Hari-kṣetra, renouncing attachment to family, kingdom etc. when the destined time for their enjoyment ended.[10] (iv) Mārkaṇḍeya, the celeberated hermit of the Pre-Flood tradition, seems next to Nārāyaṇa as he is said to have undergone *tapas* for six preceding manvantaras continuously at the *āśrama* bearing his name, situated on the bank of the river Puṣpabhadrā near the Citrā hill close to the north side of the Himā'dri.[11]

(c) *Mountains and Hills* : (i) Svāyambhuva Manu underwent *tapas* for one hundred years on the Sunandā mountain.[12] (ii) His son Priyavrata was instructed by Nārada on the knowledge of the soul on the Mandara-droṇi, the hill of the Gandhamādana mountain.[13] (ii-a) Hiraṇyakaśipu underwent *tapas* on the same hill to become the unrivalled monarch of the three worlds by the power of penance.[14] (ii-b) It is said that a part of the same hill was uprooted by the gods and the demons to use it as the churning stick for stirring the ocean, in their joint venture to produce nectar.[1] (iii) Atri, the progenitor, and his wife Anusūyā underwnt *tapas* with the desire for progeny on the Ṛkṣa mountain near the Nirvindhyā river.[2] (iv) The mythical king Indradyumna made his hermitage on the Malaya-giri or Kulā'cala to worship God.[3] (v) It is said that Paraśurāma still lives calmly relinquishing violence on the Mahendrā'dri in the South.[4] (vi) The boy Kṛṣṇa is said to have lifted and held the Govardhanā'cala like an umbrella to save Go-kula from the wrath of Indra.[5] (vii) Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa, when chased by Jarāsandha, fled away; and hid themselves on the Pravarṣaṇa-giri so that they may be out of his sight.[6]

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[1] 10.87.5.

[2] 10.87.7-8 ; For the details of Nara and Nārāyaṇa, see Chapter I, p. 26.

[3] 5.4.5.

[4] 4.12.16-17.

[5] 4.12.23-27 ; vide also *ante* p. 50.

[6] 10.51.62 and 10.52.4.

[7] 3.4.4, vide also 11.29.48.

[8] 4.29.81.

[9] Śrīdhara (on 5.10.1) informs :—
राजा तत्त्वजिज्ञासुः कपिलाश्रमं यदा
गच्छति स्म तदा यद् वृत्तं तदाह ।

[10] 5.7.8.

[11] 12.8.14, 17.

[12] 8.1.8.

[13] 5.1.9.

[14] 7.3.2.

(d) *Rivers and Lakes :* (i) Pṛthu, the most celebrated king of the Pre-Flood tradition, had resolved to perform one hundred horse-sacrifices on the bank of the Prācī-Sarasvatī that flowed through Brahmāvarta, although he performed ninety-nine only and dropped the hundredth one on the advice of Brahmā.[7] (ii) The rivers of the Draviḍa country viz, Tāmraparṇī, Kṛtamālā, Kāverī and Pratīcī-Mahānadī are so purifying that the people who drink their water are said to become devotees of God.[8] (iii) Satyavrata, the seventh Manu designate, was offering holy water (*tarpaṇa*) in the Kṛtamālā when the Fish Descent happened to come in the fold of his hands.[9] (iv) Kardama, the progenitor, underwent *tapas* for ten thousand years, with eye on procreation, in the lake called Bindusaras surrounded by the Sarasvatī.[10]

A reference to the regions which are not holy may also be made here. Accordingly, Sauvīra and Kīkaṭa (Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga etc.) are said to be impure because the people living in these regions are uncultured, being mostly Mlecchas. Besides these regions, whatever place the black deer (*kṛṣṇa-hariṇa*) are wanting, wherever veneration to the Brāhmaṇas is lacking and the soil is barren (*īriṇa* or *ūṣara*)—are looked upon by the Bhāgavata as impure (*a-śuci*).[11]

Critical : The concept of the holy place is based on purity. The Bhāgavata considers some regions and sanctuaries (*sthira-pratimā'śrita-deśa*—e.g., shrines or temples) as sacred or holy. It is therefore that the performance of religious rites therein is said to bring about the fruits in a multiplied manner as well as to pave the way for spiritual welfare.[1] According to the Bhāgavata,[2] merits (*guṇa*) or demerits (*doṣa*) of a place, person etc. depend upon its purity (*śuddhi*) or impurity (*a-śuddhi*).[3] So, the idea of a holy place meant that the whole environment therein should be full of sanctity. If purity, godliness and holy feelings are lacking, the place remains no more sacred, however traditional the sanctuary may be. That is why the Bhāgavata[4] labels Sauvīra and Kīkaṭa as impure regions. People inhabiting Sauvīra (the realm where the Śatadru river meets the Sindhu) were mostly the barbarian foreigners devoid of customary morality ;[5] and those of Kīkaṭa (the eastern part of India with centre at Gayā originally inhabited by the Saudyumnas) were also of the same type being the descendants of the Muṇḍā race.[6]

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[1] 8.6.33.

[2] 4.1.17-18 ; For the details of Atri and Anusūyā, see Chapter I, p. 26.

[3] 8.4.8.

[4] 8.16.26.

[5] 10.25.19.

[6] 10.52.10.

[7] 4.19.1, 32.

[8] 11.5.39-40.

[9] 8.24.12; For the full legend of Fish Descent, see Chapter III, pp. 48-9.

[10] 3.21.6, 33, 35.

[11] 11.21.8.

In the references to the holy regions, Prayāga seems to be an important holy place in view of its another name, Tīrtha-rāja. But before Prayāga attained the dignity of being the greatest site of sanctity, it was Prabhāsa which enjoyed it, as the first three instances of pilgrimage show. Naimiṣa, the forest-*cum*-place, was sanctified by the residence of Śaunaka etc. and also by their performance of the well-known *satra* there.[7] Among the hermitages, Badarī or Viśālā—the abode of Nara and Nārāyaṇa—stands out prominently. From here Dhruva soared to *parama pada*, the transcendental existence visualised as an eye in the heaven by the ancient seers.[8] "Viṣṇu had transcendental existence, the highest abode (*parama pada*) as the Ṛg-Veda[9] tells us. So, transcending the world of pragmatic existence, one soars to that highest existence which, even according to Śaṁkara, is Viṣṇu-loka".[10] As the three worlds viz, Bhū etc. are conceived to form the feet etc. of the Cosmic Man,[11] in the same way the mountains (*adri*) and hills (*śaila*) are said to be His bones (*asthi*) and nails (*nakha*).[12] So they were also considered to be holy. The Meru is said to be the best species (*vibhūti*) of all mountains (*śikharin*).[13] It is also the best species of residential places (*dhiṣṇya*) ;[14] because Śātakaumbhī, the abode (*purī*) of Brahmā surrounded by other eight cities of the protecting gods (*loka-pāla*), exists on its peak (*mūrdhan*).[1] Brahmā has his royal hall at Śātakaumbhī to hold the assembly therein.[2] The Himālaya mountain is the best species of all the impassables (*gahana* or *durgama*)[3] or of the immovables (*sthāvara*).[4] In the praise showered upon the rivers Tāmraparṇī etc. flowing in the Draviḍa country[5], "the Bhāgavata pays high tribute to the *Tamil* saints who in South India had fostered emotional devotion during the first millennium of the Christian era".[6] Among the rivers, Prācī-Sarasvatī and Pratyak-Sarasvatī figure specifically in the second and the third instances of pilgrimage respecively, although the Prācī seems to have been referred to in the first and the fifth instances also. As the Prācī-Sarasvatī is said to flow through Brahmāvarta[7] (i.e., Kurukṣetra), it may be the same which is lost in the sandy desert of Rajputana.[8] Nothing can be said about Pratyak-Sarasvatī on whose mouth stood Prabhāsa (on the western sea-coast in Ānarta), as the third instance says. As for the rivers and lakes, the Gaṅgā and the Puṣkara respectively appear at the top in the list of the holy regions given by the Bhāgavata.[9] But among the lakes, Rāma-hradas existing in Kurukṣetra seem to be more important than Bindusaras etc. because this site was preferred by the Bhāgavata as the venue of the grandest pilgrimage described by it, as the fourth instance of pilgrimage shows. The Gaṅgā-sāgara, in whose vicinity were situated Nārāyaṇa-saras-tīrtha[10] and Kapilā'śrama,[11] also appears to be a prominent holy place.[12]

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[1] 7.14.27ab, 29ab, 33.

[2] 11.21.7.

[3] Śrīdhara (on 11.21.8) comments :–
एवं गुण-दोष-विषयं परिशोध्य तयोः शुद्ध्यशुद्धिमूलत्वात् शुद्ध्यशुद्धी प्रपञ्चयति।

[4] 11.21.8.

[5] vide Chapter VII, p. 201 & Chapter IX, pp. 262, 286.

[6] vide Chapter VII, p. 224.

[7] See *ante* p. 280 and its ref. no. 9.

[8] RV 1.22.20.

[9] RV 1.154.5.

[10] PSB p. 277 ; For Ācārya Śaṁkara, see Brahma-sūtra—4.3.10.

[11] 2.5.42 ; vide also *ante* p. 11.

[12] 10.40.14b.

[13] Gītā—10. 23d.

[14] 11.16.21a.

5. OBEISANCE, ETIQUETTE AND USAGES

A. *Obeisance*

Expository : Rising from one's seat (*pratyutthāna*), to go forth to receive (*pratyudgama*), salutation (*abhivādana*) and polite behaviour (*praśrayaṇa*) are recommended as preliminary modes of obeisance to welcome a visitor.[13] Three instances of the observance of customary modes of obesiance, meant for the expression of respect to each other, are as follows :—(i) The best example of welcome is available in the Bhāgavata when Kṛṣṇa greets Śrīdāman. No sooner did Kṛṣṇa see Śrīdāman entering one of his wife's apartment, he rose from the bed of his beloved, went forward, received with gladness (*mudā*), embraced the visitor who was the inmate of the guru-kula, and seated him on the same bed. After this reception Kṛṣṇa washed the feet of Śrīdāman, the poor Brāhmaṇa, and sprinkled that water on his own head. Then he anointed and perfumed his friend with gandha, candana etc. ; worshipped him with dhūpa, pradīpa etc. ; offered tāmbūla ; and, expressed pleasure at his arrival (*svāgatam abravīt*). The attending girl waved fly-flap (*cāmara*) and fan (*vyajana*) over the head of that shabby and lean Brāhmaṇa friend of Kṛṣṇa's boyhood.[1] (ii) When Kṛṣṇa met the five Pāṇḍavas, he saluted Yudhiṣṭhira and Bhīma by bowing low at their feet, embraced Arjuna and was duly saluted by the twin, i.e., Nakula and Sahadeva.[2] (iii) Indra and the gods, Suffering defeat at the hands of the demons due to the absence of their permanent preceptor (*ācārya*) Bṛhaspati, approached Viśvarūpa—the nephew (*bhāgineya*) of their enemies, the demons. They saluted him and requested to become their officiating preceptor (*upādhyāya*) in lieu of Bṛhaspati.[3]

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[1] 5.16.29-30 ; For details of the Meru and the cities on it, see Chapter I, p. 14.

[2] 8.5.18.

[3] 11.16.21b.

[4] Gītā—10.25d.

[5] 11.5.39-40.

[6] For phraseology, vide PSB intr., p. xiii.

[7] 4.19.1 ; vide also *ante* pp. 52, 74 & esp. ref. 2 at p. 89.

[8] vide Apte's *Skt-Eng. Dictionary ;* vide also Maps of Ancient India in AIHT and VA.

[9] vide ref. 1 at p. 446.

[10] See instance two among the references to holy places.

[11] See instance two among the hermitages.

[12] See instance two among the pilgrimages, esp. the route traversed in the East by the pilgrim.

[13] 4.3.22ab ; MS—2. 120 ; For other modes varying according to the status of a person, see MS—2.122-137.

Critical : Of the three instances of customary obeisance, the first is the best in as far as it shows the ideal mode of welcome. The instance shows how an intimate friend of one's student life, especially a Brāhmaṇa, should be treated by the householder when the former comes to his house in the later part of his life. The second shows that the elders are given priority in obeisance by virtue of their age. Thus while elders are saluted by the youngers, the equals embrace each other. But the last instance points out that salutation to a younger one does not deserve censure if the person can instruct the Vedas. The age is the cause of precedence in matters other than the Vedic knowledge. So a person, versed in the Vedas, is considered senior by virtue of his imparting that knowledge to others ; and thus he becomes worthy of respect even by elders.[4]

B. *Etiquette*

Expository :—The stories of the non-observance or violation of the customary laws of courtesy are as follows :— (i) Indradyumna, the mythical king, was worshipping God when the progenitor Agastya came there with his disciples. But the king, who had taken the vow of silence to engage himself fully in the worship, did not receive Agastya with veneration. Taking his silence as the disregard of the Brāhmaṇa, Agastya cursed him to be dull-minded like an elephant.[1] (ii) Proud of his beauty, the Vidyādhara viz, Sudarśana laughed at the progenitor Aṅgiras, condemning his deformed appearance (*vi-rūpa*). He was therefore cursed to be an ugly being like a python.[2] (iii) The six sons of Marīci and Ūrṇā viz, Smara etc. ridiculed their grand-father Brahma's lust for his own daughter. This resulted in the loss of their *ṛṣi*-parentage and they fell in the cycle of births and deaths. Finally, they attained emancipation at the hands of Kṛṣṇa when they were born as his uterine elder brothers.[3] (iv) The hermits of Naimiṣa greeted Balarāma with the preliminary modes of obeisance when the latter reached there. But Romaharṣaṇa, who was sitting on the highest seat (*brahmā'sana*), offered to expound the Purāṇas, did not rise from his seat to show respect to the visitor. Balarāma took Romaharṣaṇa's attitude as his disregard; and, being unable to restrain the feeling of anger, killed him.[4] (v) Once Indra seated on the heavenly throne in his assembly hall neither rose from it nor showed any gesture of courtesy when Bṛhaspati, his preceptor (*ācārya* or *guru*), arrived there, although the occasion was to be exulted over. Bṛhaspati understood that Indra deviated from the customry law of courtesy due to his pride arising out of the supremacy (*śrī-mada* or *aiśvarya-mada*) he enjoyed. So he returned silently and left for unknown place.[5] The demons, aided and incited by their priest Śukra at this juncture, attacked Indra and the gods, who then lost the battle due to the absence of Bṛhaspati.[6] It was this defeat that led Indra etc. to bow down before the nephew of the enemies, as already noticed above.[7]

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[1] 10.80.17-23.

[2] 10.58.4.

[3] 6.6.43 and 6.7.32.

[4] 6.7.33 ; Śrīdhara here explains the request of the gods to Viśvarūpa as follows :—

अस्मभ्यं मंत्रदातृत्वेन त्वमेव ज्येष्ठो भविष्यसि···वेदज्ञत्वाच्च त्वमेव ज्येष्ठ इत्यर्थः ।

(vi) A customary ceremony replaced by a new one may be noted here. Nanda, the chief of Vraja, was earnestly longing to observe the Indra-makha (sacrifice to Indra), a religious rite used to be performed by his ancestors (*pāramparyā'gata dharma*), ceremoniously. This family custom (*kulā'cāra*) was in vogue to please Indra so that he may send down rain, especially helpful to agriculture.[1] But Kṛṣṇa objected to this customary observance (*ācāra*) on the ground of the law of karman which is irresistible and sovereign. The secular actions performed under the compulsion of nature (*svabhāva*) are bound to bear fruits in their own way and none can annul them. Further, from the practical point of view, he pleaded that the clouds (*megha*) shed rain everywhere without distinction ; and therefore there is no need to please Indra for the purpose. So, as an alternative, Kṛṣṇa advised Nanda to worship the cows, Brāhmaṇas and the Govardhana hill—all directly beneficial to them.[2] Accordingly, instead of the Indra-yāga, a new ceremony, called Govardhana-mahotsava, was instituted.[3] Nanda and all other residents of Vraja made preparations for the worship of the Go-vardhana, went to its foot and executed the new ceremony enthusiastically.[4] Indra, angered by this, attempted to devastate Nanda and his Go-kula. But Kṛṣṇa foiled his attempt, and finally Indra had to take refuge under Go-vinda.[5]

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[1] 8.4.8-10; For how the king was released from the huge animal's body, see Chapter I, p.21—episode no. vi.

[2] 10.34.13; For how the Vidyādhara was released from the huge serpent's body, see Chapter I, p. 23—myth no. xiii.

[3] 10.85.47-51.

[4] 10.78.21-28.

[5] 6.7.1-9, 16.

[6] 6.7.17-21, esp. 6.7.22.

[7] See instance three, *ante* p. 451.

Critical : Of the five stories of non-observance of the customary laws of courtesy, the first exemplifies the neglect of obeisance on the part of a worshipper. But the act of worship cannot be adduced as a plea for such neglect. According to the Bhāgavata,[6] obeisance to others is an expression of reverence to God (Vāsudeva) who abides in all beings (*guhā'śaya*) as their inner controller (*antar-yāmin*) and not to the egotist (*deha-mānin*) ; as such it can be done mentally also without any physical expression. So, if Indradyumna had taken the vow of silence, he ought to have shown mental rejoice or veneration. The hermits, noble Brāhmaṇas and devotees of God must be respected duly even when one is engaged in image-worship.[7] The second and the third stories show that sarcastical laughter in contempt and satirical remark in scorn over the deficiency and mistake of the great souls respectively are fraught with the dangers of low births reparable by God's grace only, as the first story also testifies. The fourth story shows that a person seated on *brahmā'sana*, the highest seat provided for meditation and religious discourse, need not rise to greet even if some distinguished personality happens to come in his presence.[1] But the fifth shows that a king seated on his royal throne (*pārameṣṭhya dhiṣaṇa* or *siṁhā'sana*) should rise to greet his Guru. If he deviates from the practice, it will set an example of heterodoxy (*ku-patha*).[2] Indra, who deviated from this practice, suffered defeat at the hands of the demons. His defeat stands to illustrate the doctrine that contempt (*atikrama* or *tiraskāra*) and honourable reception (*ārādhana* or *satkāra*) of one's Guru result in the decline (*apa-caya*) and prosperity (*upa-caya*) of the disciple respectively.[3]

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[1] 10.24.8-11 ; Śrīdhara (on 10.24.9) comments :—
आचार प्राप्त एवेति सहेतुकमाह पर्जन्य इति ।

[2] 10.24.13-30.

[3] Śrīdhara's intr. to *10.24* :—
चतुर्विंशे महेन्द्रस्य मखं व्यावर्त्य हेतुभिः। कृष्णः प्रवर्तयामास गोवर्धन-महोत्सवम् ॥

[4] 10.24.32-38 ; esp. the first and the last verses.

[5] 10.27.23-28 esp. the first and the last verses.

[6] 4.3.22.

[7] Śrīdhara (on 6.7.22) cites the Smṛti statement :—
ब्राह्मणं कुलसम्पन्नं भक्तं विष्णोर्महात्मनः। आयान्तं वीक्ष्य नोत्तिष्ठेत् सुदुःखैः परिभूयते ॥

The sixth episode points out that the family custom (*kulā'cāra*) should not be followed blindly. According to the Bhāgavata, Kṛṣṇa replaced the Indra-yāga or Mahendra-makha (the rite in honour of Indra) by the Govardhana-mahotsava (the grand ceremony to worship Go-vardhana hill etc.) to rid Indra of his pride;[4] and thus shower grace upon him.[5] The replacement of this family custom by a new ceremony also indicates that the position of the Vedic gods was sinking into insignificance. "The Upaniṣads breathe the air of cold indifference to the Vedic gods. As a result, they dwindle in number to dissolve ultimtely into the abstract being of Brahman".[6] Similarly "Vedic gods have undergone revolutionary changes under the aegis of the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa. They are all dislodged from their paramount status. Indra and Varuṇa are no exception to it".[7]

C. *Usages*

Some established usages may be taken into account here: (i) It is customary that one may go to the house of one's father, husband, friend or Guru without invitation in case they are not censorious.[8] Satī, the wife of Mahādeva, suffered insult as well as death when she went to his censorius father without invitation and in defiance of husband's permission.[9] But, on the other hand, Balarāma went to see his friend, the king of Mithilā, without invitation and lived there happily for some years.[10] (ii) An assembly (*sabhā*) in which injustice prevails and etiquette is overruled is not participable by one who can distinguish between *dharma* and *a-dharma*. Such a participant is liable to be embarrassed therein in both situations, i.e., whether he speaks against injustice or keeps silence.[1] (iii) Falsity may not be blameworthy in some cases such as for bringing the wife under control through encouragement, for arranging a marrige in which bridegroom's praise etc. is required, when one's livelihood or life is in danger, during sports and amusements, for the protection of the cows and Brāhmaṇas, and so on. As a matter of policy, being untrue in these cases is not so horrible a deed that may be reproached.[2] (iv) To take bath in the river without wearing any cloth (*vi-vastra*) is considered as the transgression of good conduct (*deva-helana*).[3] It is not proper according to use and custom.

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[1] 10.78.30.

[2] 6.7.13-14 ; Śrīdhara (on 6.7.13) comments :—
ननु सिंहासनस्थो राजाऽभ्युत्थानं न कुर्यादिति वृद्धा वदन्ति। तत्राह य इति द्वाभ्याम्; धिषणमासनम् ।

[3] 6.7.23; Śrīdhara comments here :—
गुरुतिरस्कारसत्कारावेवापचयोपचयकारणमित्यसुरदृष्टान्तेनाह मघवन्निति ।

[4] 10.24.12 ; Śrīdhara here comments :—
कोपजननद्वारा गर्वपर्वतादिन्द्रं अवतारयितुं देवता-निराकरणं न त्वयमेवाभिप्राय इत्यर्थः।

[5] 10.27.16.

[6] PSB Vol. II., intr. p. v.

[7] PSB p. 250.

[8] 4.3.13, 16.

[9] 4.3.25 ; 4.4.7, 24-28.

[10] 10.57. 24-25.

6. FOOD, DRINKS, DRESSES AND ORNAMENTS

A. Food

Food (*āhārya*) may be of four types viz, *bhakṣya* (fit for eating), *bhojya* (to be eaten), *lehya* (to be licked) and *coṣya* (to be sucked).[4] Any type of food, if beneficial (*pathya*), pure (*pūta*) and received easily, is *sāttvika* (the best) ; that which is merely palatable is *rājasa* (the moderate) ; and, that which is injurious to health and impure is *tāmasa* (bad).[5] The rich eatables prepared for offering to God are : preparations of molasses (*guḍa*), rice boiled in milk with sugar (*pāyasa*), clarified butter (*sarpis*), baked cakes cooked in it (*śaṣkulī*), very thin kind of cakes (*āpūpaka*), pleasant sweetmeats (*modaka*), cakes of wheaten flour (*saṁyāva*), curd (*dadhi*) condiments or sauces (*sūpa*) etc.[6] People living in forest etc. subsist on the products available thereabout such as vegetables (*śāka*—edible leafs, fruits or roots etc.), honey, meat etc.[7] Killing of animals (e.g., hare) for funeral rites such as *aṣṭakā-śrāddha* (an occasional rite in honour of the forefathers) is allowed for a king only, if he has thirst for it. Accordingly, a king may go in quest of prey to the forest in the vicinity of a holy place at the time of the above or any other occasional rite and may kill the prescribed animals in required quantity.[8] But animal food was neither to be served nor eaten by the performer of such rites. On the contrary, vegetable food is specifically recommended for the execution of funeral rites.[1]

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[1] 10.14. 9-10 ; MS—8.13.

[2] 8.19.42.

[3] 10.22.19ab.

[4] 4.19.9 ; vide also 10.23.9.

[5] 11.25.28 ; Gītā—17.7ab, 8-10.

[6] 10.24.26 ; vide also 11.27.34.

[7] 12.2.9.

[8] 4.26.6, vide also 9.6.6 ; MS—5.41.

Of the four types of food viz, *bhakṣya* etc., the classification of the first two types is based on the quality of food while that of the later two on the manner of eating. The three sorts of food viz, *sāttvika* etc. are classified mainly on the basis of the purity and impurity of the articles of food. Flesh-eating (*māṁsa-bhakṣaṇa*) is prohibited both by the Śrutis[2] and the Smṛtis,[3] although some specific animals are allowed to be killed for Vedic sacrifices such as Jyotiṣṭoma etc.[4] Hunting or eating of flesh, a natural tendency of man, is opposed to the universal virtue viz, non-violence that brooks no exception. So, the Vedas curbed the tendency by their injunction called *parisaṁkhyā-vidhi*. The *vidhi* favours the killing of a specific animal in exclusion of other possibilities. For example, the injunction is—*pañca pañca-nakhā bhakṣyāḥ*—five kinds of five-nailed animals are to be taken in sacrifice. Thus the *vidhi* is out to curb the tendency by excluding the flesh of animals other than that of five . The injunction thus also shuns the possibility of the use of flesh on any occasion other than the specific sacrifice or occasional funeral rites (*naimittika-srāddha*), as noted in the Smṛtis. So, the Vedic prescription is only a permissive measure (*abhy'anujñā*) aiming at the gradual abandonment of killing animals or flesh-eating. The measure need not be confounded with an enjoined action or prescribed duty (*codanā*).[5] So, in conformity with the tradition laid down by the Vedas and Smṛtis, the Bhāgavata restricts the tendency of hunting in six ways. Accordingly, a king desirous of hunting (i—i.e., not all kings and apparently none else) may go in the prescribed forest (ii—i.e., not in other forests) near a holy place (iii—i.e., nowhere else) and hunt prescribed animals (iv—i.e., excluding all others) only as much as useful (v—i.e., not as much as desired) for the purpose of occasional śrāddhas (vi—i.e., not for daily *srāddha*).[6]

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[1] 7.15.7 ; MS—5.54.

[2] 11.5.13.

[3] MS—5.48-53 ; esp. 5.55.

[4] MS—5.39, 41.

[5] 11.21.29; Śrīdhara here comments :—यज्ञ एव इत्यभ्यनुज्ञाद्वारा परिसंख्येयं न तु आवश्यकत्वेन चोदना इत्येवंरूपम्। vide also MS—5.54, 56 ; For the types and scrutiny of the Vedic injunctions and contention of the Bhāgavata as to their import, see PSB Vol. II., pp. 26-28. Further, the Bhāgavata has declared unequivocally that the killing of animals or even piercing them is *a-karman* (5.26.23-24) ; for the species of animals having five claws, see *ante* p. 19.

[6] 4.26.6 read with Śrīdhara.

B. *Drinks*

The quaffing of intoxicating liquors (*vāruṇī* or *madirā*)[1] produces maddening effect. This may be exemplified by (i) the case of Balarāma and the gopis who drank vāruṇī on the occasion of their sport in the Yamunā.[2] Besides this unique case, there is a special case of the Yādavas.[3] (ii) The Yādavas drank the intoxicant (*vāruṇī*) called *Maireya*[4] or *Maireyaka*[5]—a sweet-flavoured combination of liquor (*madirā*) and juice (*rasa*) distilled from grains and flowers respectively and mixed with molasses or sugar[6]—at Prabhāsa-kṣetra ; and consequently lost the power of understanding, being over powered by mental confusion. The result was their destruction,[7] (iii) The demons liked to drink wine (*vāruṇī* or *surā*), the sixth object to come out of the ocean at the time of its churning, and described as a girl (*kanyā*) called Vāruṇī devī.[8] The result was that they were deprived of the nectar (*amṛta*) that came out in the process immediately afterwards.[9] (iv) Sadā-śiva drank the deadly poison called *Hālahala*[10] or *Hālāhala*[11] or *Kālakūṭa*[12]—the first product of the ocean—so that the gods, the demons and others may not suffer ; because even the touch of that poison flowing all round the earth would have caused their death. Being very virulent, it affected Sadā-śiva also in as far as his neck became blue.[13] (v) The Brāhmaṇas are not allowed to drink wine (*surā*) while the Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas, to drink the juice of the Soma-plant (*soma-rasa*).[14]

The strong drink (e.g., spirituous or alchohilic liquor) and taverns for it are not heard of. Only the intoxicating wine (*madirā* or *surā*) or juice (*āsava* or *rasa*) distilled from grains, flowers, plants etc. were something to be drunk. Śiva drank up poison to show that the pious persons (*sādhu*) suffer for the sake of others.[15] The drinking of wine etc. is a demerit especially for the men of high status such as the Brāhmaṇas, because it results in their fall. But the act of drinking may not be a demerit for the outcastes and immoral persons (*patita*) who have already fallen from their caste-duties and moral virtues, because they have nothing to forfeit anymore by such act in the same way as the person, already sleeping on the ground, does not fall further down.[1] Soma-rasa, the nectar like beverage, was a drink-offering to the gods in sacrifices. So the Brāhmaṇas, especially the priests, who had no option to take any other intoxicant, enjoyed the privilege of drinking this sapid juice.

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[1] Śrīdhara (on 10.65.19) :—
वारुणी सुधया सहोत्पन्ना मदिरा।

[2] 10.65.19-21.

[3] 1.15.23.

[4] 3.4.2.

[5] 11.30.12.

[6] Śrīdhara (on 1.5.23) :—वारुणीमन्नमयीं मदिराम्; (on 3.4.1) :—वारुणीं पैष्टीं मदिराम्; and (on 11.30.12) :— मैरेयकं मदिराविशेषं मधुररसम् ।

[7] 3.4.1-2 ; vide also 11.30.12-13 ff.

[8] 8.8.30 ; Śrīdhara comments here :—
वारुणी वरुण-दैवत्यं यदन्नं तन्मयी सुरा।

[9] 8.8.36-37 ; For the story of how the demons lost the jar of nectar, see *ante* pp. 439-40.

[10] 8.7.18.

[11] 8.7.42.

[12] 8.7.37.

[13] 8.7.43-44.

[14] 5.26.28.

[15] 8.7.44.

C. *Dresses and Ornaments*

Kṛṣṇa while entering Mathurā for the first time in the company of Balarāma and cowherd boys of Vraja, killed the washerman (*rajaka*) who refused to oblige with the dresses he was carrying for Kaṁsa. Kṛṣṇa etc. then selected and wore the dresses of their choice leaving the rest on the spot.[2] On the other hand, a weaver (*vāyaka*) decorated Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma with the ornaments of cloth.[3] Then a maker of garland (*mālākāra*), to whose house both went, duly welcomed them and presented garlands of fragrant flowers.[4] Kṛṣṇa used to wear yellow garments (*pītāmbara*) and ornaments (e.g., the invaluable jewel called *Kaustubha* suspending on his neck, the priceless garland called *Vana-māla* flowing down up to his knees, a circular mole called *Śrī-vatsa* on the right chest etc.).[5] During the Rāja-sūya sacrifice, Yudhiṣṭhira adored Kṛṣṇa with the same kinds of dresses and ornaments.[6] Pauṇḍraka once tried to imitate Kṛṣṇa by wearing his favourite dresses etc.; but he only looked like an actor-Kṛṣṇa.[7] The goddess of wealth (Kāntī or Lakṣmī) presented blue garments (*asitāmbara*) ornaments and a garland to Balarāma at the culmination of his sport with the gopīs in the Yamunā.[8] In addition to these embellishments, the garland called *Vaijayantī-mālā* was also presented by the hermits of Naimiṣa to Balarāma when he killed the demon, Balvala.[9] The crest (*mukuṭa*) and the royal umbrella (*chatra*) are the emblems of sovereignty ; as such they are specially meant for kings.[1] The favourite ornaments for women are ear-rings (*kuṇḍala*)[2] and necklace (*jālaka-mālā*).[3]

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[1] 11.21.17ab, d ; Śrīdhara comments here :— सुरापानादेराचरणमपतितानां पतनहेतुरपि जात्या कर्मणा वा पतितानां पुनः पातकमधिकारभ्रंशकं न भवति पूर्वमेव पतितत्वात् अतोऽत्र दोषस्यापि दोषता नास्तीत्यर्थः ।

[2] 10.41.32, 37, 39.

[3] 10.41.40, Śrīdhara comments here :—चैलेयैर्वस्त्रमयैराकल्पैर्भूषणैः ।

[4] 11.41.43-44, 49.

[5] 10.70.11 ; 11.27.27cd ; The jewel Kaustubha was the fifth jem to come out of the ocean at the time of its churning ; and it was taken by Viṣṇu at that time (8.8.5).

[6] 10.74.28.

[7] 10.66.15.

[8] 10.65.29.

[9] 10.79.8.

"Kṛṣṇa, who by his mixed birth and mixed culture and above all by his unique personality, could create a new world of his own, was deified. From identification with the sun-god, his family deity, he passed on to Viṣṇu and was absorbed in His essence."[4] "The fusion of Vāsudeva (the historical Kṛṣṇa) and Viṣṇu meant the intermixture of the Vedic and the Tāntric ideas; and the wealth of imageries lavished upon the Viṣṇu-concept from both the sources completely transformed it into a world of grandeur and beauty. The vast mass of imageries was organised under four well-defined heads:—distribution of limbs (*aṅga*), weapon (*āyudha*), ornaments (*ākalpa*) and accessories (*upāṅga*)."[5] The jewel *Kaustubha* worn by Kṛṣṇa reminds us the miniature sun-god with whom he was identified, as noted above, before Viṣṇu.[6] Similarly, *Śrīvatsa* (the circular mole) is the reminiscent of the solar origin of Viṣṇu with whom Kṛṣṇa was fused. "The Bhāgavata sublimates these physical concepts to the plane of metaphysical symbols. For example, the peerless jewel *Kaustubha* is nothing but the empirical ego held fast to Viṣṇu's (Kṛṣṇa's) bosom; *Vana-mālā*, the variegated garland, is the tripartite Prakṛti and so on."[7]

Padma-rāga is the best species (*vibhūti*) of jewels (*ratna*); and Padma-kośa, of embellishments (*supeśas*).[8] But, according to the Bhāgavata, virtues like indifference (*nairpekṣya*) etc. are real decoration (*śrī* or *maṇḍana*) and not crest or diadem (*kirīṭa*) etc.[9] So, those people are unfortunate who, unable to distinguish between the body and the soul, worry to decorate themselves with dresses (*vastra*), ornaments (*ābharaṇa*), garlands (*mālā*), ointments (*anulepana*) and so on.[10] People of the kali age, who definitely fall in the category of such unfortunates, consider bath as the only embellishment and hair-style as the beauty-aid.[11]

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[1] 10.59.38.

[2] ibid.

[3] 8.20.17.

[4] PSB p. 65.

[5] 12.11.2; For phraseology, vide PSB pp. 140-141.

[6] See ref. 5 at p. 458.

[7] 12.11.10-20; For phraseology, PSB p. 198.

[8] 11.16.30ab.

[9] 11.19.41a.

[10] 3.14.27.

[11] 12,2,5d,6b; vide also *ante* p. 377.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE INDEX

abo.	Aborigines or aboriginals
aft.	Alien or foreign tribes
And.	Andhaka
ani.	Animal, s
app.	Appellation, s
Ayo.	Ayodhyā
br.	Brother
Br.	Brāhmaṇa
Br. g.	Brāhmana gotra
Br. rk.	*Br.-cum*-ruler or king
Br. v.	*Br.*-vaṁśa or family
cap.	Capital city
cd.	Celestial damsel
co.	Country
col.	Colony
cy.	City
D.	Descent, s
d.	Demon, s or demoness
dis.	District
dny.	Dynasty
Dvi. l.	Dvimīḍha line
ele.	Element,s
em.	Empire
f.	Family or Founder
f. Br. g.	Founder of *Br.*-gotra
f. Br. v.	Founder of *Br.*-vaṁśa
fr.	Forest or Father
g.	Gods or godesses
gene.	Genealogy
g.n.	Generic name
gr.	Grand or Great
h.	Hermit,s of *pft.*
Hai.	Haihaya, s
h.c.	Hybrid caste,s
hpl.	Holy place
H. pura	Hastināpura
Ind.	India,n
Jan.	Janamejaya
K.	Kṛṣṇa (Śrī-)
k.	King of *pft.*
Kān.	Kānyakubja
Kau	Kaurava,s
kdm.	Kingdom
kp. Br.	King or prince-*cum-Br.*
kprp.	King or prince-*cum*-recluse or *parama-haṁsa*
ky.	King-*cum*-Yogin
l.n.	Local name
M.	Manu (Śrāddhadeva)
Mag.	Magadha
Mān.	Māndhātṛ
mar.	Marriage
Mau	Maurya, s
mo.	Modern or Mother
mt.	Mountain
my.	Mythical or imaginary
Pa.	Pañcāla
Pān.	Pāṇḍavas
patr.	Patronymic
p.e.	Planes of existence
pft.	Post-Flood Tradition
phd., k.	Pre-historic demon, s, *or* their king
phh.	Pre-historic hermit,s
phk.	Pre-historic king,s
p.n.	Personal name
pnp.	Primitive or native peoples
pnp,c.k.	Their, chief or king
ppty.	Principality
pr.	Prince or Priest
pro.	Progenitor
pwh.	Post-War hermit,s
pwk.	Post-War king,s
R.	Rāmacandra (Śrī-)
riv.	River
rlm.	Realm
rp.	Ruler or prince
sac.	Sacrifice or Sacrament
(S)sch.	School or Scholar
spi. h.	Spiritual hermit,s
t.	Town or Teacher
t.n.	Tribal name
tr.	Tree or Tradition
uhr.	Upper or higher region
V.	Viṣṇu (*g.*) or Vasu (*k.*)
Vai.	Vaiśālī
Vi.	Vidarbha
vp.	Vṛṣṇi prince
vt.	Vedic teacher
w.	Woman or Wife
Yā	Yādava,s

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(P. S.—Four or more than four page numbers given at a stroke for any word in the Index are printed in italics.)

ERRORS AND CORRECTIONS (ADDITIONS)

TEXTUAL CORRIGENDA

Page	*Line*	*For*	*Read*
5	18	Śrīmad-bhāgavata	Śrīmad-Bhāgavata
6	14	Those	These
9	3	*bhauṭika*	*bhautika*
12	21	Śudarśana	Sudarśana
15	10	Lakṣa-dvīpa	Plakṣa-dvīpa
do.	do.	Sāħmalī	Śālmalī
16	13	Vīrudh	Vīrudha
do.	31	Ikṣabhaya	Ikṣubhaya
19	21	ignorance of future (Avidyā)	ignorant of future (*a-vida*)
20	11	Tarkṣya	Tārkṣya
do.	28	Śabalka	Śallaka
21	11	Vccaihśravas	Uccaiḥśravas
23	25	*ṛksa*	*ṛkṣa*
24	4	heritages	hermitages
do.	25	exit	exist
26	19	Agri	Agni
32	11	with question	with the question
33	19	god	God
36	1	*iṣīkatvī*	*iṣīkā'ṭavī*
47	27	saṁvartaka or saṁkarsaṇa	*sāṁvartaka or saṁkarṣaṇa*
49	9	occuring	occurring
do.	14	to horn	to my horn
50	13	the Alakāpurī	Alakāpurī
do.	24	ancharite	anchorite
52	5	*pūra*	*pura*
do.	22	of	on
53	5	angaged	engaged
55	21	if	of
56	26	son-in-low	son-in-law
57	30	the the worlds	the worlds
59	21	the the grandson	the grandson
do.	24	kūśmāṇḍas	kūṣmāṇḍas
68	1	Satyavr ta	Satyavrata
do.	9	The similar	A similar
69	14	Ved s	Vedas
75	2	stile killed	also killed
do.	22-3	marrying thus	marrying ; and then they
do.	24	sex	sexes
77	31	śātaghnī	*śataghnī*

Page	*Line*	*For*	*Read*
78	9	thunderbalt	thunderbolt
do.	19	the pestle	and the pestle
73	10	castleslike	castle-like
do.	17	charios	chariots
do.	19	combtants	combatants
80	30	dvāpara	Dvāpara
81	24	when the proved	when he proved
88	24	Prathiṣṭhāna	Pratiṣṭhāna
89	9	convering	covering
do.	16	Power politics	Power-politics
90	3	Suraṣtra	Surāṣṭra
98	17	compaigns	campaigns
98	6	to twin	to a twin
do.	30	tor evive	to revive
101	4	Śūnaka	Śunaka
107	9	may he taken	may be taken
110	4	Kuśāṁba	Kuśāmba
111	25	Sarasvatī	Satyavatī
do.	26	d ed	died
120	24	Bhag vān Srī-	Bhagavān Śrī-
127	6-7	on on the one	on the one
do.	14	Karīṣa	Karūṣa
130	28	of the drama	for the drama
137	13	occured	occurred
do.	27	descrepancies	discrepancies
143	*N*o.94	Kṛtakṣana	Kṛtakṣaṇa
145	3	Kuśāṁbu	Kuśāmbu
do.	20	became	become
156, 7	9, 3	had	has
165	1	and had five descendants	had five descendants who
167	10	Kapotroman	Kapotaroman
169	1	given in.	given in section two (no. 19).
do.	3	section two	(*to be deleted*)
178	8	rspectively	respectively
do.	11	emergance	emergence
184	22	The accounts	The account
Page no.	—	286	186
188	14-15	abo-original	aboriginal
189	11	Puruktsa	Purukutsa
do.	17	Mulucunda	Mucukunda

Page	*Line*	*For*	*Read*
192	19	famous king	famous kings
do.	30	assetics	ascetics
196	7	Kānyakulja	Kānyakubja
do.	15	Murtaya (Amurtarayas)	Mūrtaya (Amūrtarayas)
do.	16	Gaya-Amurtarayasa	Gaya-Āmūrtarayasa
197	30	Bhargabhūmi	Bhārgabhūmi
198	11	Puraṇās	Purāṇas
do.	27	Śūktimatī	Śuktimatī
do.	29	Parṇāśa	Parṇāśā
210	22	Ajamīdha	Ajamīḍha
212	10	Balhī, Balhīka or Vahlīka	Bālhi, Bālhīka or Vāhlīka
214	10	Paruśurāma	Paraśurāma
223	13	cte.	etc.
do.	14	Dhāratrāṣṭras	Dhārtarāṣṭras
224	8	Parañjaya	Purañjaya
234	24	monoeuvres	manoeuvres
239	13-14	Śreṣtha-bhāj	Śreṣṭha-bhāj
243	29	Droṇa's son	Droṇa's grand-son
257	18-19	these accounts	this account
265	35	Sunaka	Śunaka
do.	37	Nandivardhan	Nandivardhana
274	34	Maruṇḍas	Muruṇḍas
281	29	Durdāmana	Durdamana
299	20	furnished	furnishes
423	25	*yajamāma*	*yajamāna*
464	49	tyes of	types of
485	13	*see iutr.*	*see intr.*, pp. xi-xiii

RECURRING ERRORS (TEXTUAL)

88, 217	12, 7	descendents, descenants	descendants
90, 153	10, 7	Vaiśā ī, Vaiśāli	Vaiśālī
94, 98	3, 25	great war	Great War
140, 172	4, 3	grandson of	great grandson of
103,146,201 ...	4, 36, 2	Prācetas *or* Prācetasas	Prācetases
110, 207 ... 130, 132 ...	11, 12, 10, 13	Yudhi-ṣthira or ṣt(ṭ)ira	Yudhiṣṭhira
276-7	35, 7	Pauraṇic	Paurāṇic
280-1	29, 14	Nickaṣu, Nṛcakṣu	Nicakṣu
285...	17, 19, 26	Kilakilāpurī	Kilikilāpurī

REFERENTIAL CORRIGENDA

Page	*Ref.*	*Line*	*For*	*Read*
26	13	13	no. 166 above	no. 12 at p. 25.
34	7	7	reference no. 43.	ref. no. 3 above.
63	7	1	*K ṣamā*	*kṣamā*
70	1	1	reference 10 above	ref. 5 at p. 68.
do.	2	2	reference 12 above	ref. 7 at p. 68.
77	1	1	The last pair	Last two pairs
79	4	7	Sālva	Śālva
140	1	1	9-4-15	9.4.15.
141	1	1	9-21-2 cd	9.21.2cd.
do.	2	3	p. 158......fu. Compa's	(p. 158...fn....Campa's
189	8	9	Rewā	Revā
196	5	5	Indian	India
216	4	1	Siśupāla	Śiśupāla
218	9	13	hcre	here
251	11	6	*ante* p.	*ante* pp.
257	3	5	AIHT p. 57[3]	[3] AIHT p. 57.
344	7	7	Tbis	This
355	13	9	गृहेऽवत्तीर्णः	गृहेऽवतीर्णः

ADDITIONS

Page 69, *Line* 32 ; Or *Page* 176, *Line* 22

The myth of the Great Flood that forms the genesis of the Post-Flood Tradition has striking agreement in details with the Sumerian Flood legend. The archeological date ascribed to the flooding of Shuruppak in Sumer is 3102 B.C. Considering the close contacts between the Harappa culture and the Sumerians, it is possible that the same legend may have been used as a genesis in both cultures and the Puranic genealogies may therefore contain a pre-Aryan Tradition (cf. Presidential Address of Romila Thapar, Indian History Congress Bulletin, Thirty-first Session, Dec. 28-30, 1969, f.n. 41, pp. 29-30, Varanasi) or Pre-Flood Tradition as we have called it.

sat-karma-sūcako nūnaṁ, jñāna-yajñaḥ smṛto budhaiḥ.
śrīmad-bhāgavatā'lāpaḥ, sa tu gītaḥ śukā'dibhiḥ..
bhakti-jñāna-virāgāṇāṁ, tad-ghoṣeṇa balaṁ mahat.
(*PP, Uttara-khaṇḍa* 2.60, 61 *ab*)

śrīmad-bhāgavataṁ purāṇam (*tilakaṁ*) *amalaṁ,*
yad vaiṣṇavānāṁ priyaṁ (*dhanaṁ*)
yasmin pāramahaṁsyam ekam (*evam*) *amalaṁ, jñānaṁ paraṁ gīyate.*
tatra (*yatra*) *jñạna-virāga-bhakti-sahitaṁ, naiṣkarmyam āviṣkṛtaṁ*
tac chṛṇvan vi-(*pra-*) *paṭhan vicāraṇa-paro, bhaktyā vimucyen naraḥ..*
(*Ibid., i.e., Bhāgavata Māhātmya,* 6.82 ; *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa,* 12.13.18)

yatrā'dhikṛtya gāyatrīṁ varṇyate dharma-vistaraḥ.
vṛtrā'sura-vadhopetaṁ tad bhāgavatam ucyate..
(*MP, 53.20*)

dharmaḥ projjhita-kaitavo'tra paramo nir-matsarāṇāṁ satāṁ
vedyaṁ vāstavam atra vastu śivadaṁ tāpa-trayonmūlanam.
śrīmad-bhāgavate mahā-muni-kṛte kiṁ vā parair īśvaraḥ
sadyo hṛdyavarudhyate'tra kṛtibhiḥ śuśruṣubhis tat-kṣaṇāt..
1.1.2.

nigama-kalpataror galitaṁ phalaṁ, śuka-mukhād amṛta-drava-saṁyutam.
pibata bhāgavataṁ rasam ā-layaṁ, muhur aho rasikā bhuvi bhāvukāḥ..
1.1.3.

kathā imās te kathitā mahīyasāṁ,
vitāya lokeṣu yaśaḥ pareyuṣām.
vijñāna-vairāgya-vivakṣayā vibhor,
vaco-vibhūtīr na tu pāramārthyam.
12.3.14.